B. C. LAW VOLUME

PART I

Edited by

Dr. D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., Ph.D.
Prof. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M.A.
Dr. B. M. BARUA, M.A., D.Litt.
Dr. B. K. GHOSH, D.Phil., D.Litt.
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THE INDIAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE,
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Printed by M. N. KULKARNI, at the Karnatak Printing Press, Karnatak House, Chira Bazar, Bombay 2, and published by SATIS CHANDRA SEAL, M.A., B.L., Hon. General Secretary, Indian Research Institute, 170 Manicktolla Street, Calcutta.

THIS VOLUME OF ARTICLES

CONTRIBUTED BY

HIS FRIENDS AND ADMIRERS

IS PRESENTED

TO

Dr. B. C. LAW

M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D. Litt., F.R.A.S.B.

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PREFACE

In 1943 it was proposed to present a Volume of Studies in Indology to Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D. Litt., on the completion of his 55th year on the 25th October 1946. It is needless to recount the services of Dr. Law to Ancient Indian History and Culture in general and Buddhistic studies in particular. His persevering researches in Buddhistic and allied subjects during the last quarter of a century have borne abundant fruit in the form of a series of original studies replete with erudition and scholarship. His valuable editions of Buddhist texts and translations have clarified our understanding of Buddhist philosophy and religion. It is therefore in the fitness of things that a volume of studies in Indology should be presented to him as a mark of appreciation of his dynamic, selfless and scholarly work and as a partial redemption of the debt of gratitude we owe to him. God has fulfilled our desire and we express our gratitude to all those who have extended their hearty co-operation, and to the Indian Research Institute for undertaking to publish the Volume. At the same time we express our deep sorrow for some among the contributors who could not live to see the book in print.

It is now for the public to judge how far we have succeeded in completing the Volume for presentation to a scholar of Dr. Law's eminence.

12-12-44.

D. R. Bhandarkar
B. M. Barua
K. A. Nilakanta Sastri
B. K. Ghosh
P. K. Gode

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

I

INTRODUCTORY

This Volume has been projected from a sense of duty which his many friends and admirers feel that they owe to Dr. Bimala Churn Law in recording in a permanent form their deep appreciation of the manifold services rendered by him to the cause of his country in general and to that of learning and scholarship in particular.

Dr. Law is a unique personality both as a philanthropist and as a man of letters. He is a favourite child of the two goddesses of Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī who, forgetting their mutual jealousy, have combined to confer upon him their choicest blessings. He is at once a patron and a devotee of learning.

Born in Calcutta on the 26th October 1891, he is a scion of the ancient Law family of Calcutta. He is the youngest son of the late Mr. Ambica Churn Law, and the youngest grandson of the late Mr Jaygobind Law, C. I. E.

As a man of letters, he is already the author of more than 40 learned works on a variety of subjects connected with Ancient Indian History, Ethnology, Geography, Archaeology, Buddhism, Jainism and the like. He is an acknowledged international authority on Buddhism and Jainism. He is also a sound student of Law. His book entitled "*The Law of Gift in British India*" is the only authoritative book on the subject.

II

ACADEMIC AND OTHER DISTINCTIONS

He has to his credit a rare record of varied academic distinctions conferred upon him by the Universities and other public bodies.

He received his education at the Calcutta Presidency College and the Calcutta University.

In 1914 he graduated with Honours in Pali. In 1916 he passed the M.A. Examination standing First in the First Class in Pali including Buddhist Sanskrit, Epigraphy and Palaeography. He also graduated in Law. In 1924 he obtained the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Ancient Indian History and Culture. In the same year, he was awarded the Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Gold Medal by the University of Calcutta for his original researches. He is also a D. Litt. in History and a Bonarjee Research Prize-

man of the Lucknow University and a Griffith Prizeman of the Calcutta University.

The Vidyālaṁkāra Pirivena has conferred upon him the special title of *Buddhāgama Śiromaṇi* in recognition of the conspicuous services rendered by him to the cause of Buddhism and Buddhistic studies, a rare distinction with which few Indians have been honoured by the Buddhists of Ceylon.

He is associated with the following learned bodies and public institutions in different capacities :

He is an Honorary Member of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona ; Honorary Member of the Ganga Nath Jha Research Institute, Allahabad ; Honorary Life-Member of the Calcutta Geographical Society ; Honorary Correspondent of the Archaeological Survey of India ; President of the Calcutta Geographical Society ; President of the Prācyavāṇī Mandir (School of Oriental Learning), Calcutta ; Vice-President, Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishat (1343 B.S. = 1936-37), Calcutta ; Vice-President, Buddha Society, Bombay ; Vice-President, Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, Calcutta ; Vice-President, Indian Science News Association, Vice-President, Indian Research Institute, Calcutta ; Vice-President, Iran Society, Calcutta ; Life-Member of the Bengal Educational Society ; Life-Member of Nārīśikshā Samiti (Council of Education for Women); Life-Member of the Sanskrit Sāhitya Parishat, Calcutta ; Life-Member of the Viśvabhāratī Śāntiniketan ; Life-Member of the Numismatic Society of India, Bombay ; a Trustee of the Vidyasagar Institute, Calcutta ; Historical and Archaeological Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1944-45 ; Fellow, Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland ; Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch ; Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal ; Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, London ; Corporate Member of the American Oriental Society (1937-40) ; Vice-President of the Indian Society of Oriental Art ; Vice-President, British Indian Association for 1942-43 ; Member of the Executive Committee of the B. I. Association (1943-44, 1944-45) ; Vice-President, City Athletic Club, Calcutta ; Life-Member of the Automobile Association of Bengal, Calcutta ; Member of the General Committee of the Calcutta War Committee (Appointed in August 1940); Member of the Editorial Board of the Annual Bibliography of Indian History and Indology instituted by Bombay Historical Society ; Vice-President of the National Defence and Savings Week Committee (1941) ; Member of the General Committee of the Silver Jubilee Fund of late King George V (1935) ; Member of the General Committee of the Red Cross Society and St. John Ambulance Association ; Member of the Executive Committee of the Medical College Centenary (1934); Member of the All-Bengal Central Flood Relief Committee (1943).

Dr. Law is a big Zemindar of Bengal and Landholder of Calcutta ; an advocate of the Calcutta High Court ; a Justice of the Peace and a Presi-

dency Magistrate of Calcutta He is a Partner of Messrs. Prawn Kishen Law & Co. which is one of the oldest trading firms of Calcutta. He is a Free Mason and has been elevated to the rank of a Mark Master Mason.

III

BENEFACTIONS

The world of scholars knows him for his writings, but is not so well acquainted with the other aspect of his personality, his phenomenal philanthropy in aid of approved public causes. It is his way to do good in stealth. He shuns publicity like poison. His daily small gifts are hardly known even to the inner circle of his friends. But there are many public institutions which loudly proclaim what they owe to his silent benefactions, of which they will remain permanent witnesses and enduring memorials from generation to generation.

His benefactions cover a wide range of humanitarian purposes. He has responded liberally to the call of the suffering, irrespective of caste or creed, to the cry for relief of the poor, the infirm, the helpless, the afflicted, the diseased, the destitute, and the distressed.

His charities are informed by the loftiest idealism, a spirit of disinterested positivist social service, of worship of *Nara-Nārāyaṇa*, of serving God by serving Man.

He has endowed beds in Hospitals, founded Free-Studentships in Schools and Colleges, general as well as technical, offered facilities for higher research, helped the cause of advancement of learning by learned Societies, and liberally financed the publication of original contributions to knowledge. His charities keep flowing in a continuous stream.

Some of his typical benefactions are worthy of special mention. Besides endowing beds at Hospitals, he has paid a substantial contribution towards the construction of the Anderson Casualty Block at the Calcutta Medical College, and to the King Emperor's Anti-Tuberculosis Fund in Bengal.

Many of the Funds started at different places for the relief of distress caused by Earthquake, Cyclone, Flood or Famine have always received liberal contributions from him.

Some of his charities have been directed towards the promotion of Publio Works of Utility, and of Cultural and Social Amenities, in various forms, whether it be Water-Works, Scheme for Afforestation, Supply of Stud-bulls, free distribution of booklets for children, Athletics or Clubs and Libraries.

His very timely contribution for the supply of stud-bulls was thus appreciated by the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow : "I have learnt with much satisfaction of your generous gift, and write to say how much I appreciate it. The improvement of the breed of cattle in India is a matter of the first

importance, and your generous donation will assist to further a work of real national interest."

The war has had its full share of his munificence. He has contributed liberally to the different War Purposes Funds in Bengal. He has paid more than Rs. 20,000|- to the Indian Red Cross Society and to St. John Ambulance Association. He has paid substantial donations towards the Civic Guard Funds, Lady Mary Herbert's Women's War Fund, H. E. Governor of Bengal's Christmas Gifts Fund for troops, 11|19th Hyderabad Regiment, I. T. F. Dinapore (1940). He has been helping the cause of the War in many ways.

The value of his gifts to these institutions has been acknowledged by the Governor of Bengal, Sir John Herbert, in the following terms : "Remembering the many occasions upon which you have helped me before, I regard this donation as yet another example of your consistent generosity and public-spiritedness ; and if I am able to count upon the same measure of support and interest coming from all sections of the community, I don't think Bengal will have any difficulty in fulfilling its full obligations in this great humanitarian cause."

His Excellency R. G. Casey, the present Governor of Bengal, has also expressed to him his appreciation of an additional gift as follows : "I can assure you that this sum will contribute substantially to the fulfilment of Bengal's obligations to the sick and the suffering, and that it will be most gratefully appreciated by those who have sacrificed so much in this war on our behalf."

His contribution to the Cyclone Relief Fund was thus appreciated by the Governor of Bengal : "I regard this prompt and generous gesture as splendid evidence of your public-spiritedness and your sympathy for the suffering. I can assure you that it will be most warmly appreciated by those who are in most urgent need of assistance."

His donation to the Society for the Protection of Children in India in response to an appeal issued by Her Excellency the Marchioness of Linlithgow was thus appreciated on her behalf : "Your generous donation is a source of great encouragement in the face of difficult conditions obtaining at this present time."

His contribution towards the King Emperor's Silver Jubilee Fund in the neighbouring Province of Bihar has been thus appreciated by the Deputy Commissioner of Hazaribagh, Mr. S. L. Marwood : "I wish to thank you personally for your liberal contribution which is one of the first received in this district. It will be a great encouragement to the Committee and an example to other subscribers."

Dr. Law has been the recipient of the Silver Jubilee Medal (1935) and the Coronation Medal (1937) as a personal souvenir from His Majesty the King Emperor of India.

His contributions towards these humanitarian and War purposes total more than a lac and a half.

An account may now be given of some of his known educational benefactions as follows :—

(1) A donation of Rs. 8,000|- to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal for the institution of a medal called the "Bimala Churn Law Gold Medal", to be awarded to "the person who has made conspicuously important contribution to Indology."

(2) A donation of Rs. 3,000|- to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal for financing the publication of its popular Lectures.

(3) A donation of Rs. 5,000|- to the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science at Calcutta for endowing the 'Bimala Churn Law Gold Medal' to be awarded every year to "a person who has made the most important contribution to Science including Medicine."

(4) A donation of Rs. 2,500|- towards the endowment of a Research Fund instituted by the aforesaid Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science.

(5) A contribution of Rs. 1,000|- to the Indian Science News Association.

(6) A donation of Rs. 7,000|- to the University of Calcutta for purchasing Electron Microscope for the Biophysical Laboratory of the University College of Science.

(7) A donation of Rs. 3,000|- to Rabindra Samiti, Calcutta, for endowing a prize on Rabindranath Tagore.

(8) A donation of Rs. 5,000|- to Sarat Chunder Chatterjee Building Fund.

(9) A recurring annual grant of Rs. 1,500|- to the Daulatpur College of Agriculture and Industries in Bengal.

(10) A donation of Rs. 5,000 for the construction of a Hall at the Asutosh College, Calcutta.

(11) A donation of Rs. 5,000|- to the Chittaranjan Sevāsadan, Calcutta, and another donation of Rs. 4,000|- to the Dufferin Hospital, Calcutta, for the endowment of two beds to perpetuate the memory of his deceased daughter.

(12) A donation of Rs. 5,000|- to the Chittaranjan Hospital, Calcutta, for endowing a bed.

(13) A donation of Rs. 2,500|- to the Calcutta Homoeopathic College for endowing a bed to the sacred memory of his late grandfather Jaygobind Law, C.I.E.

(14) A contribution of Rs. 1,000|- annually (1935 to 1939) to the Kern Institute of Holland towards the publication of its Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology.

(15) A donation amounting up to now to over Rs. 40,000|- to the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta, to conduct its quarterly Journal, the "Indian Culture".

(16) A donation of Rs. 5,000|- to the Lucknow University Endowment of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji Lectureship.

(17) A donation of Rs. 1,000|- to the Ganga Nath Jha Research Institute at Allahabad.

(18) A donation of Rs. 3,000|- to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay which holds it as a Fund, the interest of which is to be spent in buying books in Pali and Sanskrit, to be kept separately in its Library as a special collection under the designation, 'Dr. B. C. Law Collection'.

(19) A donation of Rs. 12,000|- to the Royal Asiatic Society in London, which the Society has created into a Trust Fund, the income from which is being utilised by it for the publication of learned monographs on topics of Indology in the Royal Asiatic Society's Special Series called 'Dr. Bimala Churn Law Trust Series'.

(20) A gift of valuable stone images and sculptures of the Bengal School to the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and that of a very valuable ivory image from Orissa to the same institution.

(21) A gift to the Mahābodhi Society, Calcutta, of a granite figure of Prajñā Pāramitā from his own collection.

(22) A present of Persian and Mughal Manuscripts of great historical value to the Delhi Fort Museum, and also to the Islamic section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta (1939).

The total of his endowments of Free-studentships at different educational institutions amounts to over Rupees Fifty thousand : (1) Rs. 10,500|- for the Calcutta Medical College ; (2) Rs. 16,700|- for the Bengal Engineering College, Sibpur (Howrah); (3) Rs. 8,000|- for the Calcutta Presidency College ; (4) Rs. 4,500|- for the Government Commercial Institute, Calcutta ; (5) Rs. 6,000|- for the Calcutta Bethune College, and Rs. 4,500|- for the Campbell Medical School, Calcutta.

IV

LITERARY CONTRIBUTIONS

We may now turn to the work and achievements of Dr. Law in the field of scholarship. The quantity and quality of his literary output are unique in the annals of letters. As has been already stated, he is to-day the author of more than 40 learned works dealing with different aspects of Buddhism, Jainism, Ancient Indian History, Geography, and Archaeology. All these works by the thoroughness and standard of their scholarship mark him out as an Indologist of the first rank. The range and depth of his scholarship will be evident from his numerous publications.

His noteworthy contributions to Ancient Indian History consist of the following works :

1. Kṣatriya Clans in Buddhist India,
2. Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India,
3. Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes, Vol. I.
4. Ancient Indian Tribes, I.,
5. Ancient Indian Tribes, II.,
6. Tribes in Ancient India,
7. India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism,
8. The Magadhas in Ancient India (RAS Pub.).

In his several Volumes on Tribes, he presents a comprehensive and systematic account of more than 150 tribes belonging to different parts of India and playing an important part in the early history of India. In these works, he has drawn upon all the available sources, Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain. He has utilised original works in Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Tibetan and Chinese, and also epigraphic and numismatic sources, archaeological finds and the itineraries of the Chinese pilgrims. A careful and exhaustive study of ancient Indian tribes written in a spirit of scientific research and without any *parti pris* has been presented for the first time in these books on tribes. One may rightly say with Dr. Sten Konow that 'the more we had books of the same kind, not only about tribes and clans but also about geographical designations, the better it would be for the world of scholarship.' 'He has splendidly enlarged and supplemented the materials which were shortly dealt with by Rhys Davids,' as remarked by Dr. Geiger. 'It must be admitted that the future historian of India will find his task substantially furthered both by the wide knowledge and sound judgment of the author.'

His treatise entitled "*India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism*" is a well-written book dealing with the geographical position of India, its kings and peoples, social life and economic conditions, religion, education and learning, based on the early texts of the Buddhists and Jains written in Pali and Ardhamāgadhī, together with relevant Brahminical texts throwing light on obscure points. The treatment is entirely novel and the results achieved are excellent. In the opinion of Dr. Keith, 'no author has done as much as Dr. Law has to make living the picture of ancient India and we are deeply indebted to his learning and skill in exposition. This well-arranged and useful book represents the intensive phase which Indian historical studies are now entering as a result of the labours of Indian scholars. A vast array of facts effectively marshalled presents to us kings and courtiers, saints and knaves, calculating money-lenders with their promissory notes and records of wealth on gold and copper plates, resourceful merchants and skilled craftsmen. This conscientious and painstaking

work goes to elucidate the progress of the country in the different fields of culture.'

The following are the more notable contributions made by Dr. Law to Ancient Indian Archaeology and Geography :

1. *Śrāvastī in Indian Literature* (A. S. I. Memoir No. 50)
2. *Rājagriha in Ancient Literature* (A. S. I. Memoir No. 58)
3. *Kauśāmbī in Ancient Literature* (A. S. I. Memoir No. 60)
4. *Pañchālas and their capital Ahichchhatra* (A. S. I. Memoir No. 68)
5. *Ujjayinī in Ancient India* (Arch. Deptt., Gwalior)
6. *Geography of Early Buddhism*
7. *Geographical Essays*
8. *Holy Places of India*
9. *Rivers of India*
10. *Mountains of India.*

An attempt has been made in the first five monographs to present a graphic picture of the ancient sites of Śrāvastī, Rājagriha, Kauśāmbī, Ahichchhatra and Ujjayinī from ancient Indian literature, coins, inscriptions as well as from the itineraries of the Chinese pilgrims. These exhaustive and systematic *Memoirs* will immortalize his name.

His treatise on the ancient city of Ujjayinī gives for the first time a full and systematic account of its history based on all available original sources supplemented by the evidence of coins and inscriptions and the information supplied by the Chinese travellers. This monograph shows what an important place an intensive study of local history and specialized work in a limited field can have in building up the general history of India in all its aspects, political, economic or cultural. There is no wonder that Indologists of the eminence of F. W. Thomas, Barnett, Winternitz, Keith, Johnston, Stein, Geiger, or Oldham, should have spoken so highly of these works. In the opinion of Winternitz, 'this work adds one more to the long list of highly useful publications which we already owe to him and adds also to our knowledge of the history of ancient India. This excellent piece of work, full of information and completely free from unjustifiable speculation, has received admiration on all hands'.

His excellent Memoir on Rājagriha is an admirable piece of scholarly workmanship. By collecting every detail about this ancient city, he has contributed a new chapter to the work which he has undertaken.

His *Geography of Early Buddhism* is undoubtedly an example of his erudition and sound exposition. In the well-considered opinion of the German Orientalist, Otto Schrader, 'this is indeed the kind of work which is often missed when reading through the Piṭakas and which every Indologist will welcome as a great boon.' He admires the pains which the author has taken in collecting every available material on the subject. He expresses

his opinion that this book will become 'an indispensable work of reference for all of them.' The great Russian scholar, Theodore Stcherbatsky, remarks that this book 'answers a long-felt need and will be highly appreciated by all students of Buddhist India.'

His *Geographical Essays* is 'a really valuable digest of information,' as Dr. Barnett remarks. Dr. Keith says that 'it is a most valuable collection rich in accurately stated and carefully collected facts and lays all students once more under a deep debt of gratitude.'

These two works offer us a systematic exposition of geographical and topographical information based on critical study and research, following the lines of investigation started by Sir William Jones, Sir Alexander Cunningham, Buchanon Hamilton, and Mackenzie.

His *Holy Places of India, Mountains of India* and *Rivers of India* are the publications of the Calcutta Geographical Society. They are historico-geographical sketches of subjects presented for the first time. The holy places of India connected with the three religions, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism, have been arranged regionally and illustrated with maps and sketches. The first named work places the educated India of to-day under a deep debt of gratitude by describing the holy places of India in a very picturesque manner, combining the historian's desire for detail with a scrupulous attention to the tourist's or pilgrim's need of topographical information. The result of this happy combination makes these works indispensable guides to these places of pilgrimage. By his first hand study of Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit literature, he is eminently qualified to write this book and his geographical training has added to the utility of the text by enriching it with three maps showing eastern India, north and north-western India and southern India respectively.

His monograph on the *Rivers of India* presents a systematic account of the rivers of India, dividing them into the Sindhu, Desert-River, Gaṅgā-Yamuna, Bhagīrathī-Hooghly, Brahmaputra-Meghnā, coastal rivers, Godāvarī, Krishṇā, Kāverī, Penner and Narmadā-Tāptī systems.

His *Mountains of India* presents likewise a systematic account of the mountains of northern, western, eastern, central and southern India based on the materials available from Indian literature, the accounts of the Greek geographers and the itineraries of Chinese pilgrims.

Dr. Law is a life-long student of Jainism with an intimate acquaintance with its literature and historical traditions. His publications in this important branch of Indology are not so numerous as in other branches. But his book entitled *Mahāvīra: His Life and Teachings*, gives us an objective account of what may be learnt from the Jaina and Buddhist texts regarding the historical founder of Jainism. It is characterized by the same accuracy, the same careful choice of facts, the same objectivity and sobriety of judgment which form the marked features of all his writings. It will be difficult to find out a book which gives a clearer and more systematic description of the life and teachings of the Great Jain leader. It is no exaggeration to say that this very suggestive account has been written in a spirit of impartiality and freedom from the narrow prejudice that so often vitiate the writings of sectarian authors. In the opinion of Geiger, 'it is an excellent comparative study of Mahāvīra and Buddha, which sheds a flood of light on several points at issue.' We welcome the publication of this kind which contains valuable details some of which deserve careful consideration, as has been rightly pointed out by the well-known German Indologist, Glasenapp.

Dr. Law has unrivalled knowledge of Buddhist literature, religion and philosophy. All his works on Buddhism and Buddhist thought are very important, as they help much to elucidate many difficult and knotty points. A brief account of these may here be given.

A History of Pali Literature (in two Volumes): It is a comprehensive work of Pali literature. It is a clear and exhaustive exposition of all the important problems of the subject and is marked by the sober and impartial judgment of the author. It contains a very learned and important discussion of the relative chronology of the canonical texts, which means, according to Geiger, 'a considerable progress beyond what Rhys Davids has said on the subject.' In the opinion of Winternitz, 'this is the most comprehensive treatment of Pali literature that has so far been published. The well-known French savant Finot so much liked the book that he was frank enough to say: "It seems to me extremely well-devised to provide tillers in the *Buddhakṣetra* with an invaluable stock of information and references. The author has worked hard for this result and undoubtedly he will reap in return much *puṇya* with the gratitude of the whole *paṇḍitajana*."

The Life and Work of Buddhaghosa: This book is the first systematic treatment of Buddhaghosa as a man and as a Pali commentator. The late lamented Mrs. Rhys Davids in her Foreword to this book, says: "The book is all the more needed now as a very useful compendium of what we yet know of Buddhaghosa both from his own works and from other documents. It is a well-executed piece of work in which the author has collected all the historical and semi-historical materials bearing on the life and labour of the great Master of the Law and sifted them with considerable ability, supplementing these by chapters on the origin and development of the standard commentaries on the Buddhist scriptures (a very interesting *expose*), on Buddhaghosa's successors, and on his writings." Geiger and Carpenter have expressed their admiration of this book. The former considers it to be 'an excellent monograph' on the celebrated commentator of the holy Buddhist scriptures and the latter takes it to be a very important book on the subject. He also thinks that the chapters on the origin of the commentaries

and the interpretation of Buddhism by Buddhaghosa 'may bring many valuable sidelights on the history of Buddhism and its consolidation as a system of thought in the *Theravāda*.'

Historical Gleanings: This is an interesting and well-written collection of essays on historical topics. In the opinion of Dr. E. J. Thomas, 'the book gives much more information of Buddhist notions than can be gained from the usual books.'

Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective: This is a comprehensive treatment of the eschatology of popular Buddhism. Geiger, Carpenter, Pargiter and Rapson have greatly appreciated this work and one of them goes so far as to say that it is 'full of rich illustrations of the working of the principles of *Karma* in producing merit and guilt. A comparison of these with similar conceptions in Brahmanism would show how much folklore was common to the two groups of teaching.' Lord Zetland who has contributed a Foreword to this book introduces it saying: "If the reader after perusal of the Volume has not acquired a comprehensive knowledge of the eschatology of popular Buddhism, he will have no one but himself to blame for Dr. Law has admirably accomplished the task which he set out to perform."

The Buddhist Conception of Spirits: This book acquaints the reader as far as possible with what the ancient Buddhists thought about the spirits and spirit world. A study of the *preta* belief among the southern Buddhists is bound to be attractive. Geiger says: "this book has preserved no doubt the popular beliefs spread all over India. It shows us that Buddhism did not annihilate the older creeds and ideas but the teacher adopted them and inserted them into his own system." Hopkins points out that it fulfils its purpose admirably in giving a very clear notion of what the Buddhists understood by the spirits departed and others.

Women in Buddhist Literature: It contains a clear and comprehensive account of women in early Buddhism. It deals with marriage and marital relations, position of slave girls, the place of dancing girls and courtesans in society, female education, female character, influence of Buddha's doctrine on women, the origin and constitution of the order of nuns, and prominent Buddhist women. This subject has been ably tackled for the first time by Dr. Law before I. B. Horner and others.

Concepts of Buddhism: This is a publication of the Kern Institute, Holland. It is a scholarly analysis of some of the important concepts of Buddhism based upon a careful study of original texts. It deals with eleven Buddhist concepts. Dr. F. W. Thomas considers it to be 'an excellent work, one of the best of the author's writings.' 'The precision and exactness of its statements and the aptness of its citations render it eminently suitable for forming and conveying to students a correct idea of the main features of Buddhist doctrine.' Dr. Keith remarks that 'the author has aimed at pre-

senting us with a large mass of material carefully chosen, accurately interpreted and skilfully co-ordinated, bearing on the essential ideas of Buddhism as it is presented to us especially in the Pali texts. Dr. Law's work is of permanent value.'

A Manual of Buddhist Historical Traditions (*Saddhamma Saṅgaha*): This book which is a publication of the University of Calcutta is the first English rendering of an important text of Theravāda Buddhism. The *Saddhamma-Saṅgaha* is said to have been compiled by Thera Dhammakitti of Ceylon at a great monastery called Laṅkārāma built by the great king Paramarāga. It comprises 11 chapters and his introduction contains a very good summary of the contents, chapter by chapter. The historical value of this work is enhanced by the inclusion of the account of two Buddhist Councils held in Ceylon during the reigns of Devānampiyatissa and Vaṭṭagāmaṇi. There is a very important and interesting account in this book as to how the four great Nikāyas were entrusted to various Theras at the First Council. The story of the Buddha's prediction about the establishment of the *sāsana* in Ceylon has been developed a step further in this book than elsewhere. We get a very interesting account of the three original commentaries on the Tripiṭaka. The translation is very satisfactory and Dr. Law has indeed rendered a great service to the students of Buddhism and Buddhist history by preparing this valuable translation written in a scholarly style. The book is indeed a valuable asset to the library of Buddhist literature.

Designation of Human Types, The Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon—Part III—Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka: The first named work is a publication of the Pali Text Society. It is the first English rendering of the fourth book of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka called *Puggalapaññatti*. According to Geiger, 'the translation is very well made and remarkably correct.'

The *Minor Anthologies* included in the Sacred Books of the Buddhist Series contain an English version of the *Buddhavaṃsa* and *Cariyāpiṭaka* by Dr. Law whose love for indology and scholarship in Buddhist literature needs little or no mention to students of Buddhism.

As an editor of Pali texts, too, Dr. Law stands pre-eminent. Besides being an editor of the *Indian Culture*, he has edited the following books: *Thūpavaṃsa, Buddhistic Studies,* and *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*. The *Thūpavaṃsa* has been edited for the first time by him for the Pali Text Society, London.

The second book is a collection of essays written by scholars of repute on Buddhism and Buddhist thought. Dr. Keith points out that the editor has succeeded in securing 'many and varied communications which together form a very important addition to our knowledge of Buddhist philosophy and religion, history and philology.' In the opinion of Dr. Barnett, 'the

publication of this fine spiritual *puṣpāñjali* is a *puṇya* of a high order and Dr. Law has laid the world of scholarship under a deep debt of gratitude to him.'

The *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume* edited by Dr. Law has been well received by Indian and European scholars all over the world. It is undoubtedly a very valuable contribution to ancient Indian history.

A Study of the Mahāvastu and Supplement : The *Mahāvastu* which is an encyclopaedia of Buddhist legends and doctrines is one of the important Buddhist books. Dr. Law has given a bird's-eye view of this text. He has 'succeeded in reducing its confused mass to a comprehensive shape,' as Dr. Hopkins points out. Dr. Barnett considers it to be 'a very helpful book which may serve as a guide to the student through the wilderness of the original text.' Rapson congratulates him on 'his patience in analysing this encyclopaedia of Buddhist lore and his skill in making such an interesting selection from its contents.' The celebrated German Indologist Hermann Jacobi remarks that 'all students of Buddhism will be glad to use this guide to the bewildering contents of that important text.'

Dr. Law has published in *Devanāgarī* characters the texts of the *Dāṭhāvaṃsa* (the history of the tooth-relic) and the *Cariyāpiṭaka* (the collection of ways of conduct) with their English translations.

He has also enriched Bengali literature by his well-known publications entitled *Gautama Buddha, Licchavi Jāti, Preta Tattva, Bauddharamaṇī, Bauddhayuger Bhūgola, Jainaguru Mahāvīra, Bhārater Puṇyatīrtha,* and *Saundarananda Kāvya.* He has translated Aśvaghoṣa's *Saundarananda Kāvya* into Bengali language long before the appearance of Johnston's English translation, which acknowledges the help derived from Dr. Law's Bengali rendering of the work.

The Law of Gift in British India (First Edition 1924 and second Edition 1926) : This book collects in one place all that is to be said on the subject of gifts, a subject upon which the theocratic principles of Hindu Law do not always coincide with the secular view of Roman and English Jurisprudence, and what is its modern equivalent in this country, the rules of justice, equity and good conscience. It is a complete and comprehensive treatise on a subject which is often before the Courts. It is an intelligent attempt to co-ordinate the texts and case-notes into a coherent commentary which is bound to be of use to legal practitioners. A critical study of the ancient texts and of the improvements made by judicial decisions on the law laid down in the texts are not the least interesting features of the work. The book discloses great originality and research and is bound to provoke thought on the theories put forward by the author who has fully dealt with the entire case-law up-to-date.

A jurist of repute like Sir George Rankin remarks that 'the exposition of the principles of the Law of Gift is clear and his discussion of the case-law is well-arranged and accurate.'

It may be noted that many of Dr. Law's works have found their publishers in several learned Societies such as the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, the Pali Text Society of England, the Kern Institute of Holland, the Archaeological Department of the Government of India, the University of Calcutta, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, the Calcutta Geographical Society, the Archæological Department of the Gwalior State, and the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta.

The above record is to be considered not as a mere personal record of Dr. Law's intellectual work and achievements. It has an important public aspect, showing to what extent Indian history in general, and Buddhism in particular, are indebted to the strenuous and sustained labours and researches of one man, and of one who has consecrated himself to a career of painstaking scholarship and has been "living laborious days" in a rare spirit of self-denial and asceticism, eschewing a life of leisure and ease appointed for him by his affluence. Very few scholars of his social position and standing have to their credit such a dedicated life or have lived to see its rich fruition and fruitage in the publication of such a remarkable series of original studies marked by a uniform standard of erudition and scientific method, and also including among these, editions of valuable Buddhist Texts and their translations.

In this connection a reference may also be made to what is not so much known outside the inner circle of his friends. It is the help that he has been always rendering to his poor fellow-workers in the field of Research by way of granting them subventions in aid of their publications. He has been also rendering that help in another form by undertaking financial responsibility for conducting that renowned Research Journal known as the "*Indian Culture*" on behalf of the Indian Research Institute of Calcutta. Tribute is due to Dr. Law for his efficient editorship of this important Journal.

He is one of the editors of the Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology published by the Kern Institute, Holland. He acted for sometime as the editor of *Bengal, Past and Present,* which is the organ of the Calcutta Historical Society.

Besides books, Dr. Law has to his credit numerous papers contributed by him on the basis of laborious and much original research to different learned Journals and also to Conferences. The total output of his activities in this field may be understood from the list given below :

A. CONTRIBUTIONS TO COMMEMORATION AND PRESENTATION VOLUMES :

K. B. Pathak Commemoration Volume :

Social, Economical and Religious Conditions of Ancient India, according to the Buddhist Texts.

Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume, 1936 :
South India as a centre of Pali Buddhism.

Woolner Commemoration Volume, 1940 :
Drugs and Diseases known to the Early Buddhists.

Studia Indo-Iranica (Ehrengabe Für Wilhelm Geiger), 1931 :
"Cetiya" in Buddhist Literature.

Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji Commemoration Volume, 1939 : (Journal of the Gujarat Research Society, Vol. I, No. 4, October, 1939).
Dependent Origination.

A Volume of Studies in Indology presented to Prof. P. V. Kane, 1941 :
The Andhras in Ancient India.

Jainācharya Shrī Ātmānand Centenary Commemoration Volume, 1936 :
Teachings of Mahāvīra.

Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume, 1940 :
Mathurā.

The Cultural Heritage of India (Sri Ramakrishna Centenary Memorial, Vol. I).
Eschatological Aspect of Nirvāṇa.

Haraprasāda Samvardhana-Lekhamālā, 2nd Vol.
Prācīna Bhārater Rājnaitik Avasthā.

D. R. Bhandarkar Volume, 1940 :
Contemporaneity of the Kings of India and Ceylon.

Radha Kumud Mookerji Presentation Volume (*Bhārata-Kaumudī*):
Buddhist Rules of Decorum.

B. Contributions to Conferences

Indian History Congress (3rd Session, Calcutta, 1939) :
Contemporaneity of the kings of India and Ceylon.

Third Oriental Conference, Madras, 1924 :
The Buddhist Conception of Māra.

Fourth Oriental Conference, Allahabad, 1926 :
Female character as depicted in the Pāli Texts.

Oriental Conference at Benares 1943 :
Ayodhyā in Ancient India.

Presidential Address at the inaugural meeting of the Bhāratī Buddha Pariṣad held on 19-5-43 :
Buddha Gautama.

Presidential Address delivered at the Vaiśākhī Pūrṇimā Anniversary Day convened by the Mahabodhi Society in 1944 :
Śākyasiṃha. (Mahabodhi Journal, May-June 1944).

Lecture delivered at the Discussion Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal on the 3rd August, 1944 :
Ancient Historic Sites of Bengal, illustrated by lantern slides.

C. Contributions to Learned Journals

JRAS :
(1) Formulation of Pratītyasamutpāda (April, 1937).
(2) Some Observations on the Jātakas (April, 1939).

JASB :
(1) A Note on Buddhaghosa's Commentaries (N. S., XV, 1919, No. 3).
(2) Influence of the five heretical teachers on Jainism and Buddhism (N. S., XV. 1919, No. 3).
(3) A short account of wandering teachers at the time of the Buddha (N. S., XIV, 1918, No. 7).
(4) Taxila as a Seat of Learning in Pali Literature (N. S., XII, No. 1, 1916).
(5) The Licchavis in Ancient India (N. S., XVII, No. 3, 1921).
(6) Data from the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Dīgha Nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka (N. S., XXI, No. 1, 1925).
(7) Anga and Campā in Pali Literature (N. S., XXI, No. I, 1925).
(8) Gautama Buddha and the Paribrājakas (N. S., XXI, No. 1, 1925).
(9) The Aśmakas or Assakas in Ancient India (N. S., XX, 1924).

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute :
(1) Geographical Data from Sanskrit Buddhist Literature (Vol. XV, 1934, Oct.-Jan).
(2) Pāli Chronicles (Vol. XIII, Pts. III-IV).
(3) Countries and Peoples of India (Epic and Paurāṇic Sources) (Vol. XVII, 1936, pp. 217-242 & 319-339).
(4) Some Ancient Indian Tribes (Vol. XXII, Pts. I & II, 1941).
(5) Non-Canonical Pāli Literature (Vol. XIII, Pt. II).
(6) Nirvāṇa and Buddhist Laymen (Vol. XIV, 1933).
(7) Magadha and Rājagriha in Pāli Literature (Vol. XIII).
(8) Chronology of Pāli Canon (Vol. XII).
(9) Ancient Indian Tribes (Vol. XXI).
(10) Mind in the *Dhammapada* (Vol. XIX).

Epigraphia Indica :
(1) A Pali Counterpart of the Nālandā Text of Pratītyasamutpāda-vibhaṅga (Vol. XXIII, Pt. VI).

(2) Bhikkhunī in Indian Inscriptions (Vol. XXV, pt. 5).

JBBRAS :

(1) Studies in the *Apadāna* (N. S., Vol. 13, 1937).
(2) Buddha's First Discourse (N. S., Vol. 15, 1939).
(3) The Aṅgas in Ancient India (N. S., Vol. 20, 1944).

Indian Culture :

(1) Some Ancient Indian Tribes (Vol. I, pp. 381-91 & Vol. VII, No. 2).
(2) Kośala (Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 521-3).
(3) The Vaṅgas (Vol. I, No. 1, p. 57).
(4) Some Notes on Tribes of Ancient India (Vol. I, No. 2).
(5) Buddhist Pāramitā (Vol. I. p. 686).
(6) Did Aśoka become a Bhikkhu? (Vol. I).
(7) Importance of the Bhābrū Edict (Vol. I).
(8) The Damiḷas (Vol. III).
(9) Aspects of Nirvāṇa (Vol. II).
(10) Aśvaghoṣa the Poet (Vol. III, No. I).
(11) Aśvaghoṣa the Philosopher (Vol. III, No. I).
(12) Ancient Indian Tribes (Vol. III, No. 4).
(13) Distinguished Men and Women in Jainism (Vol. III).
(14) Telakaṭāhagāthā (verses on oil-pot) (Vol. V, p. 25).

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(1) The Puṇḍras of Ancient Bengal (Vol. XII).
(2) Buddha's Life in Art (Vol. XVIII).
(3) The Ambaṣṭhas (Vol. XIII).
(4) The Kāśis in Ancient India (Vol. IV).
(5) Some Tribes of Ancient India (Vol. XX, Pt. I).
(6) The Utkalas and Uḍras in Ancient India (Vol. XIX, Pt. 3).

Journal of the U. P. Historical Society :

(1) The Mālavas in Ancient India (Vol. VII, Pt. 2).
(2) Sacred Places of the Jains.
(3) Sacred Places of the Vaiṣṇavas (Vol. X, No. 1).

Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University :

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Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa (Vol. XXXV, No. 12, Dec., 1938; Vol. XXXVI, No. 1, January, 1939; No. 3, March, 1939; No. 6, June, 1939; No. 7, July, 1939; No. 8, August, 1939).

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(2) *Vaiśālī and Mahāvīra.*

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(1) The Yaudheyas in Ancient India (Vol. XXV).
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(3) Pāli Tracts in Inscriptions (Vol. XXII, N. S., No. 4. p. 399).
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(3) A Note on Some Ancient Indian Tribes (Vol. I, No. 9, Dec., 1938, 598-99).
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Sir Alexander Cunningham (Vol. V, p. 410).

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(1) The Kośalas in Ancient India (Vol. I, No. 1, March 1925).
(2) Marriage in Buddhist Literature (Vol. II, No. 3, September 1926).

Śrībhāratī :
(1) Anāthapiṇḍika (Bhādra. 1345 B.S.).
(2) Jainaguru Mahāvīra (Agrahāyaṇa and Pauṣ, 1345 B.S.).
(3) Telakaṭāhagāthā, (Vaiśākha, 1346 B.S.).
(4) Buddhadever Prathama Dharmopadeśa (Agrahāyaṇa, 1346 B.S.).
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(3) Vṛji-Licchavi Vivaraṇa (1326 B.S., 3rd year).
(4) Prācīnamudrā Kārṣāpaṇa (2nd year, Āśvin, 1325 B.S.).
(5) Takṣaśilā (2nd year, Kārtik, 1325 B.S.).
(6) Śāntideva (4th year, Kārtik, 1327 B.S.).
(7) Dīnanāth Dhar (Jaiṣṭha, 1331 B.S., 8th year).
(8) Paralokagata Nandalal Dey (Phālgun, 1333 B.S., 11th year).

Sāhityapariṣat Patrikā :
(1) Dakṣiṇa Bhāratavarṣe Pāli-Bauddha-dharmer Vistāra (1342 B.S. No. 4).
(2) Bauddha Apadāna (1344 B.S. No. 2).
(3) Bhāratīya Lekhamālāye Bauddha Bhikkhuṇī (50 Bhāga, 4th Saṃkhyā).

Śiśubhāratī :
(1) Bauddhatīrthasthān (Pt. IV, pp. 1338-40).
(2) Prācīna Bhārater Bauddha Viśvavidyālaya (Pt. IV, pp. 1441-54).
(3) Bhārater Jaina Tīrthasthān (No. 21, p. 1638).
(4) Prācīna Bhārater Janapada (No. 24, p. 1890).
(5) Prācīna Bhārater Sāmājik Avasthā (No. 25, p. 1974).
(6) Bhārater Parvata O Nadī (No. 32, p. 2534).
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(1) Licchavideśa Vaiśālī (Kārtik, 1328 B.S.)
(2) Vaiśālīvāsī (Agrahāyaṇa, 1328 B.S.).
(3) Videha (Pauṣ, 1328 B.S.).
(4) Cāṇakya O Candragupta (Māgh, 1328 B.S.).
(5) Baudhasāhitye Silpa O bhaugolika tathya (Vol. XXXI, Part I. 1338 B.S., pp. 629-32).
(6) Prācīna Bhārate Nagararakṣī (Māgh, 1348 B.S.).
(7) Pañcāler Rājanyavarga (Āṣāḍh, 1350 B.S.).

Bhāratavarṣa :
(1) Chayajana Bauddha Tīrthikācāryer Itivṛtta (Agrahāyaṇa, 1323 B.S.).
(2) Prācīna Bhārater Arṇavapota (Agrahāyaṇa, 1322 B.S.).

(3) Bhārate Nāga Pūjā (Āṣāḍh, 1322 B.S.).
(4) Rāñci Bhramaṇa, (Āśvin, 1322 B.S.).
(5) Bhāratīya Paribrājaka (Āśvin, 1328 B.S.).
(6) Prācīna Bhārate Avantī (Jaiṣṭha, 1336 B.S.).
(7) Vatsadeśa Kauśāmbī (Śrāvaṇa, 1336 B.S.).
(8) Jagannāthpurer Mandir (Ranchi) (Vaiśākha, 1337 B.S.).
(9) Gautamer Vairāgya O Sambodhilābha (Māgha, 1337 B.S.).
(10) Prācīna Bhārate Mahājanapada (Agrahāyaṇa, 1340 B.S.).
(11) Prācīna Bhārater Kṣatriya Jāti (Caitra, 1341 B.S.).
(12) Prācīna Bhāratīya Aṭṭālikā (Pauṣ, 1343 B.S.).
(13) Jaina Tīrthasthān (Śrāvaṇa, 1344 B.S.).
(14) Jainaguru Mahāvīrer Dharmopadeśa (Māgha, 1345 B.S.).
(15) Prācīna Bhārata (Śrāvaṇa, 1346 B.S.).
(16) Kauśāmbī (Jaiṣṭha, 1347 B.S.).
(17) Bhārater Puṇyatīrtha (Agrahāyaṇa, Pauṣ, and Phālguṇ, 1348 B.S.).
(18) Prācīna Bhārater Vyādhi (24th year, Pt. II, No. 1, Āṣāḍha, 1344 B.S.).
(19) Pāñcāler Rājnaitik Avasthā (Jaiṣṭha, 1350 B.S.).
(20) Suprasiddha Jaina Nara-Nārī (Āśvin, 1343 B.S.).
(21) Sauryapura—Prācīna Mathurā (Śrāvaṇa, 1350 B.S.).
(22) Prācīna Bhārater Bhaugolik Avasthā (Vaiśākha, 1351 B.S.).

Bāṇī :

Siṃhala-kāhinī (3rd year, No. 2, 1317 B.S.).

Mānasī :

Tājer Śilpī Ke? (Agrahāyaṇa, 1318 B.S.).

Āryāvartta :

(1) Pravāda-Prasaṅga (Jaiṣṭha, 1319 B.S.).
(2) Sukīyābibi O Sukiyā Street (Śrāvaṇa, 1319 B.S.).

Saṅkalpa :

Uttarakuru (Bhādra, 1321 B.S.).

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(1) Bauddhabhāṣyakār Dharmapāla (Fālguṇa, 1324 B.S.).
(2) Prācīna Samāja Prasaṅga (Kārtik, 1325 B.S.).
(3) Buddhadever Samasāmayika Paribrājakagaṇa (Agrahāyaṇa, 1325 B.S.).
(4) Prācīna Bhārata-Itihāse Uśīnaragaṇa (Āṣāḍh, 1336 B.S.).

Basumatī :

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Pañcapuṣpa :

(1) Prācīnayuge Mathurāvāsī Śūrasenagaṇa (Śrāvaṇa, 1336 B.S.).
(2) Prācīnayuge Pañcālagaṇa (Agrahāyaṇa, 1336 B.S.).

Vicitrā :

(1) Prācīna Cedigaṇa O Cedirājya (Āṣādh, 1336 B.S.).
(2) Prācīna Bhārate Kuru vaṃśa (Agrahāyaṇa and Pauṣ. 1336 B.S.).

Puṣpapātra :

Prācīna Bhārate Matsyagaṇa (Śrāvaṇa, 1336 B.S.).

The above constitutes a unique record of learning and scholarship, of liberality and philanthropy, deserving of public and permanent recognition in a fitting form such as that projected in this Presentation Volume made up of learned articles contributed by so many scholars of different lands as tokens of their appreciation of Dr. Bimala Churn Law's life and work.

RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI.

ERRATA

Page 83	Read	*of*	instead of		*or.*
„ 133	„	*wordly*	„	„	*worldly.*
„ 142	„	*or*	„	„	*of.*
„ 219	„	*married*	„	„	*carried.*
„ 275	„	*delineate*	„	„	*delicate.*
„ 469	„	*disembodied*	„	„	*embodied.*
„ 499	„	*Karaṇa-cintāmaṇi*	„	„	*Kaana-cintāmaṇi*
„ 520	„	*Aihole Inscription*	„	„	*Ihole Inscription.*
„ 521	„	*Yuan Chwang*	„	„	*Uyan Chawang.*
„ 529	„	*religious*	„	„	*religions.*
„ 553	„	*tract*	„	„	*track.*

ADDENDUM

[Addendum to Dr. R. C. Mazumdar's article "The Chronology of the Early Kings of Nepal.]

No notice has been taken of Mr. Jayaswal's article on "The Chronology and History of Nepal" (*JBORS*. XXII, 157 ff.) and Mr. K. G. Sankar's article on "The Early Chronology of Nepal" (*IHQ*. XI, 304 ff). The first is based on a series of arbitrary assumptions backed by fallacious and specious arguments, which it would be a long and tedious task to refute in detail. The conclusions arrived at are also so complicated by a rearrangement of the entire list of kings given in the *Vaṁśāvalis* that it would take many pages to set them forth in a clear light. Mr. Sankar's article is inspired by the theory of Yaśodharman-Vikramāditya which no scholar accepts now-a-days and is mainly based on astronomical data. It is interesting to note, however, that the results of his astronomical calculations are very different from those adopted by Fleet, Lévi and Jayaswal. This indirectly supports what I have said above regarding the value of these data. I may add that Mr. Jayaswal followed Fleet in referring the date 386 of Mānadeva to the Gupta era and thus placing the group of kings from Vṛṣadeva to Mānadeva after Śivadeva and Aṁśuvarman. Mr. Sankar regards Aṁśuvarman as the Viceroy of Yaśodharman and thus places him about a century before Hiuen Tsang. None of these can be regarded even as probable hypotheses.

HOMO SAPIENS

By

The Most Hon. the MARQUIS OF ZETLAND, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

On a day in July in the year 1943, I was sitting on the stonepaved terrace which runs along the wing of the house in which my writing room is situated, meditating, as I often found myself doing in the comparative leisure which retirement from Government office had brought me, upon the astonishing spectacle presented by the human race devoting an unparalleled concentration of effort on the task, as it seemed, of exterminating itself. Although the hands on the dial of my watch pointed to six o'clock, the sun was still high in the heavens and cast foreshortened shadows from the trees over the growth of rank grasses which covered what in happier days had been smoothly mown lawns. On the sundial nearby, the slowly moving shadow disputed the information given me by my watch to the extent of no less than two hours, for with a view to saving the fuel normally consumed in the production of artificial light and to giving the hard worked population the chance of re-creation in the open air at the end of the day's toil, it had been decreed that by the simple expedient of putting forward the hands of the clock, daylight should be prolonged to that extent but one of many indications of the abnormality of the times which had overtaken this man-made world of which we found ourselves the protesting but helpless denizens. The weeds and general air of unkemptness which met my gaze; the entire absence of activity which was responsible for the triumph of the riotous vegetation over the former orderliness of gravel walk and well kept lawn—for under the system of rigid regimentation which had been imposed upon us, every male between childhood and old age, whether a gardener, or one employed on any kind of peace-time work whatsoever, had been wrenched away from his normal occupation—were others, as were also the bulletins issued on the air at regular intervals during the twenty four hours, describing the daily progress made in the process of extermination in the various theatres of war.

On the back of the garden seat on which I was sitting were chiselled deep into the wood words which had once seemed to be full of a sweet content, but which now rang with a hollow note :—

> " The kiss of the sun for pardon ;
> The song of the birds for mirth ;
> Man is nearer God's Heart in a garden
> Than anywhere else on earth."

The song of the birds for mirth? There was little enough mirth in these sombre days; moreover the song of the birds was drowned in a sea of raucous noise and the erstwhile peace of the garden was constantly being shattered by the sinister drone of aeroplanes—giant four-engined bombers and more agile and lithsome fighters—as they streaked across the sky; by the rumble of monster tanks as they clawed their way along the high road nearby, for not far away was a vast military cantonment, and by the patterned explosion of projectiles of many calibres on the moorland beyond the trees which had formerly pastured flocks of sheep and herds of cattle, but which, since it now served the purpose of a tank range, had become a no-man's land of repulsive desolation from which the grouse and other wild life which had formerly found a happy home there, had fled abashed.

As I sat pondering these things on the summer afternoon in question, a letter, come by the afternoon post and bearing an Indian stamp and postmark, was put into my hands. The postmark showed that it had been many weeks on the way, which, in the circumstances, was not surprising, for with battles on a vast scale raging along the Mediterranean sea-board and with the seven seas infested with hostile submarines, the routing of ships had for long been an uncertain business. But long though it had been on the way, its eventual arrival at its destination was none the less welcome, for it brought me news of one with whose work as the historian of an age which presented so pleasing a contrast with the present, I had long been familiar; and I found myself speeding back in imagination to a day a quarter of a century ago when, from the summit of the ruin of an ancient tower—no less a building than the famous Pippala stone house marking the site of the former city of Rājagṛha, of which the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hien has left a record—I gazed over the dusty landscape spread over the Patna District of Bihar.

For me much of the charm of Dr. Bimala Charan Law's work derives from the fact that he succeeds in clothing with flesh and blood the dry bones, which are all that are left to mark the scene of the life and times of a race of men who flourished nigh on 2,500 years ago. Apart from certain superficial mounds there is nothing to be seen to-day to distinguish Basarh, in the Muzafferpur District in Tirhut, from any one of the numerous other villages dotted over the landscape of the modern Province of Bihar, just as, amid the drab hills of the Patna District hardby, there is little beyond the ruins of walls and an ancient watch-tower built of blocks of undressed stone, to break the monotony of the view. Yet with a copy of " The Kṣatriya Clans of Buddhist India " as an aid, these modest relics of the past bourgeon into life once more and in place of the empty landscape we see, as in a vision, flourishing cities and peoples, priests and potentates, playing their allotted part in the great drama of human history—Vaiśālī, the capital of the Licchavis and Head-quarters of the great and powerful Vajjian Confederacy; Rājagṛha, " The King's House ", capital of Magadha; Bimbisāra and Ajāta-

śatru who lived and reigned there ; and, more particularly, men of venerable bearing, leading lives of asceticism and discoursing on the higher problems of religion and ethics in the mango groves abounding in the neighbourhood of the cities, or in the mote-halls in which gatherings of the people were held.

While the picture painted for us by Dr. Law of these early inhabitants of the lands washed by the waters of the sacred Ganges is an attractive one, the painter does not seek to depict them either as a race of saint, or of supermen ; but rather as people with a zest for life and with the shortcomings no less than the virtues inherent in human nature. He makes it clear that war was not unknown amongst them, for they prided themselves on being of the martial caste, while those who occupied the throne, where the State was organised on a monarchical basis, were by no means deaf to the promptings of ambition. So far as their personal characteristics are concerned, he shows us the Licchavis in particular, as a handsome race, fond of display and of fine raiment, an affluent people, the owners of chariots and horses, yet hardy withal. Their young men, it is to be noted, were high spirited with a passion for manly sports, and no strangers to the escapades common to hot-blooded youth all the world over. Yet no doubt is left in our minds that if they found pleasure in the company of courtesans, the sacrament of marriage was rigidly respected and a high standard of chastity demanded of their womenfolk.

We see that the standard of civilisation evolved by them was a high one, and that with all their virile qualities they were lovers of the fine arts ; that among the people generally arts and crafts were highly developed, while the grandeur and variety of their buildings testified to the skill alike of their architects and their artisans. In brief, we derive the impression that what Pericles said of Athens, might equally have been said of Vaiśālī, namely, that the Licchavis had provided education and recreation for the spirit and beauty in their public buildings which delighted their hearts by day and banished sadness.

It is further made clear to us that their social and political organisation was on a correspondingly high level ; for side by side with the monarchical form of Government which flourished south of the Ganges in Magadha, there existed on the north side of the river the Republics of the Licchavis and other clans whose administration was carried out through the agency of powerful Corporations of the citizens meeting in public assembly.

In short, what we find in the picture presented to us, is a microcosm of civilised humanity as it evolved and spread over the earth ; and we ask ourselves, if the vignette which we are given of the life and times of these Kṣatriya clans is broadly speaking a replica of innumerable other tableaux which go to the making of the vast and chequered panorama of human history, what is it that gives to it a quite outstanding importance of its own ?

To that question there can be but one answer ; it is the simultaneous appearance, as the most striking feature of the composition, of two dramatic figures, one a citizen of Vaiśālī, the other a member of the smaller clan of the Śākyas dwelling in the foothills of the Himalayas three or four hundred miles to the north west—two members of the fraternity of Śramaṇas, or wandering ascetics, whose teaching, differing no doubt in some at least of its philosophical connotations, achieved immortality by the stress which it laid in its ethical aspect, upon the doctrine of loving kindness (ahimsā) which five hundred years later on the shores of the Lake of Galilee, was reiterated with similar emphasis by another of the supreme figures in world history, that of Jesus of Nazareth.

Mahāvīra of Vaiśālī, Buddha of Kapilavastu, Christ of Nazareth ; how different a world should we not be living in to-day, I thought as the rumble of tank and the drone of aeroplane broke in upon my ear once more, if men had not turned their backs upon the code of conduct common to all three and expressed succinctly by Jesus of Nazareth when, in reply to a question on the subject of the greatest commandments of the law put by a spokesman of the Pharisees who sought to embarrass him, he replied simply—" Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

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As the rumble of tanks and the drone of the aeroplanes wakened me from my day dream, there arose in my mind a very different picture. In no city of the modern world, I thought, would a Mahāvīra, a Buddha or a Christ cut a more incongruous figure than in Berlin, or Munich, or almost any other German city. For here there has been evolved a philosophy of life and a code of conduct the very antithesis of those proclaimed these many centuries ago in the Ganges valley and on the shores of the Lake of Galilee. Throughout Germany, indeed, where totalitarianism has found its most complete expression, the virtues of Jainism, of Buddhism and of Christianity are ridiculed as the most contemptible of human weaknesses, and a will to power is stridently proclaimed as the governing principle of human conduct. All freedom, not action only but of thought also, is denied to the individual who is held to be of no account ; while God as the object of worship has been supplanted by the State.

In a system of which the central tenet is the purely pagan doctrine that might is right, there is clearly no place for any moral law ; and its absence has been made manifest by a whole series of appalling crimes, of which the sadistic persecution of the Jews and the almost incredible brutalities inflicted upon the hapless peoples whose lands have been overrun, are but examples. It is equally clear that amongst a people imbued with the ideas which form the basis of the German conception of the Reich, a high degree of racial arrogance and a widespread exaltation of war will be

outstanding characteristics. Even so, it might have been supposed that a whole people, in spite of the emphasis laid on the sense of satisfaction to be derived from the infliction of cruelty by a writer of the fame of Nietzsche, would scarcely have been found willing to raise pure cruelty to the level of the highest virtues. Yet this is precisely what they have been willing to do, and the explanation of this sinister phenomenon is to be found in the success of a campaign of propaganda extending over a long period of time. The leaders of German thought, and notably men like Clausewitch and Moltke, knew well, indeed, how to wean their people from any such weaknesses as were to be attributed to those whom they regarded as the decadent and effeminate races. The argument was almost childishly simple; war, according to Moltke, was in itself part of the universal order of things instituted by God—who when Moltke wrote had not been wholly superseded by the State—and the purpose for which it had been ordained, namely, the ennobling of the human race through suffering, must not be frustrated by any illogical attempt to humanise it. War was intended to be brutal, and the more brutal that it was and the greater the suffering that it caused, the better it served the purpose for which it had been ordained.

Neither was it military writers like Clausewitch, Moltke and Bernhardi alone who played upon the baser instincts of the people and by the demoralisation—using the word in its primary meaning—which they brought about, induced the desired degree of war mentality amongst them. Writers in many walks of life—Frederick the Great and Bismarck in the ranks of the politicians; Nietzsche among the philosophers; Mommsen, Sybel and Treitchke among the historians, are but a few of those who during the 19th century poured forth a stream of poisonous propaganda directed to a single end. And the harvest of this baleful sowing was garnered in a beerhall in Munich by the founder of the Nazi Party and his more immediate associates. There is no doubt that in his fevered imagination, Adolf Hitler, the inefficient corporal of the earlier world war, saw himself as the world's greatest superman and the German people of whom he was the archetype and preordained leader, as the chosen race, the Herrenvolk, high gods among puny mortals, destined to inherit the earth and to exercise domination over its peoples.

That there should exist a man suffering from these delusions is, in itself, a matter of little significance; it merely indicates the presence in the particular individual of a pathological condition well known to the medical profession under the name of paranoia, which frequently takes the form of persecutory, or ambitious mania. What is significant is the fact that a whole people should have allowed themselves to become hypnotised by so dangerous a charlatan. The explanation is to be found, of course, in the steady undermining of the nation's belief in the reality of spiritual and moral values, brought about by the insidious stream of propaganda of which a

mere indication has been given above. Much more might be said under this head; but there is no need to elaborate, for the evil teaching of a century is epitomised by Adolf Hitler himself in that most revealing and cynical of human documents, Mein Kampf. Moreover there is another aspect of the catastrophe in which mankind is involved which calls for comment, if any attempt is to be made to see it and its causes as a whole.

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It is not only the peoples of the aggressor States whose outlook upon life has become unbalanced by the spectacular achievements which during recent years have crowned the strivings of civilised man on the material plane. For if in the case of the aggressor States the inventive genius and skill of the scientist have been prostituted to the perfecting of man's capacity for making war, amongst the Western Democracies they have been directed too exclusively towards effecting increases in his material prosperity. The fatal mistake has been made, as a recent American writer has put it, of regarding civilisation "as a by-product of economic progress," whereas, "the essence of civilisation is a restraint, imposed by divine law or by reason, upon the instincts of man."[1] In short, in the case of the one as in the case of the other, man's outlook has become unbalanced because his progress on the physical plane has outstripped his advance along the moral and spiritual planes.

The theme is one on which much might be written; but it is to the future that we must look to redress the evils of the past, and what is vital in estimating the chances of the survival of civilisation is that there should be signs of a dawning realisation that for his moral and spiritual well being man must turn back once more to the simple truths taught him in the Ganges valley and in Palestine long centuries ago. Happily such signs are not altogether wanting.

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Here in England, even while the battle is at its height and it is still only with the eye of faith that the dawn of victory can be glimpsed on the far horizon, there are many signs that men's minds, occupying themselves with the planning of the new world which they hope to see rising from the ashes of the old, are permeated with an ever growing consciousness of the spiritual and moral issues involved. In the space at my disposal nothing more than an indication of the general trend of thought is possible; let two pointers suffice to serve my purpose.

The Atlantic Charter, signed by the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the President of the United States on August the 12th, 1941, is a great document of State and as such is primarily concerned with political

1. "A Time for Greatness", by Herbert Agar.

and economic issues. It is of all the more significance, therefore, that the word "spiritual" should find a place in its phraseology—the first time in all probability that the word has crept into any such State paper. In point 8 of the Declaration the two signatories proclaim their belief that—for practical reasons, certainly; but no less for *spiritual* reasons—all the nations of the world must come to the abandonment of forces; in other words that the pagan doctrine on which German authoritarianism is based, must give way once more to the Buddhist and Christian doctrines of loving kindness and unselfishness, which in their turn require that recognition be accorded to the right of the individual to be regarded as something more than a mere cog in the soulless mechanism of the Totalitarian State; to claim, indeed, as Mr. Herbert Agar, writing from the standpoint of Christianity, puts it, no less a thing than equality in God—"in the divine spark which gives abiding value to the individual soul."

That is the basis on which civilisation must stand if it is to survive that one and all, the casual labourer and the merchant prince, the crossing-sweeper and the dweller in palaces, the śūdra and the brahmin, are equal in God. And it is in consonance with the stress laid upon the preciousness of the individual soul in Christian teaching, that here in England Government and Parliament alike are devoting their attention to the education and upbringing of the individual child. And this brings me to my second pointer, chosen for the reason that the worthiness, or otherwise, of the new world to survive, must depend in the main on the fitness of the children of to-day to be its citizens.

I have spoken of education and upbringing; let it not be thought that in doing so I am guilty of tautology. Education rightly considered may, as a recent writer has observed, constitute a philosophy of life. But where and how often has education been rightly considered? The same writer answers the question when he says :— "If there is any truth in the recapitulatory hypothesis of the evolutionary biologist ... then morally every baby born is a stone-age baby and in a decade or so has to be pulled up from a stone-age morality to that of a civilised morality; whereas, on the other hand, knowledge is cumulative and each age inherits the inventions, the learning and the institutions of its predecessors;" and he concludes that "the problem of problems for education is how to speed up our ethics and to bring them into line with our scientific knowledge."[1]

The expression of the above view would be of less significance if it were not for the fact that the writer has put into a sentence what a large and growing number of people are thinking. There is, indeed, an increasing distrust of a system of education whose curricula are confined to secular subjects and a growing sense of the urgency of fostering in the mind of the

1. T. Everard M.A., in the Hibbert Journal, January, 1943.

pupil an awareness of spiritual and moral values; of raising him as Mr. Everard puts it, from the morality of the stone-age to that of civilisation. Evidence of this is widespread. A strong Committee appointed by the President of the Board of Education in 1941.[1] found a very general feeling that Christianity could not be called a failure, because it had never been tried and an instinctive desire, particularly among the young that it should be tried "both within and between the nations, and in no formal and conventional manner." They added that there was evidence from the higher schools, the Universities and various student and youth associations, that among the rising generation there was a movement of minds impatient of bare formularies, yet eager for the truth, "a feeling after God if haply they may find him." They accepted as fundamental and true, the view expressed by an earlier Committee that no boy or girl could be counted as properly educated, unless he or she had been made aware of a religious interpretation of life.

Much had already been done by the leaders of the denominations to smooth away the difficulties due to doctrinal differences, by collaboration on an agreed syllabus; and when, in July, 1943, the President of the Board of Education submitted to Parliament his scheme for the reorganisation of the educational system of the country, no feature of it excited more wide-spread interest than his proposal for giving religious education a more clearly defined place in the life and work of the schools, and his declaration that in order to emphasise the importance of the subject, provision would be made for the school day in all primary and secondary schools to begin with a corporate act of worship.

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I have travelled far from my rustic seat on the stone paved terrace outside my window, as was, indeed, inevitable when my musings began straying over the present plight of, and the future outlook for, the species to which was given—in a moment of sarcasm, it might also be thought—the title of *homo sapiens*. The occasion of their doing so was, as I have explained, the arrival of a letter which touched a chord of tender memory; and it is to that letter that these discursive musings must be regarded as the answer.

1. Committee of the Secondary School Examinations Council, under the Chairmanship of Sir Cyril Norwood.

DESPATCHES AND REPORTS IN INDIAN HISTORY

By

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I

Just a century ago the great German historian Leopold Von Ranke wrote, "I see a time coming when we shall build modern history no longer on the accounts even of contemporary historians, except where they possessed original knowledge, much less on derivative writers; but on the relations of eye-witnesses and the original documents."

The modern period of Indian history may be said, in one sense, to have begun about the middle of the 17th century,—say the year 1658 when Shah Jahan's reign ended at Delhi. At that time the epoch of the Wars of Religion having been closed by the Peace of Westphalia (1648) and the English Restoration (1660), the progressive peoples of western Europe were set free to direct all their energies to the expansion of eastern trade and the increase of their national wealth; the golden East was invaded by the hungry West, in the humble disguise of traders. The same thing happened in India again, but in an intensified military form (soon leading on to political domination), after 1763, when the Seven Years' War having come to an end, vast numbers of demobilised European soldiers turned their steps to this fabled land of wealth and plenty.

Happily for the student of Indian history, from about this year 1658 has been preserved a class of our historical documents which exactly satisfy Ranke's criterion, and they grow in volume and variety in the course of the next hundred years, till from 1763 onwards we have English and French, Persian and Mārāṭhi—and though this last class is as yet little known and of small size and range, Rājasthānī,—records which give us "the relations of eye-witnesses." These relations naturally fall into two classes, namely (*a*) official despatches or the letters of military commanders, governors and diplomatic agents describing what *they* themselves have done or seen done by their subordinates, and (*b*) news-reporters' accounts of what they have seen or heard done by others, i.e., things of exactly the same type as modern journalistic messages.

Now, it is obvious that a wide empire can be administered from the centre only by means of extensive letter-writing and calling for regular local reports. This necessity was felt as early as the Persian empire of Darius,

about which we read, "To each of the satraps a royal secretary (i.e., writer) was attached, who attended to the receipt and despatch of the correspondence between the king and the satrap." (*Cambridge Ancient History*, iv. 197). The system was of still earlier origin, as we can judge from the Tel-el-Amarna tablets; it was one of the necessities of Nature.

Coming down to India and to more modern times, we find a *fully deve-loped* recording system for the first time under Akbar. Here again, we must distinguish between the Court diarist and the press-reporter (if the latter term can be used when there was no press and no publicity of the news; and the report was contained in a hand-written "news-letter" for perusal by a private or royal patron). The tenth *Ain* of Book II describes a regular officer, the Recorder of Court incidents, whose duty[1] was to attend the royal court daily and "write down the orders and doings of His Majesty, whatever the heads of the departments report, His Majesty's remarks, appointments, gifts etc. the arrival of reports (from the provinces) and the minutes thereon, extra-ordinary phenomena, harvest, etc." (*Ain-i-Akbari*, tr. i. 258). The example thus set by the Mughal Emperors was imitated by their vassal princes, many of whom still maintain an officer called the *parchā-wālā*, for writing down the most trivial details of the daily doings of the Raja or Nawab and the occurrences of their darbar.

From the capital the system was spread to the provinces. When in De-cember 1579, Akbar divided his empire into twelve *subahs* and organised a regular and uniform administration for them, he appointed to each province, in addition to the governor, the *diwān*, the *bakhshi* (inspector of the forces), the judge, etc., also a *Waqā'-navis* or Recorder of events. (*Akbarnāmah*, tr. iii. 413). A little later, one of his highest councillors suggested to Akbar that "a daily journal of events should be obtained from all the cities and towns" (*Akbarnāmah*, tr. iii, 559). Jahangir continued this arrangement and highly praised it, remarking, "Much gain and great advantage are to be brought about by it, and information is acquired about the world and its inhabitants." (*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, tr. i, 247).

II

In the Persian language we have a profusion of despatches from local officials and commanders of detachments or specially deputed agents sent to the Central Government at Delhi. A despatch announcing a military success was technically called a *Fath-nāmah* or "letter of victory". These, as may be easily imagined, were often highly exaggerated in tone.[2] The English reader

1. Done by a body of 14 clerks, two by rotation attending daily.
2. And sometimes falsified as to facts, e.g., when a victory was "written in the name of" or in other words, officially ascribed to a prince and not to the general who really won it.

may remember a ludicrous example of such perversion of facts in a famous work of fiction, *Haji Baba of Ispahan*. I have found truth outdoing fiction in point of exaggeration, among the despatches of one of Aurangzib's grandsons, Muizz-ud-din, to that Emperor, penned by *munshi* Mādho Rām. The most sober and reliable accounts of victories in the Persian language are the despatches of Mirza Rajah Jai Singh I in his campaigns against Shivaji and Adil Shah (1665-1666), written by his Secretary Udirāj. The exaggeration of numbers in documents of this class and in the historical narratives based on them, may be explained away, as a natural defect of the mentality of that age and not cases of deliberate falsification. The *Cambridge Mediæval History*, in commenting on the numbers alleged to have been engaged in the Crusades, justly remarks, "all these general estimates are merely pictorial in character!" (V. 297).

Except in this one point of numbers, the military despatches in the Persian language are often of the highest degree of accuracy and rich in significant details. On the last battle of Panipat (1761), I have found two Persian narratives of contemporaries—though not strictly despatches—no way inferior in clearness and correctness to the best European historical despatches; these are Kāshirāj's diary of what he saw and did as an eye-witness and the "Life of Najib-ud-daula" written by Sayyid Nur-ud-din Husain, the agent of ex-wazir Ghāzi-ud-din Imād-ul-mulk, who was very close to the scene and in the know of everything. These two more than compensate us for the lack of "press-reports" (*ākhbār*) on that historic battle.

Every high official, both civil and military,—these two categories were often fused into one,—and every vassal prince of the Empire of Delhi, and even the French mercenary captains (like De Boigne and Perron), besides the British Residents at the courts of the Indian Powers,—kept a *munshi* or Persian secretary for writing all his letters to the Indian princes and their own Indian subordinates (except inside the same Rajput State), and also for interpreting the Persian letters and news-reports (*ākhbār*) that reached him. In almost every case, these *munshis* kept with themselves copies of the letters which they wrote for their masters and others, afterwards collected them together, in a classified form, added a formal preface and colophon, and sent them forth into the world as examples of their literary skill. This collected form has preserved many letters of the highest historical importance from the loss to which stray documents are subject. We owe thanks to the literary vanity of these writers.

III

Besides the despatches of high officers to their royal masters, we have in the same Persian language, a very much larger number of documents consisting of Court-diaries and news-reports,—the latter two forming really one and the same class. *Ākhbārāt-i-Darbār-i-mu'ala* is the special name of the

reports of the occurrences and sayings at the public *darbār* of the Delhi Emperor, taken down on the spot and transmitted to the writers' absent employers. Similar reports of the *darbār* proceedings and news circulating at the Court or camp of the Nawāb of Oudh, the Nizām of Haidarābād, Sindhia, Holkar, Ranjit Singh of Lahore, etc. were taken down and sent off by the scribes posted there to their masters.

Every prince of the blood, provincial governor general or vassal prince, when absent from the imperial Court used to employ a writer (*waqi'a-navis*) to write and send to him reports of the doings and speeches at his Sovereign's court. Similarly, in the reverse direction, there were posted imperial agents at the provincial headquarters[1] and the camps of generals detached on campaigns, charged with the duty of sending to the Central Government periodical reports of local occurrences, which were often read out openly at the Emperor's daily *darbār* and thus got incorporated in the *Ākhbārāt-i-Darbār-i-mu'ala*.

These Government news-writers were of three classes, in the most developed form of the Mughal intelligence department: (1) *Waqi'a-navis*, (2) *Sawānih-nigār*, and (3) *Kufia-navis* or *harkārah*. The *Waqi'a-navis* was the more regular and public reporter of the two, while the *Sawānih-nigār* was of the nature of a secret reporter on important cases only; the latter was intended to be a spy and a check on the former! At a later stage, as a check on this check (namely the *Sawānih-nigār*), a third set of spies were appointed, called *Khufia-navis* (or secret-writers). These last, in the late 18th century, were popularly called *harkārahs*, though this term usually means 'couriers of news' or mail-runners. The *Khufia-navis* was a most confidential agent. He reported to the imperial wazir on local events without any communication with the authorities of the place, who often did not even know his name. The news-reports were sent to an officer of the Central Government named the *Dārogha* of *Dāk Chauki*, i.e. Superintendent of Posts and Intelligence, who handed them *unopened* to the Wazir for submission to the Emperor.

Owing to the paucity and high price of hand-made paper in those days and the necessity of minimising the load of the letter-carriers (who travelled in pairs, called *juri*, and carried the letters enclosed in bamboo cylinders called *nalo*),—these *ākhbār* or *waqā'i* sheets were made extremely terse, their language pared down to the bare bones of the facts and figures. But on occasions of greater importance or interest they were liberal of description. Indeed, these reporters, by long practice of the professional craft, had developed quite a modern journalistic sense of "news value" and never failed to

1. Secret news-reporters appointed from the capital to the provinces were an important element of the administration of the Abbasid Khalifs. (*Camb. Med. His.* IV, 283).

report in detail any marvellous or unnatural occurrence, which illustrated the credulity and taste of that age. The diplomatic reports in the Marathi language, in the late 18th century, are an exception to this rule of brevity, and they give us full information, as I shall describe later.

Of these imperial court news-letters we possess a vast mass, sent to the Rajahs of Jaipur by their Darbār agent, dating from the accession of Aurangzib (1658) till about 1730. These were written on small slips of paper, about 6½ inches by 4 inches, one sheet for each day. Sometimes there is no entry except the date and the remark, "His Majesty did not hold the morning darbār" or "His Majesty did not hold the evening darbār." When the events were numerous, more than one slip was used for that day. Of the mass of these news-letters that came to Āmber (the old capital of the Jaipur State), bundles covering 26 years were borrowed by Lt.-Col. James Tod more than a century ago and deposited by him in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (in London). The remainder, covering the other years of Aurangzib's long reign of 51 lunar years, (with gaps for a few years), are preserved in the Jaipur State record office. These *latter* have been recently sorted, repaired, and copied. Similar *Ākhbārāt-i-Darbār-i-Mual'a* (i.e., Delhi imperial Court diaries) are found in small batches, here and there, but of a much later date than the Jaipur collection, e.g., 36 days of the year 1743 in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, and a larger number, covering the years 1753-56, in the Peshwas' *daftar*, Poona.

The Jaipur archives possess, in addition to these reports of the Emperor's Court, another class of reports, entitled *Siāhā-i-Hazur*, which record the occurrences and speeches at the camp or court of the Rajahs of Jaipur. These are of great value too, because the Jaipur Rajahs had, since the days of Akbar, played a very important part in the general history of the Mughal Empire. Unfortunately these papers have not been as yet copied.

IV

A change in the contents and importance of these diaries of the imperial Court of Delhi was caused in the latter half of the 18th century by the revolution in the fortunes of the Mughal dynasty. At the end of the year 1759, the Pādshāhi fell under an eclipse, when after the murder of the Emperor Alamgir II, his heir Ali Gauhar (Shah Alam II) became a fugitive and a political pensioner or prisoner of the British, and did not return to Delhi till January 1772. Again, at the end of 1784 he took Mahadji Sindhia as his protector and regent, so that the centre of gravity of Delhi politics shifted from the capital to the camp of Sindhia, the Emperor's keeper, and despatches in the Marathi language rose to primary importance.

The supreme value of these court-diaries to Indian history, will be illustrated here by one example, in which light from every other source fails us. It is well known that according to the popular tradition in Rajputana the

death of Mirzā Rājah Jai Singh I (1667) was caused by poison administered by his second son, Kirat Singh, in consequence of which accusation the Kachhwa nobles have ever since that year debarred Kirat Singh's branch of their royal family (the house of Kāmā) from adoption as heir to the throne of Jaipur in the case of a failure of natural heir. (See Tod's *Rajasthan*, Annals of Amber, Vol. ii, Ch. 1, the end). I was the first to prove (in 1907) from contemporary Persian sources that at the time of Mirzā Rājah's death at Burhānpur, it was ascribed to poisoning by his *munshi* Udirāj, and Kirat Singh far from having been the murderer, himself led the infuriated Kachhwa soldiery in an attack on Udirāj for avenging his father's death on the culprit. And now, two court *ākhbārāts* of this very time give the true facts of that great Rājah's death,—quite a natural one and under circumstances which are quite credible. These documents had lain in the Jaipur archives, untouched and ungarbled ever since they were written in September and October 1667, and they have been brought to light only recently (1940). I translate them here (from Persian).

News of the Imperial Court

27th Rabi'-ul-āwwal, regnal year 10th = 6th September, 1667.

'Āqil Khān reported to the Emperor,—"Isfandiyār Beg, who had been appointed as a bailiff to conduct Mirzā Rājah Jai Singh to Lāhor, has written a letter to me to say that, at the time when Mirzā Rājah started from Burhānpur for the imperial court, he fell down from his horse, received very severe injuries to his leg, and died on the Burhānpur road . . . ." The Emperor remarked, "He was a capable officer of the Crown and a highly trustworthy Rājah (Rājah-i-'umda i'tiqād.")."

News of the Imperial Court

22nd Jamādi-ul-āwwal, r. yr. 10th = 30th October, 1667.

The Emperor asked Kirat Singh, the son of the late Mirzā Rājah Jai Singh, "How was the deceased Rājah wounded in the leg?" He replied, "One day as he was mounting to the back of his elephant, the foot of the ladder was not properly planted, and so the leg of the Rājah was injured. From that day his illness began and in a few days he died.'"

Here is a piece of novel intelligence from a Marathi report :—

Lālā Sevak Rām was the agent of the Peshwa's Government at the Court of the Governor General of Bengal. On 11th November 1784 he wrote a letter to Nānā Fadnis, which gives some details of Warren Hastings' last visit to Benares which are not to be found elsewhere. I translate extracts from this Marāthi despatch below.

"At Lucknow the Baḍe Sāhib (G. G.)—[alarmed at the news of Mahadji Sindhia having brought the Emperor Shāh 'Ālam under his control].

by all kinds of means brought Prince Jawān Bakht (eldest son of Shāh 'Ālam) under his own influence, and came back with him to Benares. On 22nd September, he paid a visit to the Shāhzāda [Jawān Bakht] held a secret consultation with him for three hours, and summoning Nawāb Sā'dat Ali Khan, the brother of the Wazir [of Oudh], presented him to the Prince . . . That day the Baḍe Sāhib got the Prince's elephant ready, seated Sā'dat Ali in the back seat (khawāsi), brought him to the Gyān bāpi in Benares city, where the Emperor Alamgir had constructed a mosque on the original site of the Vishveshvar temple, and made him perform his namāz there. Next day [should be 24th September], for witnessing the Vijayā Dashami show, the Baḍe Sāhib taking Sadat Ali Khan, [Ghulām] Ali Khan and (the Shāhzāda's maternal uncle) Akbar Ali Khan, and ten or twelve English officers on elephants, came to the field of Chitrakut, where the Rāmlilā is celebrated wonderfully well . . . . In this city is the mansion of Dundā Bhagat, the *diwān* of Rājah Chait Singh, in which his wife and children reside. Some mischievous person told the Baḍe Sāhib that two *krors* of Rupees in cash lay hidden in the diwān's house. The Baḍe Sahib placed a guard over the house and had the floor dug up for seven days; he also caused the ancient seat of Sadāshiv near the Govardhan hillock to be dug up for ten or twelve days. But nothing was discovered at either place. So, the Baḍe Sāhib has been put to great shame. All the Lālās of the city are alarmed. In fact, this Government is in great straits for money on account of its indebtedness. In the English dominions up to Benares, there are 15 to 20 thousand Telingas (musketeers) forming two *campoos*; their pay has been in arrears for seven or eight months."

V

It may be here remarked that the news-letters from Delhi and other important cities in Upper India, even when written for the English Council at Calcutta or the Maratha Governments of Poona, Ujjain (Sindhiā) and Maheshwar (Ahalyā Bāi Holkar), were all composed in Persian, though their covering letters were in English or Marathi. On arrival they were translated into English (or Marathi) by the Persian department of the respective Governments. Persian (and latterly Urdu) was the official language at Jaipur and Alwar, till our own days. The British in India, as well as the French adventurers who made money in Hindustan in the 18th century, were great collectors of these news-reports though written for others, and their collections have escaped destruction by having been sent to London and Paris. There are several thousand such sheets (all towards the very end of the 18th century and the first eighteen years of the 19th) in the British Museum and the India Office Library, London; a few in Paris, and a very valuable Munshi's diary of Col. Camac's campaign in Malwa against Mahadji Sindhia (1780-81) in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Claud Martin, the famous French engineer

in Oudh service, made a collection of over 1,500 sheets (1781-85) which is now in the British Museum; and the Lalsot campaign of Mahadji Sindhia (1787) is copiously illlustrated by two reports daily—one from Mahadji's camp in Rajputana and the other from the Emperor's *darbār* in Delhi,—throughout the three months without a break.

The ākhbārāts containing news of Ranjit Singh of Lāhor, (referring to his early years, before 1814) have been mostly translated into English and published by the Panjab Government, under Professor Garrett's editorship. The other Persian ākhbārāts (beginning of the 19th century) in the Peshwas' *daftar* await study and publication. I know of only one other very large collection of Persian ākhbārāts in India, namely those that reached Kalé the Poona envoy at the Court of Haidarabad, ranging from 1772 to the end of the century; but these too await study and even unveiling.

VI

The historical records in the Marāthi language that can be rightly called primary sources, all belong to the 18th century; they fall into three divisions: (*a*) despatches, (*b*) envoys' reports, and (*c*) news sheets. The first of these two differ from each other in many important respects, though they are both written by officials to their masters.

The historical letters in the Persian language are clearly marked off from those in Marathi by certain features. First, the latter class are almost always careless about dates; most of the Marathi letters omit the year and many even the month; while in several of them the writer gives no date at all and we have to infer it from the context, or in exceptional cases, when an exact man like Nānā Fadnis carefully endorsed them on the top corner with the date of their arrival, from that information. Besides this defect, one cannot help feeling that the Marathi records, both of the (*a*) and (*c*) categories, are too concise, scrappy and very often obscure by reason of their extreme brevity and their writers' lack of literary skill. The elegant art of the Persian *munshis* does not seem to have been admired or cultivated in the arid Deccan plateau.

The Marathi official records, for all practical purposes are confined to those of the Peshwas, i.e., the Poona Government, while the extant records of Gwalior, Indore and Baroda are very scanty and unimportant from the wider historical outlook when we go to the period before 1800 A.D. After that year, records in the English language gain primacy in quantity and quality, even for Mahārāshtra's internal affairs.

The State records of the Peshwas are dispersed between two places,—in the Peshwas' Daftar, Poona, down to 1774 and in the Menavli Daftar of the village of Menavli, in the Satara district, after that year. The latter legitimately belonged to the Peshwas' Government; but when Nānā Fadnis during

his long years of supreme power in the Poona Government, received all the despatches that came from the subordinate officials of that Government, he kept them in his own private residence, and these after his death (in 1800) were removed to his village home at Menavli by his widow. The former collection is also enriched by a large number of papers of historical importance found among the private records of historical families, which were seized by the Inām Commission and brought to the Poona Alienation Office, whence they were never returned to their true owners. The cream of the Poona archives has been sifted, properly arranged and published by the Bombay Government in 45 volumes (7801 pages), as *Selections from the Peshwas' Daftar*, edited by Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai.

But here news-letters are very few and seldom of the regular ākhbārāt type. The so-called *Peshwas' Diaries* are not at all diaries in the English sense of the term, but only accounts of daily income and expenditure, which however occasionally give an indirect information of great value. The Peshwas' itineraries, which are very full and accurately dated, are bare lists of dates and place-names, and valuable only as enabling us to form a correct skeleton of their movements and marches.

VII

We now pass on to the last section of primary sources in the Marathi language for the 18th century (really its latter half only), namely the envoys' reports. These are as superior to documents of the same class in the Persian language as ordinary Persian military despatches and news-reports are to their Marathi rivals. In these Marathi envoys' letters we find a mastery of expression, clearness and cogency of language, and power of reporting long discussions accurately and with an eye for the essential points only,—which are a pleasing contrast to the Persian Secretaries' sickening rhetorical flourishes, bombastic flattery of their own sovereigns, and excessive verbosity in consequence of which the few relevant facts have to be dug out of a heap of words. I have in mind here the letters of Āpāji Rām Dābholkar and Sadāsiv Dinkar, Nānā Fadnis's agents in Sindhia's camp, and in a lesser degree, but less only to these two, the despatches of Mahādev Govind Hingané, the Poona envoy at the Delhi Emperor's Court.

The first two of these writers, I may be pardoned for saying it, were no whit inferior in literary power or skill in observation to the Venetian ambassadors whose despatches from the Court of Tudor England are so highly valued in Europe. Their position was delicate and they had to use considerable tact at every step and weigh their words carefully, as there was an almost intolerable tension for long years between their master and the Court to which they were accredited. Their prose style is an object of study and admiration. We find no case of despatches being written by them in a code (ank-pallavi); therefore, no cypher being available, they had at times to use

a veiled language, and yet not so veiled as to baffle their masters. Many of their contractions we can easily interpret with a little detailed knowledge of the history of the time and place. E.g., *ga-kār-ātmak* (name beginning with G) stands for Govind Rao; *na-kār* in the particular context for the Nizām. Holkar's officials deputed to Sindhia's camp complain against the latter as "our friend"! and so on. *Hari-bhaktas* stands for the Marathas (pious Hindus!) Some code-names of persons and places, especially with reference to British India, were used, and Parasnis has printed a key to them.

The extant envoys' despatches are from the agents at the courts or camps of the Delhi Emperor, Mahadji Sindhia, Ahalyā Bāi Holkar, the Maharajah of Jodhpur, the Nizām, Tipu Sultan, the Governor General at Calcutta, the Portuguese Government of Goa,—the last three of the above list being rather meagre in number. The Marathi despatches written by Daulat Rao Sindhia and his officers and the news-letters in the same language written by agents in Poona that reached Pandit Lālji Ballāl Gulgulé, Sindhia's "Resident" at Kota, are of first-rate importance for the years 1792-1803, and compensate us for the closing of the Menavli daftar in 1794,—though the earlier portion of these Kota archives down to the year 1791 is meagre and scrappy in the information it gives. A selection from this source under the expert editorship of Rāo Bahādur Govind Sakhārām Sardesāi, is being arranged for publication as soon as the war clouds are dispersed.

ŚAKUNTALĀ, THE CHILD OF NATURE

By

Dr. S. K. BELVALKAR, M.A., PH.D.

The English poet Wordsworth speaks of a certain Lucy in these words :

> Three years she grew in sun and shower,
> Then Nature said, "A lovelier flower
> On earth was never sown.
> This child I to myself will take :
> She shall be mine, and I will make
> A lady of my own.
>
> "Myself will to my darling be
> Both law and impulse ; and with me
> The girl in rock and plain,
> In earth and heaven, in glade and bower,
> Shall feel an over-seeing power
> To kindle or restrain."

In another poem composed "A few miles above Tintern Abbey" the same poet tells us how he was prone to recognise—

> In Nature and the language of sense,
> The anchor of my purest thoughts, the nurse,
> The guide, the guardian of my heart, and soul
> Of all my moral being.

while in his poem styled "The Excursion" he has delineated several aspects or stages of the relation that can subsist between Man and Nature. Critics are agreed that what Wordsworth affords us in these and other poems of his are not so many examples of what is known as the Pathetic Fallacy, whereby man simply transfers his own feelings, emotions and sentiments to "inanimate" objects. The thoughts and impulses that Man is apt to derive from Nature, she really has the power to communicate to him, because between Nature and Man there is at work one self-same soul or spirit, so that an inward communion between the two is as readily and legitimately possible as between two sympathising human friends ; and for such communion, there is not always required the use of articulate language.

The philosophical basis of the above "Theory of Nature" which Wordsworth is known to have believed in and promulgated, comes very near to the view-point of India's own Vedānta Philosophy, which asserts that one and the same Ātman pervades men, animals, plants and the whole creation. That this was Kālidāsa's own creed goes without saying ; but if a poetic proof of it be necessary, the most convincing would be the speech of Urvaśī (*Vikramor-*

vaśīyam, Act IV, passage 57, Pandit's edition), who, cursed to become a creeper and subsequently restored to her original form, has preserved for us a record of her experience as a creeper[1] * :

अब्भन्तरकरणाए मए पच्चक्खीकिदवुत्तन्तो खु महाराओ । [अभ्यन्तरकरणया मया प्रत्यक्षीकृतवृत्तान्तः खलु महाराजः ।].

In fact, with the Hindu belief in Transmigration of the Soul, this can be accepted as the normal experience in such matters, so that it is possible to assert that objects in Nature can feel and communicate their thoughts just as well as human beings. The most apposite example of the kind, however, is to be found in Śakuntalā, the heroine of Kālidāsa's *Abhijñānaśākuntala*, who was every inch a true Child of Nature, and whom the Poet has not merely described in words, but has ushered before us in flesh and blood and made her speak and feel and act in the way such a child would normally feel and act ; and that constitutes the real interest of the following investigation.

Born of Menakā, the Heavenly Nymph, from sage Viśvāmitra, whose fierce penance led the apprehensive Lord of Heaven (Indra) to send down the Nymph to tempt him and frustrate his penances, the mother abandons the infant in the forest and returns to Heaven. Thus left forlorn, the birds of the air take pity upon her and feed her, until she is found by sage Kaṇva, who names her Śakuntalā (lit. 'fed by birds') and adopts her as his foster-child.

As companions of her childhood, sage Kaṇva assigned to his foster-child not only the two friends Anasūyā and Priyaṁvadā—whose names sufficiently indicate their carefully contrasted character—but the creepers Mādhavī, Atimuktakī and, above all, Śakuntalā's creeper-sister† Navamālikā, fondly named "Grove's Moonlight" ; the Bakula, Keśara, Sahakāra (mango) and other trees planted and tended with care and kindness ; the deer, antelopes, peacocks, swans, cuckoos and cakravākas : not to mention the Sylvan Deities. To assiduously tend, water, feed and minister to the comforts of all these inmates of the Āśrama (besides the welcoming of occasional guests) was by Kaṇva enjoined as a daily task upon Śakuntalā, who soon grew to like that task and find therein the real joy of service : compare[2] :

ण केवलं तादणिओओ । अत्थि ममावि सोदरसिणेहो एदेसु । [न केवलं तातनियोगः । अस्ति ममापि सोदरस्नेह एतेषु ।]

or the well-known stanza[3] of Kaṇva in Act IV—

> पातुं न प्रथमं व्यवस्यति जलं युष्मास्वपीतेषु या
> नादत्ते प्रियमण्डनापि भवतां स्नेहेन या पल्लवम् ।

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* N.B.—For the convenience of readers not so familiar with the original words of Kālidāsa, I have numbered the text-quotations in the essay *seriatim*, and translated them into English at the end.

† Ladābahiṇiā : cf. Asyāṁ ahaṁ tvayi ca samprati vītacintaḥ. ["In regard to her, and, now, in regard to thyself also, I have become freed of all anxiety."]

आद्ये वः कुसुमप्रवृत्तिसमये यस्या भवत्युत्सवः
सेयं याति शकुन्तला पतिगृहं सर्वैरनुज्ञायताम् ॥

All these her comrades of the animal and vegetable kingdom became, each one of them, instinct with a life and an individuality of his own no less distinctive than that of Anasūyā or Priyaṁvadā. Naturally, they called forth from Śakuntalā acts of service and friendliness varying with the varying circumstances of each. Thus the creepers had not only to be daily watered and nurtured, but, whenever they showed signs of budding youth, they had to be mated with befitting trees; or if they, like Śakuntalā herself subsequently, did not wait for the elders, but made it a *svayaṁvara* or mating by self-choice, they had at least to be felicited upon their great good fortune. So too, the tender fawns needed particular care when, chewing blades of grass for the first time, they injured their tender mouths. There was one such in particular that had lost its mother at birth; and Śakuntalā took upon herself the office of a mother to this youngling, fondly naming it Dīrghāpāṅga (lit. long-eyed) and tenderly applying the *Ingudī* oil to its injured lips and, in fact, discharging for him all the functions of a loving mother, just as Dame Nature had done in the case of Śakuntalā herself when mother Menakā had heartlessly abandoned her. Compare Śakuntalā's words[4] in Act IV—

वच्छ । किं सहवासपरिचाइणिं मं अणुसरसि । अचिरप्पसूदाए जणणीए विणा वड्ढिदो एव्व । दाणिं पि मए विरहिदं तुमं तादो चिन्तइस्सदि । [वत्स । किं सहवासपरित्यागिनीं मामनुसरसि । अचिरप्रसूतया जनन्या विना वर्धित एव । इदानीमपि मया विरहितं त्वां तातश्चिन्तयिष्यति ।]

or, the stanza preceding, where Kaṇva feelingly describes how Śakuntalā used to tend the orphaned youngling[5]:

यस्य त्वया व्रणविरोपणमिङ्गुदीनां
तैलं न्यषिच्यत मुखे कुशसूचिविद्धे ।
श्यामाकमुष्टिपरिवर्धितको जहाति
सोऽयं न पुत्रकृतकः पदवीं मृगस्ते ॥

In consequence of such a constant and continuous exchange of sympathy and service, Śakuntalā and all these companions of hers, human and others, were expected to exhibit a perfect understanding of each other's needs and moods, divining and anticipating each other's thoughts and hastening to further and fulfil each other's wishes expressed or suppressed. It was nothing strange, therefore, that Priyaṁvadā could read correctly Śakuntalā's innermost thoughts as the latter empties her pitcher into the basin of Vanajyotsnā and gazes at her wistfully[6]:

अणसूए । जाणासि किंणिमित्तं सउन्दला वणजोसिणिं अदिमेत्तं पेक्खदि।......। जहा वणजोसिणी अणुरूवेण पाअवेण संगदा, अवि णाम एव्वं अहं वि अत्तणो अणुरूवं वरं लहेअं ति । [अनसूये । जानासि किंनिमित्तं शकुन्तला वनज्योत्स्नामतिमात्रं

प्रेक्षते ।......। यथा वनज्योत्स्ना अनुरूपेण पादपेन संगता, अपि नाम एवमहमपि आत्मनोऽनुरूपं वरं लभेयेति ।]

But, is it not equally legitimate to inquire whether Vanajyotsnā, Śakuntalā's "creeper-sister", could not have done the same? So too—to take another illustration—if Anasūyā and Priyaṁvadā were capable of devising ways and means for bringing the Hero and the Heroine together by the expedient of Śakuntala's love-letter, which Priyaṁvadā was to deliver into Duṣyanta's hands[7]—

तं सुमणोगोविदं करिअ देवदासेसावदेसेण से हत्थअं पावइस्सं । [तं सुमनोगोपितं कृत्वा देवताशेषापदेशेन तस्य हस्तं प्रापयिष्यामि ।]—

would not the Bakula or the Kesara tree or the creeper Vanajyotsnā think of accomplishing something in the same line to bring about a similar result? That these would be no idle questions to ask in regard to Śakuntalā's Āśrama companions as Kālidāsa himself paints them, follows from the circumstance that later, when Śakuntalā starts to go to her husband's house, it is not only Anasūyā and Priyaṁvadā that get together for the occasion auspicious decorations like[8]—

गोरोअणं, तित्थमित्तिअं, दुव्वाकिसलआणित्ति मङ्गलसमालम्भणाणि [गोरोचनं, तीर्थमृत्तिका, दूर्वाकिसलयानीति मङ्गलसमालम्भनानि]—

not forgetting that garland of Bakula [Kesara] flowers which, we are told, Anasūyā had specially set aside for the occasion[9]:

एदस्सिं चूदसाहावलम्बिदे णारिएलसमुग्गए एदंणिमित्तं एव्व कालन्तरक्खमा णिक्खित्ता मए बउल [केशर] मालिआ । [एतस्मिंश्चूतशाखावलम्बिते नारीकेलसमुद्गके एतन्निमित्तमेव कालान्तरक्षमा निक्षिप्ता मया बकुल [केशर] मालिका ।]—

but, as Kālidāsa purposely tells us, even the Āśrama trees had sent their own real (not imaginary) marriage presents[10]:

क्षौमं केनचिदिन्दुपाण्डु तरुणा माङ्गल्यमाविष्कृतं
निष्ठ्यूतश्चरणोपभोगसुलभो लाक्षारसः केनचित् ।
अन्येभ्यो वनदेवताकरतलैरापर्वभागोत्थितै-
र्दत्तान्याभरणानि तत्किसलयोद्भेदप्रतिद्वंद्विभिः ॥

This is my problem number 1.

Similarly, if, before encouraging Śakuntalā's passion for Duṣyanta, Anasūyā and Priyaṁvadā are so anxiously debating amongst themselves as to whether the King can prove a deserving object for Śakuntalā's love[11]:

अणसूए । दूरगअमम्महा अक्खमा इअं कालहरणस्स । जस्सिं बद्धभावा एसा सो ललामभूदो पोरवाणं । ता जुत्तं से अहिलासो अहिणन्दिदुं । [अनसूये । दूरगतमन्मथा अक्षमेयं कालहरणस्य । यस्मिन् बद्धभावैषा स ललामभूतः पौरवाणाम् । तद्युक्तमस्या अभिलाषोऽभिनन्दितुम् ।]

and subsequently, when the King himself actually and unexpectedly appears on the scene, if the same companions are seen to take, on their own part, all precautions to ensure a successful sequel to the love intrigue by observing[12] :

वअस्स । बहुवल्लहा राआणो सुणीअन्ति । जह णो पिअसही बन्धुअणसोअणिज्जा ण होदि तह णिव्वाहेहि । [वयस्य । बहुवल्लभा राजानः श्रूयन्ते । यथा नः प्रियसखी बन्धुजनशोचनीया न भवति तथा निर्वाहय ।]—

are we not entitled to expect that some other companions of Śakuntalā from the plant or animal life ought to have been shown by the Poet as being capable of exhibiting an equal solicitude for Śakuntalā's future welfare?

This is my problem number 2.

Finally, in that well-known and lavishly praised parting scene in Act IV, wherein we see the whole Nature grieving at the impending separation from Śakuntalā[13] :

उग्गलिददब्भकवला मिआ परिच्चत्तणच्चणा मोरा ।
ओसरिअपण्डुपत्ता मुअन्ति अस्सू विअ लदाओ ॥
[उद्गलितदर्भकवला मृग्यः परित्यक्तनर्तना मयूर्यः । अपसृतपाण्डुपत्रा मुञ्चन्त्यश्रूणीव लताः ॥]—

and where, to forestall the dreaded consequences of the curse of Durvāsas, the two friends, at the final moment of parting, remind Śakuntalā of the ring of Duṣyanta, casually desiring her to make use of it if and when needed, but unwisely keeping from Śakuntalā all knowledge of the curse on the flimsy pretext of saving her some present grief[14] :

रक्खिदव्वा क्खु पकिदिपेलवा पिअसही । [रक्षितव्या खलु प्रकृतिपेलवा प्रियसखी ।]—

and wherein even father Kaṇva, possessing as he did the Prophet's prevision* of the great ordeal of grief and suffering through which his daughter was destined to pass, would not yet convey to her any indication or warning, not only in the text-book advice that he specifically reads to her[16] :

शुश्रूषस्व गुरून् कुरु प्रियसखीवृत्तिं सपत्नीजने etc.—

but even through that most stoically conceived message to the King[17] which he dictates seated under the shade of the obliging Kṣīravṛkṣa :

अस्मान् साधु विचिन्त्य संयमधनानुच्चैःकुलं चात्मन-
स्त्वय्यस्याः कथमप्यबान्धवकृतां स्नेहप्रवृत्तिं च ताम् ।—

begging for his daughter no special concessions, but merely an equality of opportunities and freedom to work out her own destiny :

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* Compare Mārīca's words[15] in Act VII—तपः प्रभावात् प्रत्यक्षमेतत् तत्र भवतः कण्वस्य ।

सामान्यप्रतिपत्तिपूर्वकमियं दारेषु दृश्या त्वया
भाग्यायत्तमतः परं न खलु तद्वाच्यं वधूबन्धुभिः ॥

In this parting scene, I repeat, where we see Śakuntalā heedlessly marching, so to say, right to the very brink of the precipice in a mood of confident hopefulness,* her friends and father alike conspiring (although from different motives) to keep her utterly in ignorance of the gravity and imminence of the dangers lowering over her head—the father in particular vainly endeavouring to suppress his sombre thoughts†—why should we not suppose that some of the sub-human friends of the Heroine could have sympathetically caught up the innermost thoughts of the Sage and found for them, in their own language of looks, signs and movements, an expression which could have, at least momentarily, touched the fringe of Śakuntalā's consciousness, even though it might have subsequently been driven out of it by some extraneous circumstance, so that when she reaches the court of Duṣyanta she remains absolutely unprepared for the storm that is to descend upon her with a tragic crash?

This is my problem number 3.

Now, my study of Kālidāsa's *Abhijñānaśākuntala* all these years has fully convinced me that if, instead of the *Śākuntala* of our uncritically edited text-books, we had before us the real original *Śākuntala* as Kālidāsa wrote it, all the above problems would meet their instant and correct solutions. Such an edition is, however, not yet within sight.‡ The problem of the *Ur-Śākuntala* deserves to be tackled in the same manner in which the allied Mahābhārata problem is being tackled, the underlying principles of textual reconstruction being the same in both cases, with this important difference that, while in constituting the present critical text of the B. O. R. Institute's edition of the Great Epic, what is known as "Higher Criticism" comes very rarely in evidence, this will have to be more frequently appealed to in the case of Kālidāsa's *Magnum Opus*, because, speaking relatively, the problem in the

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* Compare[18] : परिणए एव्व संदेहो । कुदो दाणिं मे दूराहिरोहिणी आसा । [परिणय एव संदेहः । कुत इदानीं मे दूराधिरोहिण्याशा ।]

† The best evidence of the state of Kaṇva's mind is the stanza[19] :

अभिजनवतो भर्तुः श्लाघ्ये स्थिता गृहिणीपदे
विभवगुरुभिः कृत्यैस्तस्य प्रतिक्षणमाकुला ।
तनयमचिरात् प्राचीवार्कं प्रसूय च पावनं
मम विरहजां न त्वं वत्से शुचं गणयिष्यसि ॥

which, although designed to comfort and cheer up Śakuntalā, is still thrown into the plaintive, dirge-like Hariṇī metre. That this is the Poet's conscious hit, should follow from the circumstance that there occur only three stanzas in the Play thrown into this particular metre, and they have each its own *raison d'être*.

‡ I tried to evoke the interest of the "Vikrama Bi-Millennium Celebrations" for it, but without much success.

Play is unitary and far less complicated. For obvious limitations of space I shall not attempt the indicated textual reconstitution here, but content myself with the demonstration that, assuming the correctness of the reconstituted text, we are able to deduce therefrom a conduct on the part of the Nature-companions of Śakuntalā which is just what one is led to expect if Kālidāsa, like the true Hindu that he was, had regarded objects in Nature as being instinct with life and sentiency.

In a paper I contributed in 1925 to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volume, Orientalia, Pt. 2, pp. 349-359, I put forth the view that the order of the speeches in Act I of the *Abhijñānaśākuntala* from the speech behind the curtain of the Heroine[20] :

इदो इदो पिअसहीओ । [इत इतः प्रियसख्यः ।]

to the point where the bee emerges from Vanajyotsnā's basin[21] :

अम्मो । सलिलसेअसंभमादो णोमालिअं उज्झिअ वअणं मे महुअरो अहिवट्टदि ।
[अहो । सलिलसेकसंभ्रमान्नवमालिकामुज्झित्वा वदनं मे मधुकरोऽभिवर्तते ।]

has gone wrong in the current editions of the Play. The Bengali recension here gives 35 speeches, the Kāśmīrian recension 27, and the Devanāgarī *cum* South-Indian recension advocated by Cappeler, only 22. The story given by these sets of passages falls into three moments : the loosening of Śakuntalā's tight garment (***Valkalaśithilīkaraṇa***), Śakuntalā's approaching the Kesara tree upon a supposed beckoning from the tree (*Kesarasamīpagamana*)[22]:

एसो वादेरिदपल्लवङ्गुलीहिं तुवरेदि विअ मं केसररुक्खओ । जाव णं संभावेमि ।
[एष वातेरितपल्लवाङ्गुलीभिस्त्वरयतीव मां केसरवृक्षकः । यावदेनं संभावयामि ।]

and Śakuntalā's watering the Navamālikā creeper (***Navamālikāsiñcana***). The available printed editions give the *Valkalaśithilīkaraṇa* before the ***Kesarasamīpagamana***. Only the recension contained in the unique birch-bark MS., Bombay Govt. Collection, No. 192 of 1875-76 (now deposited in the B. O. R. Institute), gives precedence to the *Kesarasamīpagamana*. The same MS. also tells us (through a stage-direction) that the King had concealed himself behind this very Kesara tree. No wonder, in that case, if the Kesara tree got confused by the unexpected presence of a stranger, and beckoned sister Śakuntalā (whose assigned task it was to attend to all Āśrama visitors) to his side. For, why should Śakuntalā have interpreted the slight flutter in the leaves of the Kesara, caused by a stray breeze, as the tree's call to her? Not a blade of grass can move without some purpose : that was the Hindu Poet's article of faith. Kālidāsa elsewhere tells us, in so many words, that trees are in the habit of making birds (and, let us add, bees and movements of leaves) as vehicles of their thoughts : compare[23]—

अनुमतगमना शकुन्तला
तरुभिरियं वनवासबन्धुभिः ।

परभृतविरुतं कलं यथा
प्रतिपत्तीकृतमेभिरीदृशम् ॥

When Śakuntalā approaches the Kesara tree, that movement is described in the editions by the stage-direction *Tathā karoti* [Does accordingly]; the birch-bark MS. alone makes it, *Rājñaḥ saṁnikarṣam āgacchati* [Approaches the presence of the King]. The ensuing comparison of the Heroine to a creeper by the side of THIS tree[24]—

जाव तुए उवगदाए लदासणाहो विअ अअं केसररुक्खओ पडिभादि । [यावत् त्वयोपगतया लतासनाथ इवायं केसरवृक्षकः प्रतिभाति ।]

gains in suggestive value only if the King is behind the tree ; and the *Valkalaśithilīkaraṇa* effected while the Heroine is so near the Hero (whose presence the ladies, of course, do not suspect) has a *śṛṅgāric* value which Kālidāsa of all poets was not going to miss. There is much, therefore, in that stage-direction, which should prove that the MS. is, in some passages at any rate, in the line of authentic text-transmission. Only a fool or a pedant would think of changing that tell-tale stage-direction to the flat *Tathā karoti* of the editions !

The speeches that follow after this moment in the watering-scene, and particularly the words of Śakuntalā[25] :

हला । रमणीए क्खु काले इमस्स लदापादवमिहुणस्स वइअरो संवुत्तो । णवकुसुमजोव्वणा वणजोसिणी, बद्धपल्लवदाए उवभोअक्खमो सहआरो । [सखि । रमणीये खलु कालेऽस्य लतापादपमिथुनस्य व्यतिकरः संवृत्तः । नवकुसुमयौवना वनजोत्स्ना:, बद्धपल्लवतयोपभोगक्षमः सहकारः ।]

are sufficiently indicative of what was passing in the innermost thoughts of Śakuntalā. Priyaṁvadā's guess quite hits the mark and confuses the Heroine. But could not the other Nature-companions—and particularly the Vanajyotsnā that formed the theme of the conversation—have divined the thoughts ? Certainly, yes : and the Creeper goes one better, and, having seen the concealed King and believing him to be an appropriate consort for sister Śakuntalā, she exercises the already-married elder sister's privilege of arranging to bring her younger sister into contact with her would-be lover. Hence, we must assume, she it is that purposely starts the bee ! Śakuntalā had been watering so many trees and creepers that morning. Why should a bee have started only from the basin of the Vanajyotsnā ? "Mere chance", some one would reply ; but in a world believed to be permeated by an indwelling Spirit, chance has to be ruled out.

The Kesara tree and the creeper Vanajyotsnā thus prove themselves Śakuntalā's real loving companions.

This is how I propose to solve my problem No. 1.

To be able to give a satisfactory solution of the next problem would sorely test one's understanding of Kālidāsa's *Śākuntala*. In that famous Repudiation-scene in Act V when, to her utter consternation, Śakuntalā finds

that the ring is unaccountably missing, as a last desperate attempt to awaken the King's dormant memory, she hits upon the expedient of narrating the Dīrghāpāṅga incident[26]:

णं एक्कदिअहे णोमालिआमण्डवे णलिणीपत्तभाअणगदं उदअं तुह हत्थे संणिहिदं आसि। तक्खणं सो मे पुत्तकिदओ दीहापङ्गो णाम हरिणपोदओ उवट्ठिदो। तुए अअं दाव पढमं पिअउत्ति अणुअम्पिणा उवच्छन्दिदो उदएण। ण उण दे अपरिचआदो हत्थब्भासं* उवगदो। पच्छा तस्सिं एव मए गहिदे सलिले णेण किदो पणओ। तद तुमं इत्थं पहसिदो सि। सव्वो सगन्धेसु विस्ससिदि। दुवे वि एत्थ आरण्णआ त्ति। [नन्वेकदिवसे नवमालिकामण्डपे नलिनीपत्रभाजनगतमुदकं तव हस्ते संनिहितमासीत्। तत्क्षणं स मे पुत्रकृतको दीर्घापाङ्गो नाम हरिणपोतक उपस्थितः। त्वया—अयं तावत् प्रथमं पिबतु—इत्यनुकम्पिनोपच्छन्दित उदकेन। न पुनस्तेऽपरिचयाद्धस्ताभ्याशमुपगतः। पश्चात् तस्मिन्नेव मया गृहीते सलिलेऽनेन कृतः प्रणयः। तदात्वमित्थं प्रहसितोऽसि। सर्वः सगन्धेषु विश्वसिति। द्वावप्यत्रारण्यकाविति।]

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* This very word is used by Śakuntalā a little later to describe her own condition when, convinced of Duṣyanta's perfidy by the unintended *double entente* of the words *amānuṣīṣu, antarikṣagamanāt, dvijaiḥ* and *parabhṛtaḥ* in the stanza[27]:

स्त्रीणामशिक्षितपटुत्वममानुषीषु
संदृश्यते किमुत याः प्रतिबोधवत्यः।
प्रागन्तरिक्षगमनात् स्वमपत्यजात-
मन्यैर्द्विजैः परभृतः खलु पोषयन्ति॥

she wrathfully bursts out[28]:

अणज्ज। अत्तणो हिअआणुमाणेण पेक्खसि। को दाणिं अण्णो धम्मकञ्चुअप्पवेसिणो तिणच्छण्णकूवोवमस्स तव अणुकिदिं पडिपदिस्सदि। [अनार्य। आत्मनो हृदयानुमानेन प्रेक्षसे। क इदानीमन्यो धर्मकञ्चुकप्रवेशिनस्तृणच्छन्नकूपोपमस्य तवानुकृतिं प्रतिपत्स्यते।]

And upon Duṣyanta's words[29]:

भद्रे। प्रथितं दुष्यन्तस्य चरितम्। तथापीदं न लक्ष्यते।

she flings back a spirited reply (unaccountably omitted by all editors!) which is quite worthy of the daughter of the fiery sage Viśvāmitra[30]:

तुम्हे य्येव पमाणं जाणध धम्मत्थिदिं अ लोअस्स।
लज्जाविणिज्जिदाओ जाणन्ति हु किं ण महिलाओ॥

[यूयमेव प्रमाणं जानीथ धर्मस्थितिं च लोकस्य। लज्जाविनिर्जिता जानन्ति खलु किं न महिलाः॥]

And then finally adds[31]—

सुष्ठु दाव सच्छन्दआरिणी किदम्हि जा अहं इमस्स पुरुवंसपच्चएण हिअअसत्थधारस्स मुहमहुणो हत्थब्भासं उवगदा। [सुष्ठु तावत् स्वच्छन्दचारिणी कृतास्मि याहमस्य पुरुवंशप्रत्ययेन हृदयशस्त्रधारिणो मुखमधुनो हस्ताभ्याशमुपगता।]

See below for the propriety of the phrase हिअअसत्थधारस्स (carrying a *weapon* [concealed] in the heart) instead of हिअअविसस्स (having *poison* in the heart).

Here, is it not legitimate to ask why Śakuntalā chose this particular incident? The choice of the Navamālikā bower is of course significant. But why did Duṣyanta fetch—presumably from the adjacent river-canal—water in a lotus-leaf receptacle? And why did Dīrghāpāṅga present himself in the bower just at this juncture? It is easy enough to brush aside these as idle questions, as the products of some hyper-sensitive critic; and they would probably be no more than that, if Kālidāsa had not been a consummate artist who weighed his words, and whose every hit counted. Years ago I invited scholars to let me have their reasons as to the choice of the incident. Some few responded, but not quite satisfactorily. Here is my own reading of the situation:

The bower incident was meant to remind the King—for that is the main point—of his having given the ring. It must therefore have taken place immediately before or after the gift of the ring. When, later, the missing ring is recovered, and, by the consequent termination of the curse, the King's memory returns, this is how he describes what did take place[32]:

तदा स्वनगराय प्रस्थितं मां प्रिया सबाष्पमाह, कियच्चिरेणार्यपुत्रः प्रतिपत्तिं दास्यतीति। पश्चादिमां नाममुद्रां तदङ्गुलौ निवेशयता मया प्रत्यभिहिता—

एकैकमत्र दिवसे दिवसे मदीयं
नामाक्षरं गणय गच्छसि यावदन्तम्।
तावत् प्रिये मदवरोधगृहप्रवेशं
नेता जनस्त्वत्समीपमुपैष्यतीति॥

The above assurance given by the King apparently satisfied Śakuntalā. She ceased weeping, and was ready to put implicit faith in her lover's words. Thereupon, following the time-honoured Hindu custom, Śakuntalā's tear-soiled face had to be washed. The water in the lotus-leaf receptacle was what Bhāsa * in a similar situation calls *mukhodakam*. The coming in of the Dīrghāpāṅga in the bower at this juncture was due, not to his being thirsty,—for there was the running canal-water close by for the purpose—but because the fawn wished to give his foster-mother a warning against too readily putting trust into this stranger, who from Dīrghāpāṅga's view-point, was no more than a hunter carrying weapons to kill innocent deer. Dīrghāpāṅga has clearly shown his distrust of the King by refusing to drink from his hand.

This Dīrghāpāṅga is actually introduced on the stage in Act IV. Śakuntalā has just taken leave of her creeper-sister Vanajyotsnā twined around her mate, the mango tree[33]:

वणजोसिणि। चूदसंगदावि पच्चालिङ्ग मं इदोगदाहिं साहाबाहाहिं। [वनज्योत्स्ने। चूतसंगतापि प्रत्यालिङ्ग मामितोगताभिः शाखाबाहाभिः।]

and is mentally carving out a rosy picture of her own married life with the King Duṣyanta. The next object that she notices is a doe who, like Śakun-

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* Cp. *Svapnavāsavadattam*, Act IV, towards the end.

talā herself, was expecting shortly to be a mother[34] :

ताद । एसा उडजपज्जन्तचारिणी गब्भमन्थरा मिअवहू जदा अणघप्पसवा होई

तदा मे कंपि पिअणिवेदइत्तअं विसज्जइस्सह । [तात । एषोटजपर्यन्तचारिणी गर्भम-

न्थरा मृगवधूर्यदानघप्रसवा भवति तदा मे कमपि प्रियनिवेदयितारं विसर्जयिष्यथ ।]

Her own picture of herself as the mother for the moment drives out her earlier picture of herself as the wife and the Queen; and we might imagine that Śakuntalā is engaged in mentally contrasting the treatment that she herself would be giving to her own would-be son. At this precise psychological moment her foster-son Dīrghāpāṅga pulls her up by the garment, and seems to ask whether, in abandoning him then, she was behaving any better than her own mother Menakā? I am, however, disposed to think that Dīrghāpāṅga's appearance here was to give his foster-mother another parting warning about Duṣyanta, whose perfidy was, at long last, apparent even to the simple Anasūyā[35] :

एव्वं णाम विसअपरंमुहस्स वि जणस्स ण एदं ण विदिअं जधा तेण रण्णा

सउन्दलाए अणज्जं आअरिदं । [एवं नाम विषयपराङ्मुखस्यापि जनस्य नैतन्न विदितं

यथा तेन राज्ञा शकुन्तलायामनार्यमाचरितम् ।]

If Śakuntalā's mind had not been obsessed by her day-dreams, she probably would have received and understood all these warnings which her comrades in Nature sought to give her, as she ere this had understood the beckoning of the Kesara tree in Act I.

This is my solution to my problem No. 2. Fortunately, except in minor details, the textual question does not come in the way of our reaching this solution, once we accustom ourselves to read Kālidāsa's masterpiece with an inquiring and sympathetic mind.

The third problem I have discussed in full details in a paper I contributed to the "Asia Major", Vol. II, fasc. 1, pp. 84-87, as early as 1923. It refers to the Cakravāka incident in Act IV. There are three Prākrit speeches connected with it, out of which, the shorter or the Devanāgarī recension gives the second and the third, omitting the first, while the Bengali gives the first only, omitting the other two. The Kāśmirian MS. gives all the three, and fully satisfies the demand of higher criticism. The speeches in their correct order are as follows[36]—

अनसूया—सहि । ण सो अस्समपदे अत्थि चित्तवन्तो जो तए विरहिज्जन्तो अज्ज ण ऊसुओ कदो । पेक्ख ।

पुडइणिवत्तन्तरिअं वाहरिओ णाणुवाहरेदि पिअं ।

मुहउव्वूढमुणालो तइ दिट्ठिं देइ चक्काओ ॥

[सखि । न स आश्रमपदेऽस्ति चित्तवान् यस्त्वया विरह्यमाणोऽद्य नोत्सुकः कृतः । प्रेक्षस्व । पद्मिनीपत्रान्तरितां व्याहृतो नानुव्याहरति प्रियाम् । मुखोद्व्यूढमृणालस्त्वयि दृष्टिं ददाति चक्रवाकः ॥]

शकुन्तला—हला । पेक्ख ।

णलिणीवत्तन्तरिअं एसा पिअसहअरं अपेक्खन्ती ।

आरडइ चक्कवाई दुक्करमहअं करेमि त्ति ॥

[सखि । प्रेक्षस्व । नलिनीपत्रान्तरितमेषा प्रियसहचरमप्रेक्षमाणा । आरटति चक्रवाकी दुष्करमहं करोमीति ॥]

प्रियंवदा—सहि । मा एव्वं मन्तेहि ।

एसावि पिएण विणा गमेइ रअणिं विसाददीहअरं ।

गरुअं पि विरहदुक्खं आसाबन्धो सहावेदि ॥

[सखि । मैवं मन्यस्व । एषापि प्रियेण विना गमयति रजनीं विषाददीर्घतराम् । गुरुकमपि विरहदुःखमाशाबन्धः साहयति ॥]

Here the whole incident is designed to convey to Śakuntalā a representation of the fate that is in store for her. The Cakravākī calls, but the Chakravāka—through causes beyond his control, his heart being full of Śakuntalā—does not answer. So before long would Śakuntalā be herself calling, and Duṣyanta would not answer! Anasūyā administers a consolation to her friend, which she could do with some confidence because they had in their possession the Royal ring which was to terminate the curse. Hence we find that in their very next speech the friends are reminding Śakuntalā of the ring. From another point of view the Cakravāka, in a sort of a spiritual telepathy, may be said to be taking up from Kaṇva the grief to which the stoic Sage refuses to give an opening, and so the Cakravāka tries, in his own ways, to warn Śakuntalā of the ordeal of sorrow and suffering through which she has to pass. That Śakuntalā misses this warning, as she missed that of Dīrghāpāṅga, was due to her pre-occupation: to her mind not being attuned to receive them. The Friends seem to have understood the Cakravāka, and so immediately bethink themselves of the signet-ring.

From the above discussion it will have become sufficiently evident that Kālidāsa has depicted Śakuntalā as a true "Child of Nature" privileged to have intimate intercourse and communion with the objects in Nature in the midst of which she was brought up. A true understanding of the inner significance of Kālidāsa's *Śākuntala* would be impossible unless we understand the Poet's "Philosophy of Nature". That sufficient attention to this aspect of the Play has not been hitherto paid has to be attributed to the circumstance that, *pace* Pischel and Patankar and Cappeler, a really critical edition of the Play still remains a desideratum.

English Translation of the Original Texts.

1. "By me, possessed of inward senses, hath been indeed witnessed the condition and happenings of Your Majesty."

2. "Not merely because my father hath ordered it: I, for my own part, do also entertain a fraternal affection for these."

3. "She, who would not think of drinking water herself whilst your thirst remained unslaked; who, although fond of decorating [her person], would not, for very affection, deprive you of even a leaflet; to whom the time of your first blossom used to be an occasion of festivity: she, Śakuntalā, is now leaving for her husband's house: may ye all assent to it!"

4. "My child, why wouldst thou follow me who am ready to forswear thy company? Thou hast been—is'nt it so?—reared up when thy mother died so soon after thy birth. Now too, separated from me, father Kaṇva is there to look after thee."

5. "To whose mouth, pierced by the prickly-ends of Kuśa grass, was by thee applied, to heal the wound, the oil of *Ingudi*: that dear foster-son of thine, whom thou didst feed on handfuls of *Śyāmāka* rice: he is [now] loath to leave thy track."

6. "Anasūye, knowest thou wherefore Śakuntalā is gazing so intently upon Vanajyotsnā? . . . Just as Vanajyotsnā hath been joined to a befitting tree-mate, would that I also do secure a lover befitting me!"

7. "I shall conceal it under flowers and make it fall into his hand under pretext of its being [part of the] remainings of divine worship."

8. "Yellow-pigment, holy-earth, Dūrvā-ends, and other auspicious decorations."

9. "In that palm-leaf basket slung upon the mango-branch I have kept aside—for this very occasion—a Bakula [Kesara] garland that retains its fragrance a long time."

10. "An auspicious silken garment, white as the moon, was put forth by one tree; by another was exuded lac-dye pleasant for use on the soles. From the others arose, up to the finger-joints, the palms of Sylvan Deities, that vied with the sprouting-up of their own tender-leaflets, and they proffered [all these] ornaments."

11. "Anasūye, far gone in love as she is, she is incapable of brooking loss of time. Where her affection is fixed, he is the ornament of the Paurava-race. So it behoves us to congratulate her upon her love."

12. "Friend, it is reported that Kings have several objects-of-love. Manage things in such a way that this our friend would not become an object of commiseration for her friends-and-relations."

13. "The deer have dropped down their Darbha-morsels; the peacocks have abandoned dancing; the creepers, showering down faded leaves, are, as though, shedding tears."

14. "Certainly, our dear friend with her tender constitution has to be saved [from the shock of grief]."

15. "Through prowess of penance all this comes within the direct knowledge of the revered Kaṇva."

16. "Render service unto the elders; towards co-wives display conduct as towards dear companions"; etc.

17ab. "Take good note of us as being persons to whom self-restraint is their [real] treasure; also note well thy high lineage, as well as that course of her love towards thee, brought about somehow, without [the agency and initiative of] the relations":

17cd. "Such as she is, thou art to view upon her—amongst thy wives—as one deserving normal treatment*: anything over and above this, it is not for the relatives of the bride to express."

18. "There is doubt even about the marriage: whence now my far-soaring hopes?"

19. "Having attained the praiseworthy status of the "mistress-of-the-house" unto thy husband of noble descent, and being engrossed every moment in those activities of his, great on account of his high-position; before long, having given birth to a son, like the Eastern-quarter the purifying Sun, thou, my child, wilt no longer reckon thy grief born of separation from me."

20. "This way—this way, my dear friends!"

21. "Helas! Owing to the flurry caused by the pouring of the water [into the basin], this bee, abandoning the Navamālikā, is now hovering around my own face!"

22. "Here, with his fingers in the form of leaflets, is this Kesara tree, looking as though hurrying me up to him. So I shall honour him [by doing his wish]."

23. "Śakuntalā hath been, by these trees—her brethren during forest residence—permitted to make her departure, seeing that such a melodious cooing of the cuckoos has been turned by them into an answer on their own behalf."

24. "So that, with thy nigh approach, this Kesara tree appears as though associated with a creeper."

25. "Holla! Felicitous indeed is the time that has brought about the union of this creeper-and-tree couple. The Vanajyotsnā is youthful in her fresh blossom; the mango-tree, putting forth tender leaves, is well-disposed for enjoyment.

26. "Dost thou not remember? On a certain day, under the Navamālikā bower, thou hadst in thy own hand water filled in a vessel made of lotus leaves. At that nick of time my foster-son named Dīrghāpāṅga, the deer-cub, approached. 'Let him drink first': with such a compassionate thought thou didst cajole him with the water. But, through lack of familiarity, he

* A *double entente* in *sāmānya-* (i—"normal"; ii = *sā*+*mā*+[a]nya-; or iii = *sā*+*mānya-*), is possible, but hardly probable.

would not allow thee *to handle him nigh*. Subsequently, when the same water was taken by me in the hand, he fancied it. Then thus didst thou laugh out : 'Every one puts faith in his own kind : both of you are foresters !' "

27. "In the case of women, their untutored cleverness is in evidence even amongst the non-human species : what to say of those that are endowed with intelligence? Prior to soaring-up in the mid-region, the Parabhṛts (i. the cuckoos ; ii. those vicariously reared up : e.g. court-maids or Apsarases) forsooth do know how to cause their younglings to be brought up by other Twice-born (i. birds ; ii. Brahmins)."

28. "Ignoble One! Thou art judging by the measure of thy own mind. Who now would care to emulate thee that art wrapping thyself within a cloak of saintliness : that art comparable to an old hay-hidden well?"

29. "Good Lady, Duṣyanta's career is before the public ; yet is THIS not to be detected therein."

30. "Alone thou art arrogating all authoritativeness, and claiming [exclusively] to know what is righteousness. Thinkest thou that the females —too much overcome by inborn-modesty as they are—can know nothing at all?"

31. "So, now, meet it is that I be here turned into a self-indulgent female, because, putting implicit faith in his Puru-lineage, I have allowed this person of honeyed mouth, possessing weapon in his heart, *to handle me nigh*."

32. "Then, when about to start for my Capital, my beloved said to me with tears : 'After how long will the Son-of-the-Noble-one afford me [public] acceptance?' Thereat, while putting upon her finger this my signet-ring, I made the reply :

'Upon this [ring], one each for every day, do thou count the letters of my name. Precisely the time thou dost reach the last, there will be seen approaching thee a servant of mine, who shall lead thee to receive entrance into my private-residence.' "

33. "Vanajyotsne, although united with the mango-tree, do thou nevertheless give me an embrace with these thy branch-hands that are extending in this direction."

34. "Father! This doe with the burthen in her foetus, and so roaming [only] up to the outskirts of our cottage : when she has had a safe delivery, do thou thereupon send me some one as reporter of the welcome tiding."

35. "This indeed cannot remain unknown even to a person naturally averse to worldly matters, that that King hath behaved unto Śakuntalā in a manner unworthy of an Ārya."

36. ANASŪYĀ—Why, Friend! There exists not within the bounds of this hermitage, any being endowed with mind who, about to be

separated from thee, is not this day rendered disconsolate. Just see :

This Cakravāka, though addressed [by her], does not address back his deaf-mate that is partitioned off from him by a lotus-leaf ; and dropping down from his mouth the lotus-filaments, is fixing his gaze upon thee.

ŚAKUNTALĀ—Helas! Just see :

This [female-]Cakravākī, unable to sight her mate that is partitioned off from her by [just] a lotus-leaf, is crying aloud piteously: 'How hard is my lot!

PRIYAṀVADĀ—Do not, Friend, think this way :

Even she—separated from her mate—lives through the night, which appears all the longer for the grief. For, even the great pain of separation, the tie of hope does make one endure."

AN EPISODE IN THE HISTORY OF BUDDHISM IN SOUTH INDIA

By

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Since my last attempt to trace the outline of the history of Buddhism in South India[1], I have had occasion to go further into the references to Buddhists and Buddhism in Tamil literature ; and I think it will be of some use to bring together the more important ones among these references here and also to consider in some detail what appears to have been one of the historic episodes in the repeated contests between Śaivism and Buddhism in the south, to which I made a brief reference in the paper just mentioned.

Working with imperfect indexes as they now turn out to be, I permitted myself to make the statement 'that only Jñānasambandar and Tirumangai seem to mention them (Buddhists) particularly and their dress and habits in their verses'.[2] This is clearly wrong and there are found equally clear and definite references to Buddhists and their practices and doctrines, of course always with a sneer, in the hymns of Appar and Sundaramūrtti and in some of the āḻvārs besides Tirumangai. Appar is well known as the senior contemporary of Jñānasambandar, and both have been assigned on very proper grounds to the seventh century A.D. Sundaramūrtti came about a century or more later.

The position of Māṇikkavāśagar, the other great protagonist of Śaivism most celebrated in legend as the opponent of Buddhism, is unfortunately not yet satisfactorily settled ; whether he preceded the other saints or came after them is still a subject of debate, and I will not enter into this vexed question here, but merely refer the reader to my *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom* where I have summed up the main arguments on either side. The disputation that took place at Chidambaram between Māṇikkavāśagar and the Buddhists from Ceylon and the legends that have gathered round it have been discussed fully by G. U. Pope in his superb edition of the *Tiruvāśagam*, and there is no need to reproduce the story now. But it is perhaps worth noting that the episode is briefly mentioned in a verse in the *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal-Purāṇam* (The Purāṇa of Sacred Sports) by Vēmbarrūrar *alias* Perumbarrappuliyūr Nambi (ch. 30 v. 51) ; it does not in any sense differ from the legends reviewed by Pope and is of interest as being perhaps the earliest extant literary

1. *The Maha-bodhi* Vol. 50, Apl.-June, 1942, pp. 157-67.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 163.

reference to the story of the dispute. The *Periya Purāṇam* of Śekkiḻār does not mention either Māṇikkavāśagar or his disputation with the Buddhists. This omission by Śekkiḻār who follows the tradition coming down from Sundaramūrtti is one of the strongest arguments for Māṇikkavāśagar being assigned to a date after the time of Sundaramūrtti, the last of the three saints whose hymns together constitute the sacred collection known as the *Dēvāram* (The Divine Garland). The story that the Buddhists with whom Māṇikkavāśagar had his disputation came from Ceylon may also be taken to point in the same direction ; for there was no dearth of Buddhists and Buddhist institutions in South India in the seventh century A.D. as may be seen from Hiuen-Tsang's account of Drāviḍa and Malakūṭa and also from the episode in Jñānasambandar's life to be discussed presently in some detail. This consideration is, however, by no means conclusive. For the only legitimate conclusion that can be drawn from it is that Māṇikkavāśagar did not belong to the same age as the hymnists of the *Dēvāram* ; he might have lived before or after their time, and those who stand for an early date for Māṇikkavāśagar may argue that as Buddhists continued to flourish in South India up to the fourteenth century A.D. after the coming of Buddhism, Māṇikkavāśagar must be taken to have preceded that age and followed that of the Śangam poets who know only of Vedic religion and indigenous cults but nothing of Buddhism or Jainism. We should not also lose sight of Aśoka's claim to have sent missionaries of the faith to South India to preach the Dhamma there, though of the practical results of these missions we have no definite knowledge.

Appar makes several references to Buddhists[3] but two of them deserve particular notice as in both they are mentioned along with the Jainas and another sect called Kuṇḍar. In the hymn on Tirutturutti (IV. 42) we read in v. 9 :

> Kuṇḍarē Śamaṇar Buddhar kuṟiyaṟiyādu ninṟu
> kaṇḍadē karuduvārgaḷ karuttennādoḷimin nīrgaḷ

i.e. have no regard for the faith of the ignorant Kuṇḍas, Jainas and Buddhas who take account only of what they see,—a dig at the philosophical position of the sects which accept only pratyakṣa (with anumāna) as pramāṇa. Again in the hymn on Tirunāgai-kārōṇam (VI. 22) we have in v. 10 :

> manaituṟanda vallamaṇar tangaḷ poyyum
> māṇburaikkum manakkuṇḍar tangaḷ poyyum
> śinai podinda cīvarattar tangaḷ poyyum
> meyyenṟu karudādē pōda neñjē,—

i.e. 'O intelligent mind, do not take for truth the falsehood of the hardy

3. See pp. 61, 67, 144, 212, 228, 233, 248, 254, 269, 316, 317 and 359 of the Śaiva Siddhānta-mahāsamājam edition, (1941).

Jainas who have abandoned their homes, of the falsehood of the boastful-minded Kuṇḍar, or the falsehood of those (Buddhists) who cover their limbs with cīvara (monk's robes)'.

Now who are the Kuṇḍar who seem to figure as a third sect by the side of the Jainas and the Buddhists in both these passages? I am not able to answer this question with any confidence. One suggestion that occurred to my friend Mr. Vaiyapuri Pillai, Reader in Tamil (Madras), with whom I discussed this question may be mentioned here though no finality can attach to it until manuscript authority is forthcoming in support. It is this. In the first two lines of the last citation given above from Appar, it seems probable that the amaṇar who renounced family life are contrasted with kuṇḍar who hang on to it, and if this surmise is accepted a slight emendation of the text will be seen to support the view;—instead of *manakkuṇḍar* we have only to read *manaik-kuṇḍar*, (kuṇḍar living in their own homes), and the phrase will be a perfect contrast to *manai-turanda amaṇar* of the preceding line. The Kuṇḍar would be the laity among the Jainas. And this seems to get some support from the phrase once employed by Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi (end of tenth century A.D.) in whose works there are found frequent references to the Kuṇḍar. That phrase is *amaṇāna van kuṇḍar*[4] i.e. the strong Kuṇḍar, who are Jainas, which shows that the Kuṇḍas were a section among them. But one is not sure how far Nambi who came long after Appar's date may be taken to represent the correct position regarding these sects and sub-sects. And to make matters worse, there is another text of the same author in his *Tiruvandādi* (v. 28) which reads: *uṟi-kaip-paṟitalaik-kuṇḍar* i.e. the Kuṇḍar with slings in hand and heads made bald by the hair being plucked,—showing thus that Kuṇḍar are here identified with Jaina monks. But if the Kuṇḍar were identical with Jaina ascetics, it is very difficult to account for the way in which Appar mentions them separately from the śamaṇas in the passages cited above.

There is one other reference to Kuṇḍar, and this is from Jñānasambandar, which seems to suggest that Kuṇḍar were the Jainas who wore robes as opposed to those who did not. It occurs in the hymn on Kīḻait-Tirukkāṭṭup-paḷḷi (T, 5, 10):

> oṇ-tuvar-ār tugil-āḍai mey-pōrttucci-koḷāmai-yuṇḍē-yuraikkun
> kuṇḍargaḷōḍ-araik-kūṟaiyillār kūṟuvadāṅguṇamalla kaṇḍīr

i.e. 'Know ye that there is no good in the words of those who have no clothes on their waists and of the Kuṇḍar who cover their bodies with clothes coloured with bright red ochre, and eat their meal in the forenoon.' Here Kuṇḍar are said to cover themselves with red robes unlike the naked Jainas; the śvetāmbara Jain monks though their name means 'white-robed' are seen

4. *Āḷuḍaiya Piḷḷaiyār Tirukkalambakam*, v. 8.

today wearing the orange-coloured robes used by monks of other persuasions; and if this practice may be assumed to have prevailed in the days of Sambandar, this passage should be taken to mention two schools of Jainas; otherwise the kuṇḍar of this text must be taken to be Buddhists. One explanation of the word Kuṇḍar I have heard may also be noted here. Kuṇḍu means a depth or hollow; and hence Kuṇḍan means a man of low character, a heretic. But this explanation of the term as a word of abuse which seems to be followed in Tamil Lexicon also does not by any means constitute a satisfactory account of the question raised by the references cited above about Kuṇḍar. This discussion which has to be left in this unsatisfactory state shows how little we know definitely, and even Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi knew, of the details of sectarian history which loomed large in the eyes of contemporaries.

Departing a little from the chronological order, we shall take up the references to Buddhists in Sundaramūrtti next. There are quite a number of such references[5] in which they are called Thērar, Śākkiyar and so on, but only one of them is of sufficient general interest for being noticed here. In v. 10 in the *Dēvāram* on Tiru-vāḷkoḷi-puttūr we have the phrase: *iruṇḍuṇ tērarum niṉṟuṇ Śamaṇum* i.e. the Buddhas who eat their meal seated and the Jainas who do so standing. This distinction between the adherents of the two faiths known to the Tamil Śaiva canon, does not seem to occur anywhere else; and being unable to say how far this distinction is true to facts, and if so, what the point of the contrast is, I must leave these things to be explained by scholars who have better knowledge of the subject.

Before leaving Sundaramūrtti I should like to cite one verse from him which, though it does not bear on the Buddhists but relates to the Jains, is still of great general interest as an index to the attitude of intense hostility to the heretical sects, taken up by the Śaiva saints of the day. The very presence of the vihāras and paḷḷis, some of which are known to have been in a very flourishing condition, was an irritation to the Śaivas, and the following verse is strongly reminiscent of the things they saw and heard and did not like. The verse is No. 9 in the hymn called Namakkaḍigal-āgiya adigaḷ i.e. The God who is our Lord. It reads:

> Namaṇanandiyuṅ-Karumavīranun-Darumasēnanum eṉṟivar
> Kumaṇa-māmalaik-kuṉṟupōl-niṉṟu taṅgaḷ kūṟaiyoṉṟiṉṟiyē
> Ñamaṇa-ñāñaṇa-ñāṇa-ñōṇam-eṉṟōdi-yāraiyum nāṇalā
> amaṇarār-paḷippuḍaiyarō namakkaḍigaḷ-āgiya-vaḍigaḷē

i.e. 'Is our Lord God to be touched by reproaches from these Jainas who are lost to all sense of shame, viz., Namaṇanandi, Karumavīra, Darumasēna and the rest of them, who stand erect with no clothes on their bodies like

5. pp. 17, 71, 111, 114, 131, 268 of the Śaivasiddhānta Mahāsamājam edition (1935).

some foul smelling hillock and mutter (unmeaning formulae sounding like) ñamaṇa-ñāñaṇa-ñāṇa-ñōṇam '? This precious verse is a concentrated expression of the intolerance of the age which forms the subject of this paper, an age which offers one of the few striking exceptions to the easy-going tolerance bordering on indifference that has been the general rule through the ages in all India. But the Jainas and Buddhists seem to have risen equal to the occasion and in their turn reciprocated the hatred directed towards them. Sambandar refers to the Jains' intolerance of Śaivas in rather strong terms; in III 108, v. 8 (Madura) he says:

> nīṟṟu mēniyarāyinar mēluṟṟa
> kāṟṟuk-koḷḷavum nillā amaṇar

i.e. the Jains who would not even stand in the direction of the wind that has touched the bodies of persons wearing the holy ashes (Śaivas).

Jñānasambandar was indeed the purest and the greatest of the Dēvāram trio. Unlike his elder contemporary Appar, he was no Jain turned Śaiva, and had no past to look back on with remorse. Unlike Sundaramūrtti whose youth was dazzled by the full lustre of woman's love and whose love affairs on occasions entangled even the deity he worshipped, Jñānasambandar was the joyous recipient of the highest knowledge while yet he was but a child, and an utter stranger to sex life. Sambandar has been best known to legend and history as the opponent of Jainism, and the scene of his most remarkable achievements against that religion was the court of the Pāṇḍyan ruler of Madura on the banks of the Vaigai river. On his return to the Cōḷa country after his victory against the Jainas, he had to meet and overcome the opposition of Buddhists, and this episode in Sambandar's life is not so well known as his great encounter with the Jains of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom.

The references to Buddhists in Sambandar's hymns are numerous, and he speaks of their dress, mode of life, and their doctrines, of their denial of the authority of the Veda and the efficacy of sacrifice, and of their allegiance to the Bodhi tree and the Tripiṭaka. All these references have been collected and carefully indexed together with those on the Jains by my friend, Mr. Balasubramania Mudaliyar[6], and there is no need to cite these texts here. We may therefore turn to a consideration of Sambandar's contest with the Buddhists in some detail.

Before we enter on this task, some indication may be given of the sources of our knowledge of the incident and their relative importance. Sundaramūrtti's celebrated hymn known as *Tiruttoṇḍat-togai*, (Groups of Sacred Devotees) is the starting point of the hagiology of Tamil Śaivism;

6. pp. 60-66 of the Śaiva Siddhānta Mahāsamājam edition of Sambandar's Devaram (1937). This index appears in the second edition and not in the first, but even the second edition has gone out of print, and it is to be hoped that it will be reprinted when conditions allow of its being done.

by its nature it is nothing more than an almost bare mention of the names of the devotees with no details whatever of their lives and achievements, which, however, must have been matters of common knowledge among the votaries of Śaivism when the hymn was composed. The traditions are recorded in a little more detail some two centuries later by Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi in his *Tiruttoṇḍar-tiruvandādi* and other works, some of which will be mentioned presently. Nambi then marks the second stage in the literary tradition, when we are vouchsafed some details of the ancient oral tradition. The third and definitive stage, in this development is reached in Śēkkiḻār's *Tiruttoṇḍar-purāṇam* also known as *Periya-purāṇam*, twelfth century. The nature of this great work and the circumstances of its composition have been outlined by me in the chapter on Literature in my work *The Cōḷas* and need not be reproduced here; we may note, however, that in this extensive purāṇa which has found a place in the Śaiva canon from the date of its composition, we have the most complete record of the traditional lives of the Saints of Śaivism. Being the work of a devout believer in the faith, we find miracles recorded in it side by side with the commonplace occurrences of every day life with equal seriousness and good faith. I have thought it best to let such a work speak for itself, and hence, all the verses in which Śēkkiḻār has described Sambandar's contest with the Buddhists are presented here in translation, and a few comments offered to enable the reader to follow the narrative with ease.

The translation of the thirty odd verses of Śēkkiḻār has been found by no means an easy job; the diction is prolix and often obscure; and the translation now offered might never have been made but for the alacrity with which my friend, Mr. P. N. Appuswami undertook to make a draft translation which could be treated as I liked after it was placed in my hands; and I am very grateful to him for his generous aid. The draft was checked and revised with all possible care with the assistance of Mr. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai given with equal readiness. But under the circumstances I have stated no responsibility should attach to my collaborators for any shortcomings readers may discover but only for the merits in it, if any.

Let us now turn to the story of the disputation between Sambandar and the Buddhists. The account of Sambandar's life in Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi's *Tiruttoṇḍar Tiruvandādi* does not contain any reference to this incident. But in his other works on the life of the Saint which are no fewer than six in number[7] Nambi repeatedly uses expressions which are clear re-

7. Āluḍaiya Piḷḷaiyār Tiruvandādi.
Āluḍaiya Piḷḷaiyār Tiruccaṇbai Viruttam.
Āluḍaiya Piḷḷaiyār Tirumummaṇikkōvai.
Āluḍaiya Piḷḷaiyār Tiruvulāmālai.
Āluḍaiya Piḷḷaiyār Tirukkalambagam.
Āluḍaiya Piḷḷaiyār Tiruttogai.

ferences to this disputation, and once refers to an incident in the encounter which figures again with some variations in the longer account of Śekkiḻār's purāṇam. Nambi repeatedly applies to Sambandar terms like: *para-mata-kōḷari* (Lion to enemy faiths), *aruhāśani* (thunderbolt to the Arhats), *Kuṇḍāśani* (thunderbolt to the Kuṇḍas), and so on. The specific and unmistakable reference to an incident in the dispute with the Buddhists occurs in *Āḷudaiya-Piḷḷaiyār Tiruttogai*, ll. 19-21 which read:

nēr vanda
puttan talaiyaip-puvimēṟ puraḷuvitta
vittagap-pāḍal viḷambinān,

i.e. he uttered the magic song which caused the head of the opposing Buddhist to roll on the ground. Judging from this cryptic reference, Sambandar must be taken to have composed and recited some song in the course of his disputation with his Buddhist opponent, and as a result the opponent's head was severed from the body and rolled on the ground. We shall see from what follows, that this miracle is attributed by Śekkiḻār, not to Sambandar himself, as Nambi does, but to a devotee of his who, after demonstrating his superiority against one set of opponents by this miracle, met a second party of Buddhists under another leader and had a long-drawn logical argument with them which is reviewed at some length by Śekkiḻār and as a result of which the Buddhists acknowledged the superiority of Śaivism and turned Śaivas.

We shall now trace the story in the words of Śekkiḻār,—(the numbers within the brackets are those of the verses in the *Sambandar Purāṇam*).

896. "Followed by a great concourse of holy servants of the Lord, peerless in their goodness, he, on whose chest lay the triple thread, came to the land made fertile by the Kāverī. Adored by devotees and citizens, he visited every temple dedicated to Him who wears snakes as ornaments. He offered worship at Tirukkaḷar, the city of maiden ramparts; and sang of Pātāḻiccaram which belongs to Him, whose throat is adorned by the black stain; and bowing down he offered worship to all other cities *en route*, and reached Muḷḷivāykkarai.

897. "Carrying the sandal, the eaglewood, and the teak which grew upon the hills, and bearing mountainous piles of bowers which bees hummed around, and rising to a great height, the river became so swollen by the flood, and the waves rose so high, that men dared not cross it. Because the barge-pole thrust against the river bed could not strike bottom, the boatmen of the river left the boat deserted on the shore. That noble of Kauṇiya clan versed in the arts saw it there, and came to that shore gracing it with his presence. While he stood thus,

898. "He saw on the opposite shore Tirukoḷḷampūtūr where resided the Lord of the gods. His pure heart yearned to go thither and bow down

in worship. Since the shore was deserted with none to ferry the boat across, the chieftain of Śaṇbai, with eager haste untied the boat, and got the servants of the Lord on board, and with the might of his tongue for a barge-pole, he stood upon the deck, and with feeling sang of the Lord the hymn beginning 'koṭṭam' (Costus root).

899. "By the grace of Him, who drank the poison in order that the gods may live, the boat was propelled on and on, and moved across the river and reached Koḷḷampūtūr, the city of the Lord whose looks are like red gold. When the boat had reached the other shore, he, who in his infancy was on Knowledge fed, alighted with the faithful servants of the Lord to bow down to Lord Śiva, and with delight walked up to the gates of the temple of Him who is fond of fresh blossoms of fragrant Konṟai. (Indian laburnum)."

This miraculous crossing of the stream from Muḷḷivāykkarai to Koḷḷampūtūr on the opposite shore is mentioned a number of times by Nambi-Āṇḍār Nambi in his works on Sambandar to which reference has been made above. To continue Śākkiḻār's narration:

900. "He prostrated in worship in front of the lofty upstanding tower, and entering with the crowd of the peerless servants of the Lord, he circumambulated the temple which shone bright. He stood with head bowed down in the sacred presence of the moon-crested Lord and reverently extolled Him thus: 'O Immutable One, O Lord who shewedst me Thy grace by propelling the boat upon the river! O Thou who wearest snakes for jewels! O Three-eyed one and pure, who wearest as a shawl the flayed skin of the elephant!'

901. "In the days when he dwelt there, ever coming out of the temple after singing paeons of praise, he desired to prostrate in worship before the Lord whose hymnal decades were unconsumed by fire at the disputation with the heretical Jains held in the presence of the Pāṇḍya. Obtaining His grace in abundant measure, he departed thence, and prostrating in worship before the cities he had visited earlier, surrounded by those who love the Lord, he reached Tirunaḷḷāṟu praised of the four quarters, and went to the temple of the Lord of the land.

902. "There, while the ever holy servants of the Lord surrounded him on all sides, he descended from the pearl palanquin, and bowing before the glorious and holy gates, entered in. He went round the temple of the Lord who on His crest wears the moon, and approaching nigh with delight in his heart, and clasping in worship his flower-soft hands, he prostrated before Him and in praise of the gracious Lord sang the hymn beginning '*Pādaga mellaḍi*' (The soft ankled foot) with tears streaming from his eyes.

903. "'At the disputation which the Jains held in the presence of the

Pāṇḍya. Thou didst preserve the freshness of the palm-leaves thrown into the fire. Thou abidest as a friend within my heart and yet Thou dwellest in Ālavāy too.—How is all this, O my Father?'. Thus praising Him again and again, and laying on Him a garland of Tamil song, he dwelt there with the sweet-natured servants of the Lord. And then bowing down in worship to Nallāru, the chief of Śaṇbai went forth for worship in the other cities.

904. "Then he went to Tiruttelicceri glistening in splendour, and after praising the Lord Śiva, he reached Bōdimaṅgai where lived the Śākkiyas ignorant of the true faith. Knowing this full well the Śaivas (followers of Sambandar) sounded their conches and brass trumpets and many other musical instruments and raised a din like unto a surging sea: and they blew shrill clarions at whose sound the earth rejoiced; and upon pipes too they blew, to proclaim, 'He has come—he who is like a devouring lion to the other faiths'."

Bōdimaṅgai was a Bauddha settlement on the way from Telicceri to Tirukkadavūr. It may be the same as Bōdimaṅgalam, a hamlet of Tiruvidaikkaḻi in the Mayavaram Taluk: Buddha images have been recovered from this neighbourhood in recent years.[8] But we may note here that Bōdimangai was an exclusive colony of Buddhists, and because of this the Śaiva followers of Sambandar deliberately draw the attention of the residents of Bōdimaṅgai to the presence of the Śaiva saint by the noises they make, and thus challenge them to a contest. This challenge to what was apparently a strong centre of Buddhism in the Tamil country in those days, could not well be ignored by the Bauddhas. We should remember that the whole of this account comes to us from the side of the victors in the contest which followed; but if we allow for the natural likes and dislikes of the author of the account, the substratum of truth is not very hard to get at. Let us see how the Buddhists reacted to the challenge.

905. "When the mean-minded Śākkiyas learnt of his arrival, they gathered together, and being greatly bewildered by the envy provoked in their hearts by the noisy shouts of the servants of the Lord and by the swelling sounds of the trumpets which went forth to welcome the Lord of Pugali, when he came and graciously entered upon their outskirts, they went to their Buddha-Nandi and to the other learned Theras and angrily informed them (of this).

906. "When their hot and angry words, and the rising sound of the trumpets blown in front of the Divine Child, and the loud and joyous shouts of the servants of the Lord thronging there entered his ears like a barbed arrow, a great hatred swelled up in Buddha-Nandi's heart. He rose in anger,

8. 276 of 1925; A. R. A. 1912-13, p. 75, I owe these reference to Mr. K. R. Venkatarama Aiyar of Pudukottah.

and going forth with a congregation of Theras around him, angrily spoke thus: "Is it not seemly that you should blow upon the trumpets of victory only after defeating us in disputation?"

Evidently there was a vihāra in Bōdimaṅgai with many learned theras in it and a number of other monks not so learned. In the first stage of the contest, Buddha-Nandi figures as the leader on the Buddhist side, and takes up the challenge. He offers to meet the Śaivas in a disputation and stops their noises as unseemly in persons who have as yet no victory of their own to celebrate. This irritates the Śaivas and they report the occurrence to Sambandar.

907. "When Buddha-Nandi, surrounded by groups of Buddhists on all sides, forbade the blowing of the truly victorious trumpets in the gracious presence of that incomparably wise and holy man, the Lord's devotees rose up in indignation, and glared in anger, thinking 'If we should forbear and do not cut them down for this act of theirs, the heretics' position will become strong'; they approached him who sat like a jewel upon the palanquin set with rows of pearls, and making due obeisance, told him of the occurrence and stood waiting.

908. "'Truly this is a strange welcome in the place we are visiting! When their doctrines are set forth in argument in a definitive manner by Buddha-Nandi we shall know the falsity of his propositions' said the chief of Pugali. But the devotee, who wrote down the noble hymnal decads as they were uttered, cried out in impatience 'By the might of the holy word of Sambandar, let the thunderbolt fall with a roar and knock the head of the Bauddha off and roll it down'.

909. "Like the omnipotent mantra which, like a thunderbolt, destroys all obstacles to the spread of the commandments enjoined for those of the faith of the Lord of the bull-banner, these words uttered by that holy truthful servant of the Lord sundered and blew into fragments the head and trunk of the Buddhist who came seeking victory in wordy disputation. Thereat the gathering of the Buddhists was thrown into utter confusion, and being thoroughly frightened, it fled precipitately.

910. "When those servants of Hara saw the plight of the Buddhists, and saw the devotee with words as weapons cut asunder the head of trunk of Buddha-Nandi who had come seeking wordy disputation, they went and humbly informed the Divine Child who gave them victory. He replied 'That which has happened to remove the obstacle in our way is pre-ordained by fate. So shout you all 'Hara', whereupon their shouts reached up to heaven."

This is the first stage. Sambandar is patient and offers to meet Buddha-Nandi when he has stated his doctrines; but a devotee of his is im-

patient, he utters a curse against Buddha-Nandi, and that acts immediately; Buddha-Nandi dies, and there is confusion in the Buddhist camp. Sambandar for his part, when he sees what has happened, more or less ratifies the action of his devotee on the score of predestination. We have seen that in Nambi's account, the loss of the Bauddha's life was brought about by a song of Sambandar himself; Sĕkkiḻār evidently felt that such a method of controversy should not be attributed to the great saint and modified the story. Nambi's account knows nothing of what follows; but he did not set out like Sĕkkiḻār to give a full-fledged biography of the saint. Their first shock of surprise over, the Buddhists rallied again under the leadership of Sāriputta, an eminent divine learned in the *piṭakas*, and he began, under proper safeguards against magic and trickery, a disputation also with the devotee of Sambandar who had caused the death of Buddha-Nandi. Here is Sĕkkiḻār's summary of the arguments urged on both sides :

911. "All those Buddhists who in fright had fled afar were wonder-struck, but soon they gathered again and thought in their bewilderment 'Is this trickery or is this an instance of the might of their Śaiva truth?' They said 'Without resorting to downright sorcery, will you agree to meet us to discuss religious doctrines?' So saying, they came back with the eminent Sāriputta himself at their head.

912. "Graciously listening to their statement, the Victorious Lion of Śanbai felt in his heart 'This is well', and rejoicing greatly, he hurried forth. Descending from his palanquin of white pearl, he ascended the pillared hall of another choultry and was graciously seated among long rows of Śaivites. And then he said, 'Invite hither the Buddhists who have come'; whereupon those who stood in his gracious presence went forth bearing the commands of that chieftain of Pugali.

913. "Those who went out thus came to the congregation of Theras and said : 'That victorious and youthful tusker of ours, the Lord of Śaṇbai, who has sailed across the sea of Vedic Knowledge, and is a prince of proficients in the three branches of Tamil, is well pleased to invite you to speak out the doctrines of the creed which you have been proclaiming. So hurry up'. Thereupon Sāriputta accompanied by other heretical Buddhists of equal eminence came thither in front of the pillared hall of the choultry.

914. "When they reached there, the Divine Child stood in that pillared hall with the Buddhists close by his side. Then that incomparable friend, who blew up into fragments the big head of the Bauddha who forbade the blowing of the sacred trumpet, worshipped at the feet of the chieftain of Pugali whose renown is ever expanding; and, by his gracious leave, he said to Sāriputta, 'Tell us who your Lord is and what your creed'. Then he too took up the challenge and said in reply :".

Note that in this account, Sambandar who is present throughout and whose permission is sought by the Śaivas for everything that they do, takes no direct part in the argumentation and leaves this to his favourite disciple, who starts by asking Sāriputta to state his creed. Sāriputta's answer follows the usual Theravāda position regarding the Buddha, his Enlightenment and the nature of release.

915. "'In all the Kalpas where everything is born, dies, and goes through many a transformation, and thus every moment is constantly undergoing a change, He performed well Charity which is glorious, Penance and Meditation which seeks to be alone, and thereby achieved the Eternal and heavenly Mukti, inseparate from Knowledge, which is spoken of in the Holy Books; He who proclaimed the Dharma so that all diverse Beings may be saved and be redeemed—He is the supreme Lord whom we worship.'

916. "As Sāriputta spoke thus, that distinguished devotee who had performed severe penances, went up to him and said : 'Well, then, what is this Mukti of yours which you assert your Lord has achieved?' Whereupon the Piṭaka-scholar replied, 'Constant Uruvam (Form) Vēdanai (feeling), Kuṟippu (Perception), Śeykai (latent tendencies to action) and the true Jñānam (Intellect) are the five elements which together form the skandha (body); their annihilation is Mukti'".

The objection raised by the Śaiva protagonist to this view is well known to have engaged Buddhist writers for long, and turns on the difficulty of reconciling the denial of the soul and the life after death postulated by the doctrine of Karma. It takes the form here of questioning the continued existence of the Buddha after his death and his capacity to receive and reward the worship offered to him by his devotees. As Keith has pointed out :[9] 'The problem of the continued existence of the Tathāgata after death is in the ultimate issue the same as the problem of the existence of a true self; if such exists, then the enlightened one must necessarily, as the highest product of the world, be the possessor of such a self'.

The Buddha never answered these questions fully and relegated them to the region of indeterminates. But the relation of the disciple to the Buddha is of a very peculiar character, and does need quite a lot of explanation. It can be taken in fact, to be nothing more than the natural reverence inspired by the memory of a noble path-finder, and before proceeding to the details of the discussion that follow in Sĕkkiḻār's account, it may be useful for the reader to pursue the following summary by Keith of a discussion of the very problem debated here which occurs in the *Milindapañha* : 'A question of importance' says Keith[10], 'is presented by the attitude of the

9. *Buddhist Philosophy*, pp. 61-2.
10. Keith, *op. cit.*, pp. 210-11.

Milindapañha to the difficult problem of the efficacy of gifts to the Buddha. The issue is clear; the Buddha is absolutely departed; neither in life, nor yet more in death can he accept gifts; if there be no recipient, how can homage to him avail? But Nāgasena insists on the merit of acts of homage and seeks to explain this quality by similes; if a great fire goes out, men kindle one for themselves; so men by erecting a shrine do homage to the supreme God under the form of the jewel treasure of his wisdom and win rebirth as a man, or god, as even release. Seed sown on the earth grows into trees, though the earth is unconscious. Diseases come to men without their consent from former evil deeds; hence, it follows that a good deed must bear fruit apart from consent, just as ill deeds done to a saint bring retribution without his desire'.

Another point that comes up for discussion between Sāriputta and the Śaiva protagonist is the omniscience of the Buddha; the Buddhist canon contains many passages which affirm the omniscience of the Buddha; but he does not reveal everything, but only 'what redounds to the benefit of man desirous of salvation, both as regards the past, the present and the future. He knows whatever throughout the world is discerned, striven for, accomplished, or devised, by gods or men; all that he spoke between his enlightenment and his passing away was true; as he does according to his word, and his word is according to his going, he is styled Tathagata.'[11] He is reticent on many issues 'not merely because knowledge of these matters does not tend to Nirvāṇa, but because men hold various opinions regarding them'.

After this somewhat lengthy explanation of the points at issue and the Buddhist position regarding them, the rest of Sēkkiḷār's account may be given without further comment.

917. "The devotee who heard this speech, repeated his words and turning to him asked, 'If all the five skandhas including the supporting Jñāna be annihilated altogether, then how can you say 'The Lord is here', and build vihāras and fashion tall images of him for worship and celebrate festivals in his honour? Who is he that receives all this worship? Answer pray'. And he replied;

918. "'Freed from this Karmic body made up of the five skandhas, our Lord has become merged in Mukti'. Whereto the devotee said: 'The sensory organs namely the eye and others being absent, he could have no consciousness (at all)'; which he refuted saying 'Just as when a person is unconscious in sleep, those who abuse him and dance upon his person, do reap the fruits of their deeds, similarly may not Good result to those who offer reverent worship (to our Lord)?'

11. Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

919. "That devotee graciously listened to these words and said: 'When he who receives continuously many an adoration, can neither accept it nor reject it, then, surely he cannot be said to have received it'. To which the other replies: 'When a person, neither accepting nor yet rejecting whatever is presented before him, is immersed in deep slumber,—if one should kill him in anger, would it not lead to loss of his sweet life and constitute murder? Even so will worship touch our Lord'.

920. "'Does it reach him thus!' exclaimed he. 'As in the case of the sleeping man of your analogy, you postulate that your Lord is possessed of all the organs of sense and of life. If so, then the annihilation of the five skandhas ceases to be true; and it is clear that He could not have attained changeless Mukti. Further if, among the five skandhas Intellect (arivu) is destroyed, Bliss cannot be associated with Mukti'.

921. "When he heard this speech he had no answer; and stood deeply concerned that even His Lord's mukti should have come to naught. While he stood thus, that devotee of him who was like the nectar of the ocean of Knowledge (Sambandar) faced him and said: 'You spoke an untruth when you said that he attained to Mukti. You said also that he long ago knew all things and proclaimed them long ago; how could he have known everything? This too is an untruth. Still speak out, let us see.'

922. "'Knowledge is twofold, general and particular. The first is, to know that a thing is a tree; to know which is which among the trees is knowledge of the particular kind. Thus also among all other things which are limitless. Whether you heap the faggots of wood you have gathered in a pile, or whether you place the hacked pieces separate, each distinct from the other, yet a consuming sprout of fire does seize upon them and burn them, even so does the Ancient One reveal everything both in the mass and in detail.'

923. "To the Bauddha, who set forth this argument, that devotee replied: 'You mentioned the fire as an analogy to Knowledge. Now, Knowledge has no form at all; while the fire that you spoke of has a form, as you know. While your Lord, you say, can visualise not merely the present but also the past and future together, yet the raging fire can burn only what is put in it in the present, and cannot touch (anything) in the unseen times (Past and Future).

924. "'Therefore your statement that your Lord is omniscient fares exactly like your statement about his Mukti. And the precepts revealed through this Knowledge are faulty too'. Thus graciously did he tell him in an acceptable manner. Whereat the Bauddha, having no argument in reply, was defeated. Having thus graciously vanquished him, that devotee bowed down at the lotus-feet of the chieftain of Pugali: and all the Buddhists gave up their creed; and humbly fell prostrate.

925. "When that devotee in his wisdom had shown by logical argument the untrue nature of the doctrines they held, he, who knew the substance of the glorious limitless Vedas and of the Āgamas, and of all the other arts, was graciously pleased to speak to the dull-witted (Bauddhas) saying 'Nothing is true but Śaivism'. Thereupon the Buddhists heartily accepted it, and approaching the holy Brahmin of Śaṇbai, laid themselves low at his feet.

926. "On that day the gracious look of the Prince of the Kauṇiya clan fell upon them; and so their ignorance disappeared. Then they humbly bowed down before him, and falling prostrate, got up again and became Śaivites. And everywhere flowers rained in torrents. The Prince of Śaṇbai then graciously revealed to them the truth, that all things stationary and moving are but manifestations of Śiva. Thereafter going forth thence to worship at the holy cities of Lord Śiva, he reached the outskirts of Tirukkaḍavūr."

Analogy fills an important role in this disputation as in that of Nāgasena in the *Milindapañha* summarised above; but the present account is that of a Śaiva writer meant to celebrate the victory of Śaivism; as often happens in history, we have only one side of the story before us. What the Bauddhas of South India felt and said on their side we have no means of knowing. We must also remember this—that as the account of Śekkiḻār is separated by four to five centuries from the date of the occurrences it narrates and as oral tradition in such matters is apt to distort events considerably, all that we can take for certain is the general fact that Jñānasambandar upheld the cause of Śaivism not only as against the Jainas of the Pāṇḍyan country, but as well against the Buddhists of the Cōḷa-rājya. We may also accept the presence of Theravāda Buddhists in considerable numbers in those days in South India, a fact even otherwise attested.

VIŚĀKHADATTA

By

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Of Viśākhadatta, author of the *Mudrā-rākṣasa*,[1] we know only what he himself tells us in the Prologue to his play, namely, that he was son of Mahārāja Bhāskaradatta (or according to most manuscripts, Pṛthu) and grandson of Sāmanta Vaṭeśvaradatta; and in spite of all the conjectures and theories that have centred round his date and personality, we shall probably never know anything more. In the concluding stanza (vii. 21), which, however, is not an integral part of the play but is meant to be spoken by the actor and hence called Bharata-vākya, there is a mention of a king Candragupta, whose kingdom is said to be troubled (*udvejyamāna*) by the Mlecchas. As a reference to Candragupta Maurya, who is the subject of the play itself, would be unusual in the Bharata-vākya, it is taken as the eulogy of a reigning sovereign; and some scholars are inclined to see[2] in Viśākhadatta a contem-

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1. Ed. K. T. Telang, with comm. (written 1813 A.D.) of Dhuṇḍiraja, Bomb. Skt. Ser. 1884 (7th ed. 1928); ed. A. Hillebrandt, Breslau 1912; ed. K. H. Dhruva, 2nd ed., Poona 1928, with English trs. All the known commentaries are of comparatively modern date; for an account, see Dhruva, introd., p. xix. On the MSS material and an edition of the Prakrit verses, see Hillebrandt, Zur Kritik des Mudrā-rakṣasa in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1905, pp. 429-53. No good Eng. trs., except Wilson's free rendering in *Select Specimens* vol. ii; French trs. by V. Henry, Paris 1888; German trs. by L. Fritze, Leipzig, 1883.—The *Cāṇakyakathā* of Ravi-nartaka (ed. S. C. Law, Cal. Orient. Ser. 1921), like Dhuṇḍiraja's summary printed in Telang's ed., is a résumé of the traditional story, although the work pretends to derive its material from a prose original, and gives some new points of interest.

2. K. P. Jayaswal in *IA*, xlii, 1913, pp. 265-67; Sten Konow in *IA*, xliii, 1914, p. 66 f. and *Ind. Drama*, p. 70 f.; Hillebrandt in *ZDMG*, xxxix, 1885, p. 130 f., lxix, 1915, p. 363 (4th century A.D.); S. Srikantha Sastri in *IHQ*, vii, 1931, pp. 163-69. The difficulty, however, of taking the term *mleccha* in the sense of the Hūnas (even though they are mentioned as allies of Malayaketu in v. 11) and of explaining the word *udvejyamāna* satisfactorily in terms of the known facts of Candragupta's time should be recognised; while Jayaswal's identification of *Parvataka* and Malayaketu are wholly fanciful. J. Charpentier in *JRAS*, 1923, p. 586 f. (also *IHQ*, vii, 1931, p. 629), would, however, take Viśākhadatta to be a contemporary of one of the later Guptas, probably Samudragupta, but he confesses inability to adduce much historical or literary evidence in support of his theory. *Raghu°* vii. 56 and *Śiśu°* i. 47 are adduced as parallels to the stanza in question (vii. 21), as well as *Raghu°* vii 43 to *Mudrā°* v. 23; but it is admitted that such literary coincidences by themselves are of not much use in fixing a date. The presumption of Konow and Charpentier that the drama must have been composed before the destruction

porary of Candragupta II of the Gupta dynasty (cir. 375-413), and apparently of Kālidāsa. But since the readings Dantivarman, Rantivarman or Avantivarman, instead of Candragupta, are also found, no finality is reached on the question. The first two of these names cannot be traced anywhere; but since two Avantivarmans are known, the author's patron is identified sometimes with the Maukhari king Avantivarman, who flourished in the 7th Century[3] and married his son Grahavarman to Harṣavardhana's sister Rājyaśrī, and sometimes with Avantivarman, king of Kashmir, who reigned in the middle of the 9th century.[4] From Hillebrandt's critical edition of the text, however, it appears that the variant Avantivarman is most probably a later emendation; and if this is so, the theories based upon the name lose much of their force. In view of these difficulties, the problem must still be regarded as unsolved; but there is nothing to prevent Viśākhadatta from belonging to the older group of dramatists who succeeded Kālidāsa, either as a younger contemporary, or at some period anterior to the 9th century A.D.[5]

Whatever may be its exact date, the *Mudrā-rākṣasa* is undoubtedly one of the great Sanskrit dramas. In theme, style and treatment, however, it stands apart from the normal Sanskrit play, even to a greater degree than the *Mṛcchakaṭika*. It is partly for its originality that its merits have been even less appreciated than those of Śūdraka's play by orthodox Sanskrit theorists. It breaks away from the banal subject of love, having only one minor female character; and poetic flights are naturally circumscribed by its more matter-of-fact interest. If the *Mṛcchakaṭika* gives a literary form to the bourgeois drama, its theme is still an affecting story of love and suffering,

of Pāṭaliputra, because the town plays an important part in it, should not be pressed too far in view of the conventional geography which we often find in Sanskrit imaginative writings.—The assumption (*JASB*, 1930, pp. 241-45) that the drama is a Bengal work is purely gratuitous and conjectural.

3. K. H. Dhruva in *WZKM*, v. p. 25 f. (end half of the 6th century); V. J. Antani in *IA*. li, 1922, pp. 49-51. Dhruva rightly points out that the way in which the king of Kashmir is mentioned in the play itself would preclude any reference to Avantivarman of Kashmir.

4. Telang, introd. to his ed.; Jacobi in *WZKM*. ii, pp. 212-16. Jacobi adduces also passages which Ratnākara, who flourished in Kashmir at about the same time, is said to have imitated from the *Mudra°*; but Dhruva points out that the passages are not conclusive. By astronomical calculation, again, Jacobi would identify the eclipse mentioned in the play as having occurred on December 2, 860 A.D., when, he holds, Śūra, Avantivarman's minister, had the play performed. Some passages from *Mudra°* occur, with some variation, in other works, e.g., *Mudra°* ii. 13 = *Tantrākhāyikā* i, 46; ii. 18 = Bhartṛhari's *Nīti* 27, and *Pancatantra*, etc. but there is nothing to suggest that Viśākhadatta could not have utilised the floating stock of Nīti verses, and such passages are of doubtful use in questions of chronology. See also Hertel in *ZDMG*. lxx, 1916, pp. 133-42; Keith in *JRAS*, 1909, p. 145 (9th century).

5. The earliest quotation from the work occurs in *Daśarūpaka* (10th century A.D.).

and politics merely forms its background; the *Mudrā-rākṣasa*, on the other hand, is a drama of purely political intrigue, in which resolute action in various forms constitutes the exclusive theme. The action, however, does not involve actual fight, war or bloodshed.[6] There is enough martial spirit, but there is no fondness for violent situation, no craving for fantastic adventures and no taste for indecorous affrightments. The action takes the form essentially of a conflict of wills, or of a game of skill, in which the interest is made to depend on the plots and counterplots of two rival politicians. One may wonder if such a subject is enough to absorb the mind of the audience, but the action of the play never fags, the characters are drawn admirably to support it, and the diction is appropriate in its directness, force and clarity. The *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa* is also another drama of political intrigue, but the plotting in it centres round the romantic legend of Udayana's love for Vāsavadattā, both of whom do not make their appearance indeed, but of whom we hear a great deal throughout the play. The *Mudrā-rākṣasa* is unique in avoiding not only the erotic feeling but also the erotic atmosphere. It is a drama without a heroine. There is nothing suggestive of tenderness or domestic virtues, no claim to prettiness of romance, no great respect even for religion and morality. Politics is represented as a hard game for men; the virtues are of a sterner kind; and if conduct, glorified by the name of diplomacy, is explained by expediency, its crookedness is redeemed by a high sense of duty, resolute fidelity to a cause and unselfish devotion. There is a small scene between Candanadāsa and his family indicative of affection, but it is of no great importance to the development of the plot, and there is nothing of sentimentality in it even in the face of death.

Perhaps the suggestion is correct[7] that the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya could not have been the source[8] of the plot of the *Mudrā-rākṣasa*; for the events narrated there might have supplied the frame (as Viśākhadatta did not certainly invent the tale),[9] but the main intrigue appears to be the work

6. The antecedent incidents of the drama are not indeed bloodless, for we are told of the extirpation of the Nandas and of the murders of Sarvārthasiddhi and Parvataka but in the drama itself Cāṇakya's policy is directed rather towards preventing the shedding of blood.

7. Speyer, *Studies about the Kathāsaritsāgara*, p. 54; the drama is held here to belong to the 4th century A.D.

8. In the printed text of the *Daśarūpaka* (i. 61) we have the statement in Dhanika's Vṛtti: *bṛhatkathā-mūlaṃ mudrārākṣasam*, followed by the quotation of two verses; but these verses are obviously interpolated from Kṣemendra's Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī (ii. 216, 217). See G. C. O. Haas, Introd. to *Daśarūpaka* (New York, 1912), p. xxiii.

9. The story of the downfall of the Nandas and the rise of the Mauryas occurs also in Hemacandra's *Pariśiṣṭa-parvan* and other works, and is probably traditional. The details of Cāṇakya's intrigue, and even the name of Rākṣasa, are not found in these sources. The very name of the drama, derived from the signet ring (Mudrā) which plays an important part in the winning over of Rākṣasa, as well as the em-

of the dramatist himself. It is also not necessary to assume that the drama is historical in all its details, or to see in the working out of a political plot a tendentious piece of literature, which may be conveniently referred to this or that period of Indian political history. It is unquestionable that Candragupta and Cāṇakya are historical personages, and so are possibly Rākṣasa and Sarvārthasiddhi, although these latter names do not occur in the traditional accounts we possess; but how far they are historically or purposively presented is a different question; at least, the occurrence of historical facts or persons does not justify the designation of a historical drama to the work of art, which must necessarily owe a great deal to the author's imagination in the ingenious maturing of the story.

The main theme of the drama is the reconciliation of Rākṣasa, the faithful minister of the fallen dynasty of the Nandas, by that traditional master of statecraft, Cāṇakya, who wants to win him over, knowing his ability and honesty, into the service of Candragupta Maurya, who has been established on the throne by Cāṇakya's cleverness and his own bravery. To the crafty machinations of Cāṇakya are inseparably linked the almost co-extensive plots of Rākṣasa, acting in alliance with Malayaketu, son of Candragupta's former ally, now alienated by the treacherous murder of his father by Cāṇakya's agents. The detailed development of the plot of the drama is complicated, but perspicuous; ingenious, but not unnecessarily encumbered. The first act plunges at once into the story and gives us a glimpse into Cāṇakya's resolution and his deeply laid schemes, cunningly devised and committed to properly selected agents, which set the entire plot in motion. The second act shows, by way of contrast, the counter-schemes of Rākṣasa and the character of his agents, as well as the traps of Cāṇakya into which he unsuspectingly walks. The next act is an ably constructed dramatic scene of a pretended but finely carried out open quarrel between Candragupta and Cāṇakya, meant as a ruse to entrap Rākṣasa further into the belief that Cāṇakya has fallen from royal favour. In the next three acts the plot thickens and moves rapidly, drawing in Malayaketu's suspicion of the treachery of his own friends, execution of the allied Mleccha kings, and dismissal of Rākṣasa, who is left to soliloquise deeply on the heart-breaking failure of his aims and efforts, and on the fate of his friend Candanadāsa who is led to death. The misguided but valiant and pathetic struggle of Rākṣasa perhaps suggests tragedy as the natural end, by making him a victim of the misunderstandings created by Cāṇakya; but the intrigue is developed into a happy end, not in a forced or illogical manner, but by a skilful handling of the incidents, which are made to bring about the denouement in the natural way. Cāṇakya's intention from the beginning is not tragedy but a happy consummation. He makes, therefore, an accurate estimate of both the strength and weakness of

ployment of the old idea of a token in this particular form, appears to be entirely Viśākhadatta's own.

his opponent's character and prepares his scheme accordingly. Cāṇakya knows that the only way to subdue Rākṣasa and impel him to a supreme act of sacrifice is through an attack on his dearly loved friends, especially Candanadāsa, whose deep affection and spirit of sacrifice for Rākṣasa is equally great. In the last act, cornered and alone, Rākṣasa is ultimately compelled to accept with dignity, the yoke which he never intended to bear, not to save his own life, but to protect those of Candanadāsa and his friends. The acts are complete in themselves, but they are not detached; no situation is forced or developed unnaturally; all incidents, characters, dialogues and designs are skilfully made to converge towards the denouement, not in casual strokes, but in sustained grasp; and there is no other drama in Sanskrit which achieves organic unity of action and inevitableness with greater and more complete effect.

In characterisation, Viśākhadatta fully realises the value of contrast, which brings distinctive traits into vivid relief; and one of the interesting features of his delineation is that most of his characters are dual portraits effectively contrasted, but not made schematically symmetrical. Both Cāṇakya and Rākṣasa are astute politicians, bold, resourceful and unscrupulous, but both are unselfish and unflinchingly devoted, from different motives, to their respective cause. Any possible triviality or sordidness of the plot is redeemed by the purity of their motives and by the great things which are at stake. Both are admirable as excellent foils to each other; Cāṇakya is clear-headed, self-confident and vigilant, while Rākṣasa is soft, impulsive and blundering; the one is secretive, distrustful and unsparing, while the other is frank, amiable and generous; the one is feared, while the other is loved by his friends and followers; the hard glitter of the one shows off the pliable gentleness of the other. The motive of Cāṇakya's unbending energy is not any affectionate sentiment for Candragupta, for in his methodical mind there is no room for tender feelings; Rākṣasa, on the other hand, is moved by a willing admiration even of his political adversary. It is precisely Rākṣasa's noble qualities which prompt Cāṇakya to go to the length of elaborate schemes to win him over; and it is precisely these noble qualities which lead ultimately to his downfall. He is made a victim of his own virtues; and the pathos of the situation lies not in an unequal fight so much as in the softer features of his character. Rākṣasa is, of course, also given to intrigue, but he does not live and breathe in intrigue as Cāṇakya does. There is, however, no feeling in Cāṇakya's strategy; there is too much of it in Rākṣasa's. Although sharp and relentless, Cāṇakya is indeed not a monster; and whatever one may think of his deception, impersonation and forgery, one admires his cool and ingenious plotting. But our sympathy is irresistibly drawn towards the pity of Rākṣasa's stumbling and foredoomed failure, his noble bitterness on the break up of his hopes and efforts, his lofty desire to sacrifice himself for his friend, and his dignified but pathetic submission. The

same contrast is seen in the presentation of Candragupta and Malayaketu. Although they are pawns in the game, they are yet not mere puppets in the hands of the rival statesmen. Though low-born and ambitious, the Maurya is a sovereign of dignity and strength of character, well trained, capable and having entire faith in his preceptor and minister, Cāṇakya ; but the capricious young mountaineer, moved as he is by filial love, is conceited, weak and foolishly stubborn, and has his confidence and mistrust equally misplaced. It is clear that the characters of this drama are not fair spirits from the far-off and unstained wonderland of fancy, nor are they abstract embodiments of perfect goodness or incredible evil. Even the minor characters, none of whom is fortuitous or unmotived, are moulded skilfully with a natural blend of good and evil. The secret agents of Cāṇakya, Bhāgurāyaṇa and Siddhārthaka, faithfully carry out their commissions, not with spontaneous enthusiasm, but from a feeling of awe and meek submission ; they are, however, finely discriminated as individuals, for while the one hates his work and feels secret compunctions, the conscience of the other is more accommodating. Rākṣasa's agents, the disguised Virādhagupta and the honest Śakaṭadāsa, on the other hand, are moved by a sincere attachment to Rākṣasa and honest desire to serve. One of the most touching minor characters of the play is Candanadāsa, the head of the guild of lapidaries, whose affection for Rākṣasa is as sincere as that of Induśarman for Cāṇakya, but it is strong and undefiled enough to rise to the height of facing death for the sake of friendship, and to be used, for that very reason, as a lever by Cāṇakya to play upon the magnanimous weakness of Rākṣasa. It is true that the characters of the drama are not always of a pleasant type, but they have a consistent individuality, and are drawn as sharply and coloured as diversely as the shady characters in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*.

The mastery of technique which the work betrays is indeed considerable, but there is no aggressive display of technical skill nor any wooden conformity, so far as we know, to fixed modes and models. Nor is there any weakness for the commonplace extravagances of poetic diction affected by some of his contemporaries. Viśākhadatta's style is limpid, forcible and fluent ; and he appears to be fully aware of the futility of a laboured and heavily embellished diction for the manly strain of sentiment and vigorous development of character which his drama wants to attain. His metrical skill[10] and literary use of Prakrits[11] are considerable, but in no way conspicuous. Perhaps as a

10. The metres most employed (besides the Śloka), in order of frequency, are Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Sragdharā, Vasantatilaka and Śikhariṇī. Other metres are sporadic, but no rare kind is attempted.

11. The usual Prakrits are Śaurasenī and Māhārāṣṭrī, but Māgadhī also occurs. Hillebrandt rightly points out that, as in *Śākuntala*, *Mṛcchakaṭika* and other earlier plays, there is no justification in this case for the assumption that Śaurasenī was exclusively employed for prose, or Māhārāṣṭrī for verse.

stylist he does not claim a high rank with his great compeers, and yet some of his stanzas stand out among the loftiest passages in Sanskrit literature. We do not indeed find in him the poetic imagination and artistic vigilance of Kālidāsa, the dainty and delicate manner of Harṣa, the humour, pathos and kindliness of Śūdraka, the fire and energy of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, or the earnest and tearful tenderness of Bhavabhūti ; but there can be no doubt that his style and diction suit his subject, and, in all essentials, he is no meaner artist. He uses his images, similes and embellishments with considerable skill and moderation ; and, if he does not indulge profusely in elaborate poetical and descriptive passages, it is because his sense of dramatic propriety recoils from them. The soliloquy of Rākṣasa is indeed long, but it is not longer than some of the soliloquies in *Hamlet*. It shows, however, that the author was not incapable of truly emotional outbursts ; and the paucity of citations from his work in later rhetorical and anthological works need not prove that his drama is devoid of poetical or emotional touches. The kind of poetry and sentiment, which are normally favoured, are perhaps not to be found here ; but in easy and subdued elegance of its own poetry and sentiment, the work is certainly successful. Viśākhadatta never thinks less of his subject and more of himself, so as to make his work a convenient vehicle for the display of his literary ingenuities ; nor does he pitch his voice too high and exhaust himself by the violence of his effort. He has the gift of projecting himself into the personality of his characters ; his dialogues and stanzas have the dramatic quality necessary for rapidity and directness of action and characterisation ; and if his work is necessarily of a somewhat prosaic cast, it still conforms more to the definition of the drama as the literature of action than some of the greater Sanskrit plays. The only serious defect is that the drama lacks grandeur, with a grand subject ; it also lacks pity, with enough scope for real pathos. The downfall of a dynasty and fight for an empire are concerns only of personal vanity, wounded by personal insult ; they are matters of petty plotting. Our moral sense is not satisfied even by the good result of placing Candragupta more securely on the throne ; and the atmosphere of cold, calculated strategy and spying is depressing enough for a really great and noble cause.[12]

12. Passages from a drama, entitled *Devī-candragupta*, are quoted seven times in the *Nāṭya-darpaṇa* of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra (12th century); ed. GOS, Baroda 1929, pp. 71, 84, 86, 118, 141-43, 193, 194), and the work is attributed to Viśākhadeva, who is probably identical with our author Viśākhadatta (whose name, however, does not occur in it in the anonymous quotations from the *Mudrā-rākṣasa*). The work has not been recovered, but it probably dealt with the story (cf. Rājaśekhara, *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, p. 46) of Kumāra Candragupta's rescue (in the disguise of a woman) of Dhruvadevī who had been abducted by a Śaka prince. This is perhaps the same story as is alluded to by Bāṇa in *Harṣa-carita* (*aripure ca parakalatra-kāmukaṃ kāminī-veśa-guptaś candraguptaḥ śakanṛpatim aśātayat*); see *IA.* lii, 1923, pp. 181-84, where this Candragupta is taken to be Candragupta II of the

Gupta dynasty. From the citations it appears that the drama extended at least to five acts. Abhinavagupta also quotes the work, without the name of the author, in his commentary on Bharata ; so does also Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* (see S. K. De in *BSOS*. IV, 1926, p. 282). Another work of Viśākhadeva's, entitled ***Abhisārikā-vañcitaka*** (°***bandhitaka***) is also cited by Abhinavagupta and Bhoja. It appears to have been based on another love-legend of Udayana, in which Padmāvatī wins back the lost affection of Udayana, who suspects her of having killed his son, by disguising herself as a Śabarī and in the role of an Abhisārikā, making her tender-minded husband fall in love with her again ! It is curious that a drama called ***Pratijñā-cāṇakya*** on the same theme appears to have been composed by one Bhīma, as we knew from its citation also by Abhinavagupta and Bhoja ; apparently it was modelled on Viśākhadatta's play (See R. Ramamurthi in *JOR*. Madras, iii, 1929, p. 80).

KĀLIDĀSA'S USE OF THE INCARNATION THEME

By

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The foundations of belief in one era of civilisation will often be found to play a secondary part in the cultural or philosophical ideas of a different age. The doctrine of transmigration of souls (in the form of Karma and Rebirth) is one of the foundations of classical Indian thought : it plays a secondary and exotic part in that of Greece and Rome. The doctrine of Incarnation is the essential basis of religious belief and of the cultural ideas integrated with religious consciousness in the Christian era ; it fills a definite and recognisable but nevertheless a secondary place in the intellectual atmosphere of classical, and perhaps one might add of modern, India.

It is the object of this article to ascertain exactly what content this conception stood for in the minds of a cultured and thoughtful Sanskrit poet—the mirror of his age, Kālidāsa's philosophical and theological ideas lie outside our scope except so far as necessary for definition and comparison with Christian interpretation of this particular theme.

By the idea of Incarnation in this article is meant the apprehension of the appearance through birth of the Godhead in human form for the purpose of relief of Evil, followed by reabsorption in the divine origin. This definition excludes embodiment of the deity in non-human forms, such as some of the Avatārs of Viṣṇu. And it is necessary to distinguish the sense of Immanence of the deity in the physical world, including humanity, which is often associated with the Incarnation, both in Indian and Christian thought but implies an entirely different philosophical conception. The close collocation of the two ideas of Immanence and Incarnation in the Bhagavadgītā is apt to result in confusion between the two.

It is an open question to what extent the cultured thinker of Kālidāsa's time accepted the Incarnation, in this sense, as a vital factor in his religious consciousness. The same question is raised about Brahmanic Hinduism of to-day by A. C. Bouquet in his book on Comparative Religion.[1] "But it is doubtful whether the devout believer in the Avatara is really satisfied with that (a doctrine of Illusion). Rāma is probably as real to him as Jesus to the Christian." But even as an article of belief the Incarnation would remain in Indian culture, should one say a secondary feature of theological reality rather than the essential basis of the religious system which it is for Christianity.

1. Comparative Religion by A. C. Bouquet, p. 105.

This idea appears in two forms in Sanskrit literature both associated with the God Viṣṇu, his Incarnation in Rāma, and in Kṛṣṇa. In both cases the expression of this conception whether in the Rāmāyaṇa or in the Bhagavadgītā must, almost by consensus of scholarship, precede its appearance in the New Testament by one or more centuries. A derivative form of the idea exploited and possibly invented by Kālidāsa for purely literary purposes is the propagation of the divine element by Śiva through Pārvatī in Skanda for the destruction of demonic activities corresponding to those of Rāvaṇa in the Rāma legend.

अरिविप्रकृतैर्देवैः प्रसूतिं प्रतियाचितः ।

Kum. Sam. VI. 27.

At the outset one must define more closely this element of the relief of Evil as an essential element in the Incarnation theme. It stands on two levels. One is that of the ethically lower strata of the Rāmāyaṇa. The object of the deity incarnate is to destroy the material interference by a physically existent power of evil, Rāvaṇa,

a. With the gods themselves.

b. With sacrifice to the Gods.

वधार्थं रावणस्येह प्रविष्टो मानुषीं तनुम् ।

Rām. VI. 117/28.

It is an implication of this basic idea that the demonic activities should themselves have originated with the consent of the Godhead in some form. Viṣṇu has only acquiesced in Rāvaṇa's activities because of the Brahma's boon

स्रष्टुवरासिर्गात्तु

Kālidāsa RV. X. 42.

Rāvaṇa in relation to the Ṛṣis is Job's Satan of the Old Testament. "And the Lord said unto Satan, Behold all that he hath is in thy power" (Job I 12). It is the same crude treatment of the problem of evil.

But there is a higher conception of the evil for which Incarnation alone can provide the remedy than that of the physical activities of a malignant power. It is that of the moral-religious evil involved in the confusion of Dharma. This idea is, of course, essentially that of the Bhagavadgītā (in which the motive for Incarnation never touches the lower plane), e.g. Bhagavadgītā IV. 7 :—

यदा यदा हि धर्मस्य ग्लानिर्भवति ।

It does appear, however, also in the more philosophical stratum of the Rāmāyaṇa whether concurrently with or derivatively from the Bhagavadgītā, e.g.

नष्टधर्मव्यवस्थानां काले काले । Rām. VII. 8. 27.

Both authorities no doubt contribute to the expression of the same thought in Kālidāsa

धर्मसंरक्षणार्थैव प्रवृत्तिर्भुवि शार्ङ्गिणः ।

Raghu. XV. 4.

The object of the Incarnation is no mere business of "killing Rāvaṇa" but the Salvation of Dharma in a deeper sense.

Two comments may be made at this point by way of comparison with the western conception of Incarnation. The recurrent process essential to the Purāṇic idea is entirely absent from and incompatible with the specifically Christian interpretation of the same theme.[2] And though in a passage such as that last quoted the functioning of the deity incarnate may be far removed from the original crude conception of "killing Rāvaṇa", though the process of relief of evil through Incarnation begins to assume the sense of a Mystery, there is in Hindu thought, at least as embodied in the author under study, not the remotest conception of the New Testament principle of Redemption. The only element in the specifically Christian interpretation of the theme of Incarnation which can be traced in its Indian counterpart is that of *divine favour* as the sole motif for the Descent.

लोकानुग्रह एवैको हेतुस्ते जन्मकर्मणोः ।

Raghuv. X. 31.

("So God loved the world that he gave"......).

The earthly parentage is an aspect of the Incarnation developed by Kālidāsa only in the Viṣṇu-Rāma theme. Coincidences with the New Testament story are in fact far more marked in the legend of the infant Kṛṣṇa and in those associated with the Buddha. But the Viṣṇu-Rāma birth is more directly concerned with the mystical problem of self-procreation by the Godhead through earthly parentage. And here arises a point of great interest in the contrast between the Indian and Christian interpretations. For Christianity interest centres on the maternal side and the act of parentage vests the Mother with an immense religious significance of her own. The essential features in the Viṣṇu Incarnation are on the other hand, firstly, the emphasis on the male parent rather than the mother, and, secondly, as the logical result of this trend coupled with polygamy, the distribution of the divine element Incarnate to the offspring of several mothers. Both principles are embodied in a single Śloka of the Rāmāyaṇa

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2. For the recurrent process as taking shape in the Viṣṇu cycle see A. C. Bouquet, Op. cit. p. 104. Though essentially incompatible with Christian doctrine the same thought may creep into Christian writings. E. G. Cook, Rebirth of Christianity (Penguin Series), p. 163 : "Ordinary processes of growth and repair reach their height in divine acts of regeneration, redemption and atonement."

कृतात्मानं चतुर्विधम् ।
पितरं रचियामास तदा दशरथम् ।

Rām. I. 15. 31.

Four mothers shared in the divine birth but it was none of these so much as the Father whom the divine being blest with his choice.

The plural incarnation is given its full significance in the birth of Rāma and his brothers in the Rāmāyaṇa, where the individual blessing on each mother is particularised in *ślokas* imitated and elaborated by Kālidāsa

कौशल्या शुशुभे तेन पुत्रेणामिततेजसा । etc.

Rām, I, 18.12 etc. C.P. Ragh. X. 69 ff.

and in one passage at least the Rāmāyaṇa puts Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa on an equivalent plane of divinity

महाभागौ भ्रातरौ रामलक्ष्मणौ ।
मनुष्यभावं सम्प्राप्तौ ।

R. IV 31.45.

For Kālidāsa only the figure of Rāma is invested with religious significance.

The distribution of the divine element between the consorts of Daśaratha is elaborated with full literary value in the tenth Sarga of the Raghuvaṁśam. All carry the embryo of divine origin as the solar tubes (of Purāṇic physics) carry water (Ragh. X. 58). All participate in dreams conveying the presence of Viṣṇu, with attributes and consort, which are the Sanskritic equivalent of an angel choir in a Madonna painting (Ragh. X. 62). But no one can interpret such passages as more than literary embroidery; and so far as one can sense any expression of genuine feeling it is Daśaratha whose exaltation recalls the sentiments of a *Magnificot* more appropriate in Christian thought to the Blessed Virgin.

मेने परार्ध्यमात्मानं गुरुत्वेन जगद्गुरोः ।

Raghuv. X. 64.

"He considered himself blessed in the fatherhood of the Father of the world." This predominance in sacred interest is marked by the fact that it is to him and not to the Mother that the Messenger of the Annunciation bearing the mystic "Payas" appears.

(Rām. I. 16.18, Ragh. X. 50).

The principle of plurality of Incarnation assumes a more fantastic form in the subsidiary incarnations of other deities in the beings destined to attend on Rāma. There is not *one* deity incarnate (and He in four persons) but several deities descending into human and sub-human forms to follow Him.

अंशैरनुययुर्विष्णुं पुष्पैर्वायुमिवद्रुमाः ।

Ragh. X. 49.

"following Viṣṇu with parts of their selves as trees follow the wind with flowers."

And they are not forgotten on their way back when the earthly mission is accomplished (Raghv. XV. 102). We are obviously drifting away here from any kind of religious content to that of traditional convention; but Kālidāsa's approach to the idea of Incarnation will not be fully understood unless this elaboration is comprised in the account.

In the representation of the divine infant Kālidāsa emphasises an element which whether by coincidence or continuity of tradition played an essential part in the Christian era, namely, the Halo. The origin of this convention needs a study in itself: but it is sufficient for present purposes to say that for Kālidāsa the Halo was an attribute of royalty which he transferred impartially to the divine infant, male or female. The Rāma babe dims the chamber lights (Ragh. X 68). The infant Pārvatī sparkles like jewels on the mountain side (KS. I. 24). Contemporaneously the Byzantine mosaics were investing the Infant Jesus and all other divine figures with the heavy gold halo which passed down all the centuries of Christian art till it was refined to a gleam of chiarorcuro round the cradle. The same feature reappears in the Kṛṣṇa infant as portrayed by "Bhāsa" more specifically as a miracle ad hoc.

मम मार्गमपश्यतः
अपक्रमणहेतुः तु कुमारेण प्रभा कृता । Bit. 17

The infant creates a light in darkness to reveal the path of escape.

But in an article devoted to the study of the idea of Incarnation as embodied in Kālidāsa one must not go further afield. It would be more relevant to fix the point at which the Halo round the Infant Christ appears in Christian writings.

There is a well established convention in Sanskrit epics and Kāvya poetry that any event of special significance in human affairs, such as a royal birth or a victory should evolve a sympathetic response both in the natural and the supernatural world. The winds are stilled, disease vanishes, heavenly flowers fall and heavenly voices are heard etc. It is only natural that similar manifestations should mark the birth of Viṣṇu incarnate and it might prove to be more than a mere verbal coincidence that some of them at least are so reminiscent of the Nativity in Christian tradition. A few words in the Rāmāyaṇa create in fact an exact Indian counterpart to the angels above the Cradle.

जगुः कलं च गांधर्वा ननृतुश्चाप्सरोगणाः ।

Rām. I, 18.17.

Gandharvas sang and Apsarās danced in the Heavens. Kālidāsa associates these natural manifestations, in closely parallel verses, again both with the

birth of Pārvatī (Kum. I. 23) and with the birth of Rāma (Ragh. X. 72).

In the latter case making all allowances for the difference in religious values between the Purāṇic Svarga and the "Heaven" of Christianity one cannot miss the impart of what may be described as the Christmas day feeling in the thought of Heaven descending with the Godhead to earth.

अन्वगादिवहि स्वर्गो मां गतं पुरुषोत्तमम् ।

Ragh. X. 72.

Moreover with the excessive formalism characteristic of Sanskrit literature precisely opposite manifestations of natural sympathy mark events of unfavourable significance. The sky rains blood not flowers down at Rāvaṇa's birth (Rām. VII. 9. 31.) and the sun fails, as on Good Friday.

प्रबभौ नव सूर्यो वै ।

The earthly personality of the deity Incarnate in Sanskritic thought, whether it be Rāma or Kṛṣṇa, is so far disparate from its Christian counterpart that comparison is of little value. The essential point to be remembered is that for Kālidāsa as an exponent of classical literary ideas the Viṣṇu Rāma story serves the purpose of exciting the emotions primarily of heroism and wonder, not tenderness or even peace (if the ninth Rasa be admitted to the categories of his time).

The characteristic of the deity incarnate in Rāma is the divine force

गां गतस्य तव धाम वैष्णवम्

(Ragh. XI. 85).

with the access of superhuman powers, especially in combat, to which this gives rise. That was what the Incarnation in Rāma meant for classical literature just as it does for the Durwan reading his Ramayan on the doorstep to-day. The Bhagavadgītā gives a glimpse of the "despised and rejected" conception (though the verbal coincidence might easily mislead)

अवजानन्ति मां मूढा मानुषीं तनुमाश्रितां ।

Bh : G. IX. 11

But it was not one which appealed to Kālidāsa, and the philosophical study of the Kṛṣṇa Incarnation is another matter which does not concern us here.

There remain the aspects of the Transfiguration and the Ascension, the self revelation in transcendental form to mortal eye of the deity incarnate and the return from the human to the divine. The "Viśvarūpadarśanam" in the Bhagavadgītā, in its resemblance and contrast with the Transfiguration in the New Testament offers one of the most striking and instructive counterparts between Indian and Christian ideas. Kālidāsa, though closely in contact with Bhagavadgītā, from which he consciously quotes a line[3]

स्थावराणां हिमालय : B. G. X. 25 ; Cp. Kum. VI. 67.

3. In the Rāmāyaṇa the supremacy of the Himālaya is one of the several *similes* in praise of Rāma. See Rāma IV. 11. 93.

finds no place in the Rāma story for the transfiguration theme during Viṣṇu's earthly abode ; though his elaboration of the Iconology of Viṣṇu (for instance in the Stuti verses in Sarga X of the Raghuvaṁśam) may owe something to this influence. In fact the Rāmāyaṇa itself shows perhaps more consciousness of the mystical sense of Māyā which is predominant in the Bhagavadgītā (e.g.

अचिन्त्यमनन्तं स्वमायया साम्प्रतमागतम् ।

Rām. V. 54.37) than will be found in the rather more material conception of the Incarnation in Kālidāsa.

Similarly his expression of the return to Godhead is materialistic rather than mystical a matter of change from one body to another

विष्व नं: स्वतनुमविशत्सर्व लोकप्रतिष्ठाम् ।

Ragh. XV. 103.[4]

This somewhat materialistic tone is well brought out in one of Kālidāsa's most remarkable similes from religious ideas, with which these notes may end. The fifteenth Sarga of the Raghuvaṁśa ends with Rāma Viṣṇu's return to his "true body foundation of the world" in the words quoted above. The capital of Ayodhyā remains deserted till one night the City personified as a Widow appears to Kuśa, now resident in Kuśāvatī, appealing to him to reoccupy the ancient capital. A highly wrought descriptive passage ends in the prayer to return to capital of the Dynasty "as Kuśa's Father had abandoned his mortal body to return to his form in the Absolute."

हित्वा तनु कारणमानुषीं तां यथा गुरुः ते परमात्ममूर्तिम् ।

Ragh. XVI. 22.

It will be noticed how the simile acquires its maximum power from the reminiscence of a phrase in the Bhagavadgītā coupled with its appropriateness as an appeal to Rāma's descendant. And yet, powerful as the illustration is for its literary purpose, the very fact that it could be used on this worldly plane leaves some suspicion as to the true depth of its religious content in the poet's mind. It is as if some modern Milton had appealed to Lord Hardinge to "take back his Government to the ancient capital of Delhi just as the Redeemer had returned to Heaven", and it is probably not too sensitive a feeling that no poet with Milton's sense of devotion could have forced his pen to such an ornament.

At the end of it all therefore one is left asking what did this Incarnation theme mean to Kālidāsa, the supreme model of the cultured Indian of his

4. Kālidāsa here uses one of the rarer names of Viṣṇu found in a Śruti Stuti passage of the Rāmāyaṇa (VI. 117. 14) in conjunction with "Kṛṣṇa" but not in the Bhagavadgītā.

age? Does he profess to have given expression to true religious feeling and genuine belief at any point in his use of the Rāma-Viṣṇu Incarnation, or is it all to him merely a doctrinaire convention drawn on for its literary values. The question concerns not his ultimate faith in Viṣṇu (as in Śiva), but his immediate belief in the incarnation of the Godhead in this, or other human forms. The only answer that can be given is that, like Shakespeare, Kālidāsa is too great a literary artist to reveal his personal consciousness on any particular article of faith.

DEVELOPMENT OF TRIPITAKA-TRANSLATIONS IN CHINA

By

MR. FACHOW

The institution of translating Buddhist Tripiṭakas into Chinese from both Sanskrit and Pāli sources has a long history ever since the formal introduction of Buddhism into China in A.D. 67, when Emperor Ming-ti of the Han dynasty accorded his imperial welcome to the first two Indian sages Kāśyapa Mātaṅga and Dharmānanda at Lo-Yang, capital of the Han dynasty. It is recorded in several historical and non-canonical works that the first Buddhist text, translated into Chinese by them was the 'Sūtra of the Forty-Two Chapters' along with Buddhacarita-Sūtra, Dasa-Bhūmi-Klesa-cchedika-Sūtra, Dharma-Samudrakosha-Sūtra, Jātaka and other texts of the Vinaya. However, except the first one, the remaining texts, so far as our knowledge goes, were either lost or disappeared without any trace. Under the auspicious inauguration of Mātaṅga, the noble sages of both the countries labouring constantly for a long period of fifteen hundred years did perform a great wonder in bringing about the monumental work of the Chinese Tripiṭaka. It may not be an exaggeration if we say that it is a rare, priceless relic of Indian culture being carefully preserved and protected in the soil of China. Not only by its highly developed philosophy and literature it did influence the thought and mode of life of the Chinese people to a large extent, but also it furthered the intimate and ever-lasting cultural relationship between the two great sister nations, India and China. To the scholars who toil in the field of ancient Indian history and culture, it will prove to be an inexhaustible mine, because it is directly connected with all subjects and branches of Indology. Owing to the misconception that the Chinese language is the most hard one in the world, the foreign scholars, therefore, are barred from reading these translations directly, and as a matter of fact, they have been ignored blissfully by the outside world.

To have a clear idea of the development of these canonical works, the following points may be added here.

A. *The Three Stages of Development.*

I. THE FIRST STAGE.

The inception for such meritorious enterprise, as we have mentioned above, is dated back as early as the first century A.D. At that time Buddhist missionaries began to pour into China from different Kingdoms of the Western

Region—Central Asia, viz., An-Shih-Kao from Parthia (A.D. 148-170), Lokarakasha from Yüeh-Chi (A.D. 164-186), Kang-Chu from Kang Ch'ü or Ulterior Tibet (A.D. 187), Kumārajiva from Kharajar (A.D. 401), Buddhayasas from Cabul (A.D. 403) and so forth. During this short period from A.D. 67 to the arrival of Kumārajiva in A.D. 401, it was little more than 330 years yet we had about sixty foreign Buddhist masters whose translations were counted to be over 400 separate works. In these books we find every branch of Buddhist doctrine which belongs to both Hinayāna and Mahāyāna schools, though the former has been delineated comparatively in a more dominant form. Of course, it is impossible to expect perfect translations at this experimental stage either in accuracy or in style. We are given to understand that they were confronted with great difficulties which could not be easily overcome.

Firstly, they had no manuscripts with them. Probably, it was not their custom to translate a work from a written or printed copy, as we do it to-day, but simply depending upon their wonderful memory, they did it. Howsoever strong might such memory be, sometimes it would betray them and the text thus translated may not be in accordance with the original one. To have the sacred texts written down on paper or other materials was a very late practice. We know the whole collection of the Pāli Canon was committed to writing only in B.C. 25 in the reign of Vaṭṭagāmini Abhaya in Ceylon. And there was no written Vinaya text in Northern India till late in A.D. 400. That is what Fa-Hasien informed us in his *Travel* and we believe it to be true, if we just compare the following record which states how the Abhidharma-vibhāshā-śāstra was first translated into Chinese:

> "The text[1] was recited from memory by Saṅghabhūti (A.D. 381-385), put down in Sanskrit by Dharmānanda, orally translated into Chinese by Dharmarakhasa and finally made into a Chinese version by Śramaṇa Ming-Chih of the Eastern Chin Dynasty,[2] (A.D. 317-420.)"

Under such circumstances, there would not be the least surprise, if slight mistakes were found in the translations.

Secondly, when the foreign missionaries came to China their first difficulty was the language. They, of course, in a short time could not hope to speak Chinese correctly, nor the scholars of the country could easily master Sanskrit, especially its most complicated system of grammar. As their urge of preaching and spreading the Buddhist doctrine was very great, so they had somehow or other to get the work done through the co-operation of the Chinese scholars. The result of such translation was partly comprehensible

1. This Śāstra is different from Nanjio Nos. 1263 and 1264.
2. See 'The bibliography of eminent Buddhist teachers.' Ch. I. Nanjio No. 1490. Shanghai Tripiṭaka Edition, bungle 35, vol. 2, p. 5.

and partly ambiguous, because, at that time, the Buddhist doctrine and its terminology were absolutely foreign to the mind of the Chinese people.

Thirdly, at the beginning the translations were not carried out on a grand scale nor in any way critical or systematic. It continued to be a private enterprise of the missionaries for a long time. During such period they had no proper residence to work nor any support or protection from the government. They had, therefore, to complete their undertakings in a hurried way, even at the cost of extracting the essential parts from the bigger works and calling them by their original titles. There were also cases that the translators often forgot to put down their names on the works which they had done. Why it was so; is still a puzzle to many of us.

Fourthly, we suspect that some of the translations were not directly translated from Sanskrit, but indirectly from the language of Central Asia, for instance, the Chinese term for 'Upādhyā' is 'Ho-shang,' which may be a transliteration of 'Hua-She' in the language of Haskal and a direct import from Khotan, because in Khotan 'UpādhySya' is called 'Ho-Shang.'[1] It would not be improbable, if some works in the Chinese Tripiṭaka were translated from the languages other than Sanskrit or Pāli.

The above facts show how hard it was for the forerunners to proceed with such an important task with the little imperfect knowledge they had at that stage. It is universally recognised that An-Shih-Kao and Dharmarakhasa were the two great representatives of this period.

II. The Second Stage.

This stage probably began from the arrival of Kumārājīva in China in A.D. 401 and lasted upto the days when Haüan-chwang returned to China and began to translate the works which he had brought with him in A.D. 645. The rich experiences of the forerunners who toiled in the first period of Tripiṭaka-translating for over three hundred years had certainly facilitated Kumārajīva and his co-workers in their own works, so far as Buddhist terminology, idioms and phrases are concerned. As a sign of general improvement, the foreign teachers by then could understand a good deal of Chinese, and the scholars of the country also learnt sufficient Sanskrit. When setting to work, they could proceed very smoothly, without feeling any difficulty about the language. However, there were occasions for heated discussions over a certain philosophical topic such as 'Is an *Icchantika* also possessing the nature of the Buddha?' and the like.

Another feature of this period was that the general public, especially the intelligentsia, took a great interest in Buddhism and Buddhist activities. To undertake any service in connection with translating Buddhist scriptures was

1. See 'The bibliography of eminent Buddhist teachers of the Sung Dynasty.' (A.D. 960-1127) Ch. III. Nanjio No. 1495.

considered a meritorious deed, and also it used to be a spell of protection for those who were bored and tired of the political chaos at the time. From the political point of view, the history of China from A.D. 302 to 589, was not a very happy one. During this period we had fourteen dynasties which were established in different parts of the country by different rulers, and most of them were 'alien' or 'Hu' the barbarians in origin, as the historians used to call them. It is interesting to note how Kumārajiva came to China. Fu-Chian, the ruler of the former Tshin dynasty (A.D. 350-394) ordered his commander-in-chief Lü-kwang to bring Kumārajīva to Chang-an. The latter went to Kharajar, conquered the kingdom, killed the king and brought Kumārajīva with him as a captive. But fortunately or unfortunately, the aforesaid ruler was dethroned by another powerful king just before their arrival. In such a state of affairs, Kumārajīva had however to put up with his surroundings and could not set to work. It was in A.D. 401 after the capital and headquarters of Lü-kwang had been destroyed by the second ruler of the later Tshin dynasty (A.D. 384-417), he arrived at Chang-an. This shows the political tumult at that time and the unrest of the country.

In spite of all these, the rendering of Buddhist Canon had a good progress and bright prosperity. Under the king's patronage in the later Tshin dynasty, Kumārajīva translated over 50 works in the famous Hsiao-yao garden with the help of only one penman who put down the translated sentences in the Chinese language. The most important works of Buddhism such as Mahāprajñāpāramitā-Sūtra (Nanjio No. 3), Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-Sūtra (No. 134), Vimalakīrtti-nirdesa (No. 146), Śata-Śāstra (No. 1188), Dvādaśamikāya-Śāstra (n. 1186), Prāyamūla-Śāstra-ṭīkā (n. 1179) and Mahāprajñāpāramitā-Śāstra (n. 1169) and others were translated during this period by Kumārajīva. It was his mastery over both the languages of Sanskrit and Chinese, his excellent style and subtle rendering of the texts that had given a new impetus and spirit to the world of translation.

The representatives of great translators in the second stage were Kūmarajīva (A.D. 401), Buddhabhadra (A.D. 398-421) and Paramārtha (A.D. 548-557). Moreover, this period is considered to be a period of co-operation between the foreign Buddhist teachers and Chinese scholars.

III. THE THIRD STAGE.

Gathering from what has been shown in the previous two stages, it is very clear that the foreign missionaries took the initiative. Undoubtedly they had their own merit, so far as their enthusiasm for spreading Buddhist doctrine and their religious aspiration in undertaking such noble services are concerned, yet there was nothing short of defects in the translations which they had done. Even great experts such as Kumārajīva would not escape criticism, if some of his works were compared with the original texts, not to speak of others who were not as critical and efficient as he was. Taking a

distrustful attitude towards the translations, Fa-Hsian was the first person among the Chinese Buddhists to come to India in search of Vinaya texts and Sūtras in A.D. 401. And in A.D. 518 another Chinese traveller, Sung-Yun by name was sent by the Empress of Northern Wei dynasty (A.D. 386-534) to India to seek for scriptures of Buddhism. Following their steps, a large number of Chinese Buddhists did come to India for the same purpose at different times. The most celebrated among them was Hsüan-Chwang who came to India in A.D. 631 and stayed in the holy land for 15 years.[1] The Indian sages honoured him with the title of Mahāyānadeva. He was a great Sanskritist and used to defeat learned Indian Pandits. While returning, he brought with him 520 bundles of 657 separate books and translated 73 of them, consisting of 1330 fasciculi. The most voluminous work among them is Mahāprajñāpāramitā-Sūtra. It consists of 600 fasciculi and 200,000 ślokas in verses.[2] By his perfect knowledge of both the Sanskrit and Chinese languages and his deep penetration into the vast ocean of Buddhist philosophy and literature, he laid once for all the reliable and authentic foundation for interpreting the Sanskrit scriptures into Chinese. It is he who created a revolution in the field of Tripiṭaka-renderings and snatched away, not by force, but by merit, the sovereignty of the translation—kingdom from the hands of the foreign missionaries. By this time, the rendering of Tripiṭakas had reached its zenith of perfection in truthfulness, in reliability, in expression, in excellency of style and in so many other ways.

This was called the golden age in the field of translation and Hsüan-Chwang was the great representative of the third period. Of course, there were at that time, so many other good scholars knowing both Sanskrit and Chinese like I-tsing and Amoghavajra who also contributed much of their merits to the glory of the Chinese Tripiṭaka.

At the end of the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618-907), there was a tendency of decadence in this noble service, though in other aspects such as copying the Sūtras and printing the canonical works there was good progress. It is only in the Sung dynasty (A.D. 960-1127) there showed a flash of light in reviving such undertakings. That is to say, there were a few learned Indian teachers namely: Fa-thien (Dharmadeva) or Fa-hhien of Nālandā (A.D. 973-1001), Tien-si-tsai of Jalandhara (A.D. 982), Dānapāla of Udyāna (A.D. 980) and Fa-hu (Dharmarakhasa) of Magadha (A.D. 1004), who came to China in quick succession and together translated 269 separate works. Along with their contributions, the history of Tripiṭaka-translations came to a close. The glow of a lamp, at the moment of its extinction, as we know, is usually brighter than ever. But, alas! it shines no more.

1. See Samuel Beal's introduction to Si-yu-ki, p. xv.
2. For his other voluminous translations see Nanjio Nos. 1201, 1267, 1263 and 1265.

The table given below will furnish us with a concrete idea regarding the scriptures translated by different persons at different periods.

Date	Translators.	Works.	Fasciculi
A.D. 67—730	176	986	4507
A.D. 730—789	8	127	242
A.D. 789—1037	6	220	532
A.D. 1037—1285	4	20	115
Total :	194	1335	5396*

How the Texts Were Translated ?

To have more than four persons labouring over a text in the earlier stages of scripture-rendering was not a luxury, but a sheer necessity. Later on, it developed. The number of office-bearers was steadily on the increase, from three to four and finally it went up to nine. This very complicated and systematized organization has a characteristic of its own, and it claims our attention for the purpose of rendering modern literature into different languages.

In the first period, beginning from the first century A.D. to the fourth century A.D., a translation was generally completed through the efforts of four persons. That is : A. one recites the Sanskrit text from memory, B. one records the recitation in Sanskrit, C. one orally interprets it into Chinese and D. one makes a Chinese version. And three persons would suffice if a manuscript was available. In that case, A. and B. would be replaced by a person who could read out the text and explain its meaning, and the rest would remain as they were.

When it entered into the second stage with Kumārajīva taking a leading rôle on the scene of action, the translations became critical and refined, and more members were admitted to such translation-committee, especially, the works which were complete after Kumārajīva's time. During this period, the new member being added was called Cheng-I, whose office was to examine the meaning of the translated manuscript and see whether it would agree with the original text. Between A.D. 590 and 907 we have the following additions : one specialist was appointed to verify the correct significance of the translated text, another to examine it from the linguistic point of view. And also there used to be a proof-corrector, a revisor, and general directors.

Some time later, by the order of the Emperor Tai-Chung (A.D. 976-998) of the Sung dynasty, a Translation-Hall was established in A.D. 982. In that hall, we are told that there were 9 members who sat side by side in rendering

* The above statistics are based on the 'Comparative catalogue of the Buddhist sacred books in the Chih-Yuan Period A.D. 1264-1294.' See Nanjio No. 1612.

a Buddhist work into Chinese. Below, we shall see the function of each member therein :

1. I-chu or the translator-in-chief, who took his seat in the centre facing outside, and would loudly recite the Sanskrit text.

2. Cheng-i or the examiner of meaning, who sat on the left of I-chu and discussed the sense of the text with him.

3. Cheng-wen or the examiner of text, who sat on the right of I-chu and listened carefully to his recitation of the Sanskrit text, in order to find out mistakes if there were any.

4. Shu-tzŭ or the transcriber, who listened attentively the recitation of the Sanskrit text and wrote down its pronunciation in Chinese characters, viz., 'Ha-ri-da-ya' for 'Hṛdaya'.

5. Pi-shou or the penman, who translated the transcribed letters into the Chinese language, viz., 'Hsin'—mind or heart for 'Hṛdaya'.

6. Cho-wen or the text-composer, who arranged the translated words in syntactical order and made suitable Chinese sentences.

7. Ts'an-i or the text-comparer, who compared both the original and the translated texts and saw that there was nothing wrong in the translations.

8. K'an-ting or the text-censor who cut off all the superfluous expressions and would decide finally the doubtful meanings of the sentences.

9. Jun-wen or the revisor of the composition, whose function was to improve the language and made the translations more excellent and refined in style..[1]

When all these had been properly executed, the text then was sent to be printed and later on to be distributed.

Having read the descriptions above, we cannot but admire the scientific spirit and religious zeal of these workers in engaging themselves in the vast ocean of Buddhist literature. It is said that before their setting to work, they had to perform various sorts of rituals, which included *homa*, *maṇḍala*, *arghya* and offerings of different kinds ; taking a bath daily, wearing three garments, behaving as properly as possible and so forth. No doubt, they were supported by the state, but they would not take what was more than necessary for their simple life and maintenance. They were self-denied sages for the noble cause of Buddhism.

Principles of Translation.

Before Hsüan-Chwang's taking part in the field of translation, there was constantly the question regarding stiff translation and paraphrase. As a

1 See Fu-tsu-t'ung-chi or 'Records of the lineage of Buddha and Patriarchs.' Ch. 43. Nanjio No. 1661.

matter of natural consequence during the earlier stages, the translations could not be helped to be stiff. In the first place, there was the difficulty of gaining mastery over both the languages. Secondly, they dared not make the style literary on account of religious piety. So they had to let the translations remain in the simple, faithful, straightforward but unpolished state.

Tau-an (about A.D. 330-386), a very learned and authoritative Chinese Buddhist scholar was of the opinion that except the following five points, the translation should strictly be faithful to the original text.

The points are : 1. The syntactical order, 2. The habit of employing literary words, 3. The abridgment of praise repetitions, 4. The omission of explanatory sentences which could belong to the text proper and 5. The exclusion of paragraphical repetitions.

Besides, he also made remarks on the difficulties of translating a text. Firstly, as he used to say that, a translation should not merely be true to the original one, but also should be an easy approach to the common folks. Secondly, the profound wisdom of the Buddha is rather hard to make out its esoteric meanings. And thirdly, the Buddha who preached the doctrines had passed away long ago, therefore, the controversial views of Buddhism had very little opportunity to get corrected.

The method of translation being employed by Kumārajīva was somewhat different from Tau-an. His works are mostly of paraphrasitic type. When translating the Sadharmapuṇḍarika-Sūtra, we are told that he was purposely following the phraseology of the Chinese language, though he made it a point not to allow the ideas of the original work to suffer any misinterpretation. Such a great Pandit as he was, we, of course, cannot expect him to be satisfied with the simple frame of stiff translation.

Hsūan-Chwang, the great Chinese Sanskritist was very particular about the transliteration of Sanskrit words. One will find, especially in his Si-yu-ki or the Buddhist records of the Western kingdoms, the corrections of proper names and he would point out that such and such transliterations were absolutely defective. While translating, he would simply dictate the penman to write down the sentences in Chinese as though he was reading typed sheets of such dictations. It is in no way exaggerating, if we say that his translations are perfect in every aspect, and naturally, the question of stiff rendering and paraphrase would not in any case be applied to them. However, there are rules laid down by him regarding certain Sanskrit words which may not be interpreted but transliterated only. In the first place, a word he would not translate, if it were in connection with esoteric doctrine such as 'Dhāraṇī." Secondly, if a word had many meanings like 'Bhagavan'; thirdly, if an article was not to be found in China such as 'Jambu Tree'; fourthly, following the terms of the old, if it was widely known and adopted. and lastly, for the sake of producing good faith, viz., the word 'Paññā'—Prajñā is much better than

its translated words 'Chih-hui'—wisdom, for, as he expressed that they would awaken the people's faith to believe in Buddhism.

Leaving aside what has been stated above, there were scholars who upheld the view that the best way of penetrating into the heart of Buddhism was to abandon the institution of translation, and learn directly the Sanskrit language. We too approve and agree with such proposal, but alas, the dream never came true. And the Chinese Tripiṭaka in the present day has the fortune of being regarded as one of the invaluable legacies of Sino-Indian culture which will, undoubtedly contribute its proper offering to enrich the civilization of the world.

Thus far, we have been able to gather materials as to how the Chinese Tripiṭaka-translation had its growth and development. It is our sincere hope that the Indian scholars should shoulder the burden in restoring them into Sanskrit or Pāli, and translate some of them, if not the whole collection, into the different vernacular of modern India. One day, when this noble object shall fully be attained, we are quite sure that China would feel happier, because in preserving this priceless treasure of Indian culture, her effort was not in vain.

BUDDHIST SURVIVALS IN BENGAL

By

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In his article on *Religion* contributed by my friend and colleague Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi to the first volume of the valuable and authoritative *History of Bengal* published from the University of Dacca under the able editorship of Dr. Rames Chandra Majumdar, the author has given a very good survey of religion in early Bengal prior to the Turki conquest at the beginning of the 13th century. Dr. Bagchi has discussed the question of the introduction of Aryan or Upper Indian culture in Bengal, and has treated, with full reference to relevant documents, the various forms of Upper Indian religion which found a home in Bengal—Brahmanical (in its various aspects or ramifications like Vedic and Puranic, the latter in its numerous forms or cults like Vaishnavism, Saivism and others), Jain, and Buddhist. For these we have fairly abundant materials, and the ground of investigation consequently is sure. But there has taken place in both Upper India and Bengal a commingling of cults, in both their ideals and theories and their practices and rituals, among Puranic Brahmanism (including Tantricism), Buddhism in its numerous later phases, and Jainism; and this has led to a tangle, particularly by the interaction of the Puranic cults of Brahmanism on the one hand and the various forms of later Buddhism on the other in Bengal, which it is well-nigh impossible to untie. And the matter has been further complicated by a third and an independent group of cults and rituals entering into this tangle—those of pre-Aryan origin, which obtained among the Dravidian, Austric and Tibeto-Burman and other peoples of Bengal, recent and prehistoric, who formed the original inhabitants of Bengal upon whom Upper Gangetic Aryan Speech and Hindu (i.e., Brahmanical or Vedic, Puranic and Tantric, as well as Buddhist and Jain) religion and culture were imposed, transforming them into an Aryan-speaking Hindu people by the end of the first millennium A.D.

We know next to nothing about these pre-Aryan cults of the people of Bengal: yet a good deal of these have survived to our day, as the suppressed religion of the masses, being mostly forced to make a compromise with the official Aryan religions Brahmanism and Buddhism and to affiliate themselves to these in a vague sort of way, to obtain, if not active support from the ruling classes, at least a certain amount of toleration (sympathetic and understanding generally, and occasionally unthinking and contemptuous) from the upper classes professing the scriptural religions of Upper Indian provenance—a

toleration which was so necessary for its very existence. The original or national cults of the pre-Aryan peoples are found in the worship of many caste or tribal deities, or village gods, who have no place in the official Hindu pantheon of pan-Indian acceptance; at times they have just succeeded in finding a place in some Sanskrit *Purāṇa*, but in other cases they have advanced only as far as the threshold or the ante-chamber of the hall of official Hinduism by having their legends rendered in the vernacular only. Thus there are village godlings of the type of *Gābhur Ḍalan* and *Mochrā Siṅgha* worshipped in the South Bengal Delta, who are unknown to any *Purāṇa*, and unsung even in the vernacular; there are *Dakṣin Rāy* and *Kālu Gaji* (*Ghāzi*), godlings who control the tigers in the Sundarbans of the forest lands of the southern Delta, whose exploits are narrated only in Bengali, and whose fame has not yet travelled beyond Bengal; and, finally, there are deities of the type of Śītalā the goddess of the small-pox and Manasā the goddess of serpents, who have received admission into the pantheon of Puranic gods and goddesses, honoured, although they are newcomers, beside Śiva and Dēvī, Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī. The nature of pre-Aryan religion and ritual, in its mythology and its ideas and practices, among the various pre-Aryan groups of peoples, it has not been possible to establish as yet: most of it now survives in the rites and cults obtaining in remote villages, which are now always under the aegis of official Brahmanical Hinduism. One of these pre-Aryan cults, that of the God *Dharma*, has been connected by Bengali investigators of the last generation with Buddhism, the name of the presiding Deity or chief God of the cult, viz., *Dharma*, being thought to be identical with the second entity in the Buddhist triad, Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha: but a detailed study of this Dharma cult as it survives in West Bengal villages will clearly show that it is quite independent of Buddhism,—even independent of any Upper Indian Aryan association, to start with.

The Austric (Kol and Mon-Khmer) and Dravidian peoples, and finally the Sino-Tibetan or Tibeto-Chinese tribes in North Bengal and East Bengal, followed the Negritos, the oldest people of India and Bengal, and the Proto-Australoids. So far as these last two peoples are concerned, no vestige of their languages and culture remains. They were undoubtedly absorbed among the Austrics and the Dravidians as well as the Tibeto-Chinese who followed them later. About the Austrics, who came next to the Australoids, there are two views as to their original homeland. According to one, the original Austrics were characterised with their language and the basic elements of their culture somewhere in Northern Indo-China. From there they spread west into India through Assam, and occupied the Ganges Valley, extending as far west and north as the Himalayan regions upto Kashmir, and in the south penetrating all over the Deccan right down to Malabar. In India they became the ancestors of the Kol or Munda and other connected peoples: in Indo-China and Assam, their speech and culture survived in the Khasi and Mon-

Khmer groups of peoples; they penetrated into the Nicobar Islands; and bands of them pushed down into Malaya and the islands of Indonesia, and further to the east into those of Melanesia and Polynesia. The Melanesian, Polynesian and Indonesian languages on the one hand forming an 'Austronesian' group of speeches, and the 'Austro-Asiatic' speeches current mostly on the main-land of Asia like the Kol or Munda speeches of India, the Mon-Khmer speeches of Burma and Indo-China, Nicobarese, and the languages of certain primitive peoples in Malaya, on the other, form together the great *Austric Speech Family*, which thus originated, according to this view, somewhere in Northern Indo-China. The other view about the origin of the Austric speeches would take them to the West, to the East Mediterranean tracts; according to this view, the Primitive Austrics were just a very early branch of the ancient Mediterranean race which travelled eastward into India through Chaldæa and Iran, and their language and culture became characterised in India, from where they spread with their language and the basic things of their culture into Burma and Indo-China, Malaya and Indonesia, and then beyond into Melanesia and Polynesia. Be it as it may, there is no doubt that the pre-Aryan people of India was largely of Austric origin (in its two branches of Kol or Munda and Mon-Khmer): they were followed by the Dravidian speakers from the West, and by the Tibeto-Chinese speakers from the North and the East. The Dravidians also had probably a good deal to do in the evolution of the present-day Bengali people and its language as it grew out of the Aryan Prakritic dialects from Magadha; and Tibeto-Chinese influences were confined to the Northern and North-eastern fringes of Bengal only.

It is now almost impossible at the present day, with the existing materials at our disposal, to form a clear idea of the elements contributed by the peoples of these different linguistic groups in pre-Aryan Bengal, particularly in religion. The Dharma cult which formed such a strong religious current in Western and Southern Bengal throughout Middle Bengali times, finding an expression in a valuable literature of epic narratives (the *Dharma-maṅgal* poems) and another literature of rituals in Bengali, in temples and ceremonies and festivals, and which has survived to our day, was unquestionably going very strong in pre-Muhammadan Bengal, although only as a disorganised popular religion of non-Aryan origin, side by side with the much better organised Brahmanical and Buddhistic cults. It is still a living faith in West Bengal, although its façade has been embellished with the outward decorations of Brahmanism. (See in this connexion the most recent article on the Dharma cult in West Bengal by Prof. Kshitis Chattopadhyaya in the JRASB for 1942). The late Mahāmahōpādhyāya Dr. Haraprasad Sastri (and following him others) thought that this Dharma cult was a relic of Buddhism in present-day Bengal, these scholars being put off their guard by the name of the chief deity of this cult, Dharma, who is however described as the Supreme

Deity, Creator and Ordainer of the Universe, superior even to Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, and at times identified with them (particularly with Viṣṇu); and he has nothing of the abstraction of the Buddhist Dharma about him. He is a deity who is white in colour, and to him white goats are sacrificed (according to mythology, the goat is a substitute for a young boy to be sacrificed to him). Dr. Sukumar Sen of the University of Calcutta who is engaged in editing (in collaboration with Mr. Panchanan Mandal) the oldest *Dharma-maṅgal* poem so far obtained—that by Rūparāma Cakravartī (middle of the 17th century)—and incidentally is collecting data about the Dharma cult with a view to unravelling as far as possible the origin and primitive character of the cult, thinks that very early, probably even in pre-Muhammadan times, this cult, of aboriginal (possibly Kol or Austric) origin, received influences from Brahmanism both Vedic and Puranic, that the story of the sacrifice of Śunaḥśēpa, the son of the Brahman Ajīgarta, in place of Rōhita or Rōhitāśva the son of king Hariścandra who had offered him to the God Varuṇa, as narrated in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, which is found among the medieval myths of Dharma in its Brahmanised form, is probably in itself a myth of Austric origin which obtained a place in the *Brāhmaṇa* work in pre-Buddhic times.

This deity Dharma was not only a Creator, but also a Sustainer of men. He is also a God of agriculture, and in Bengal we have a strange conception of Śiva as a farmer, a conception not found elsewhere in India, which appears to be an extension of this aspect of the divinity Dharma to Śiva when the latter came to be identified with the former. I have to note one very special thing about Dharma: his great annual festival is everywhere always accompanied by ritual dances, and sometimes by mimicry and drama: without these dances by his worshippers (who usually taking up a vow and observe strictly some regulations in living for a month), this annual festival (*gājan*, from *garjana*, as it is called) cannot be held. These dances are accompanied by songs, and are performed by troups of devotees. Now, dance as a fundamental religious ritual is certainly not Aryan; it is neither Buddhistic nor Brahmanical. It may be Dravidian, it may also be Tibeto-Chinese; but it is emphatically Austric. Then, another point which has suggested to me, about the name of the god Dharma himself, as in this Dharma cult. If there is ground for a reasonably strong suspicion that the cult (with its myths) is pre-Aryan, then we may look upon the very respectable Aryan name *Dharma* with equal suspicion, and may ask ourselves whether the name is a Sanskritisation of some original non-Aryan name which had a similar sound with the Sanskrit word, or whether it is just a translation of the native non-Aryan name into Sanskrit. The first alternative is the easier and more common one; the second one is only a little less likely. We may note how a primitive Dravidian word (as in Old Tamil *aṇ-manti*) meaning 'the male monkey' was in all likelihood both translated into the Indo-Aryan Vedic as *Vṛṣā-kapi* (mean-

ing the same thing) and then Aryanised into the Sanskrit *Hanumant-* or *Hanūmant-* as the Great Monkey God; and that *Śiva* and *Śambhu* seem to echo certain Dravidian words (Old Tamil *civaṅ* = 'red', and ***cĕmpu*** = 'copper, red'); and further, that *Rudra* may be an approximation to the Aryan God *Rudra*, the Roarer, the Father of the Maruts or the Storm Winds, from an original translation **Rudhra* of the name of a Dravidian divinity meaning 'the Red God' (the description of Śiva-Rudra as 'the Red God with the Blue Throat'—*nīla-lōhita*—in the *Śata-rudrīya* section of the *Yajur-veda* is to be recalled).

So *Dharma* may be at its basis just a non-Aryan word, either Sanskritised in sound or form, or translated into Sanskrit. Now, I throw in a linguistic suggestion as to its possible origin. The commonest symbol under which this Bengal deity Dharma has been and is still worshipped is the *tortoise*. Many of the images of Dharma are just a figure of a tortoise. The use of this symbol must have arisen among a sea-people, or a fisher folk, which the Austrics appear largely to have been. In the cosmogony of some of the Austric (Kol) and Dravidian tribes, the tortoise plays an important part; and the legend of creation centering round the *Dharma* cult in Bengal (e.g. in works like the *Śūnya-purāṇa*) agree remarkably with some aboriginal creation legends, e.g. as among the Gonds. One of the dialectal words for 'tortoise' in Bengali, current over a good part of the delta, is *duṛā* or *duṛo*; this word usually signifies a tortoise of a small species. The word occurs also in Assamese. It is found in Old Bengali as ***duli*** — 'female tortoise,' and ***duli***, *dulī* are given by Monier Williams as late Sanskrit words, meaning 'female tortoise,' as well as ***dauleya*** = 'young tortoise.' A Sanskrit word ***dadru***, with a variant ***dara***, meaning 'tortoise,' also occurs: these presuppose vernacular words in ancient India like **daḍḍa*, **daḍa*, and **dara*. In the Asoka Inscriptions, it occurs in the form *duli* or *duḍi* (in Pillar Edict No. V). For these, a form like ***dul- *duṛ-*** or ***dur-*** or ***daṛ*, **dar***, would be the basic word. As a widely current Bengali word (beside ***kāchim*** = Skt. ***kacchapa, kaśyapa***, = Hindi ***kachuwā***, and ***kāṭhuā, kāuṭhā***, with which compare Santali ***kaṭkòm*** = 'crab', not occurring, as far as known, in other parts of India), it may be reasonably presumed to be of non-Aryan, probably Austric, origin; although I have not been able to find a similar word in any of the Austric languages. Now, in the Kol speeches we have an affix *-òm* added to nouns both animate and inanimate, which is perhaps just an expletive without any special force which has become a part of the word: e.g. ***mèṛòm*** 'goat, he-goat or she-goat', ***damkòm*** 'bull calf,' ***kaṭkòm*** 'crab', ***sadòm*** 'horse', ***madkòm*** 'the *mahua* tree', ***sarjòm*** 'the *sal* tree', ***gòṛòm*** 'grand child', ***hatòm*** 'father's sister, maternal uncle's wife', ***tyaròm*** 'insect', ***mudòm*** 'ring,' ***gòtòm*** 'ghee', ***datròm*** 'sickle' (the last three appear to be early Aryan loans, respectively from ***muddā*** = ***mudrā***, ***ghata*** = ***ghṛta***, and ***dātra***), ***aṛgòm*** 'ladder', ***parkòm*** 'bed-stead', ***kalòm*** 'year', etc. Probably connected with this is

another affix *-am*: *sutam* 'thread' (from Aryan *sutta* = *sūtra*), *sakam* 'leaf', *banam* 'lute', *koṛam* 'breast' (cf. Aryan *krōḍa*), *potam* 'dove', etc. Among the pre-Aryan ancestors of the Bengali people speaking Austric dialects, we can postulate the presence of a word **dul-*, **duṛ*, **dur*, *daṛ*, *dar* = 'tortoise', as the source of the New Bengali *duṛā*, *duṛo*, and the Old Bengali and late Sanskrit *duli*, *dulī*; and could we further postulate an extension of it into **dul-òm*, **duṛ-òm*, **dur-òm*, **dul-am*, **duṛ-am*, **dur-am*, or **daṛ-òm*, **dar-òm*, **daṛ-am*, **dar-am* as a specialised word or word-group meaning also 'tortoise'? So that an easy Sanskritisation of a name like ***duṛom*, *duram*** or **daram*, **darom*, into *Dharma* (through a vernacular or *semi-tatsama* Aryan form like **dharama* as something intermediate), just after the Upper Indian Brahmanism and Buddhism came to Bengal and began to influence the local non-Aryan religion, would be quite in the nature of things: the god symbolised by the tortoise in this way getting a Sanskrit name meaning 'Law' or 'World Order', only though phonetic assimilation. It is also to be questioned if the translation of the Fish, the Tortoise and the Boar into incarnations of Viṣṇu is not the result of the influence of pre-Aryan (Austric) religion on Brahmanical Hinduism.

Any way, in speaking about Buddhist survivals in Bengal at the present day, we have definitely to omit the Dharma cult, although it has to be admitted that Buddhist ritualistic elements have modified its ritual. The ideologies and the mythologies of Buddhism in any of its numerous forms, and those of the Dharma cult, are quite different from each other. Dharma priests of *Ḍōm* and other inferior castes originally were known as *Pāḍit* or *Pāṛit* (Paṃḍit), a *semi-tatsama* from the Sanskrit *Paṇḍita*. Devotees of Dharma were known by various names—one of which was *āmani* or *āmini*, from Sanskrit *āmnāyika* 'sectarian'.

Present-day Hinduism in Bengal is the gradual transformation of Puranic Hinduism as it was developing all over India during the first millennium after Christ. Hinduism or Brahmanism started with the Aryan religion and its scriptures the Vedas on the one hand, and with the non-Aryan religions and their lost or unwritten scriptures on the other. Against Vedism and non-Aryan religions both, but particularly against Vedism, were developed certain philosophical systems, prominent among which were Jainism and Buddhism: these themselves did not escape the influence of either the Vedic priests, the Brahmans, or those who followed the extra-Vedic non-Aryan religions, if not in their philosophical concepts, at least in the ordinary religious life of their followers. From about the middle of the 1st millennium B. C., some of these extra-Vedic religions, with their ideologies, their mythologies and their cults, began to assert themselves; and although they were at first ignored and then reluctantly tolerated by the Brahmans, who knew only the Vedic ritual of sacrifice, and the Vedic gods and Upanishadic speculations, they gradually were accommodated in the new Brahmanism that was growing up

in post-Buddhic times. The worship of Viṣṇu, of Śiva and of Umā or Dēvī came in : Śrī was one of the earliest of these extra-Aryan deities to establish her position. The ritual of the *pūjā* (of likely Dravidian origin) was given a place beside the Vedic ritual of *hōma* or the fire-sacrifice : in the *Bhagavad Gītā* as a part of the *Mahābhārata* (which was the great scripture of this later and composite form of Brahmanism in which the Vedic world and the world of the great Puranic gods were sought to be harmonised); we find the following verse (IX. 26):

patram puṣpam phalam tōyam yō mē bhaktyā pra-yacchati,

tad aham bhakty-upāhṛtam aśnāmi prayatâtmanaḥ.

"He who offereth to Me with devotion a leaf, a flower, a fruit, water, that I accept from the striving self, offered as it is with devotion" (Trans. Annie Besant).

Taken in its context, it appears to be just a defence of the *pūjā* ritual before *hōma*-performing Brahmans who were still looking askance at non-Vedic rites and ritual.

The first amalgamation that took place of Vedic and non-Vedic (i.e., non-Aryan) religions embraced the two pantheons and the two rituals, and the myths and legends of the two religious worlds were also combined. The Brahmans formally and officially always gave the superiority to the Vedas and Vedic cults and ritual, but the Puranic cults and the Puranic ritual were also coming to be admitted by them. Then from the middle of the 1st millennium A.D., the Brahmans had to make another big concession, by admitting Tantric rites and ideas. The origin of these Tantric ideas and practices is not known : but it seems that the esoteric ideology of the *Tantra*, and its ritual, connected as these were from the beginning with *yōga* practices, represented the pre-Aryan, probably Dravidian, religion *in excelsis*. The mythology of the *Purāṇa* and the simple ritual of the *pūjā* were adopted first ; and then came the esoteric doctrine, and the elaborate practices of the Tantra. Upto about 800 A.D., the mixed Vedic-Puranic Brahmanism as in the *Purāṇas* appears to have been free from Tantric influences. But after that, Tantric ideas and practices were being given greater and greater recognition in Hindu life and in Hindu religion—*i.e.*, life and religion as directed by the Brahmans. (This line of development of Puranic Brahmanism has been very ably indicated by Dr. Rajendra Chandra Hazra of the Dacca University in his *Studies in the Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, University of Dacca Bulletin No. XX, 1940, which is an admirable work of capital importance, covering over 350 pages in the study of the *Purāṇas* as documents in the evolution of Hindu or Brahmanical religion, which unfortunately is not as well known as it deserves to be as a work of exact and painstaking scholarship).

Not only Brahmanism, with its great gods Viṣṇu and Śiva (with Umā) fully established, but also Buddhism fell under the spell of the Tantric ideo-

logy, mythology and ritual. Mahāyāna Buddhism with its pronounced bias for mysticism and theism formed an equally fertile field for the seed of Tantric ideas to take root and to have a vigorous growth. Saktism, adopted in the Brahmanical Śiva and Umā cults of Puranic origin, became equally accepted in Mahāyāna Buddhism of Eastern India (including Bengal). Hīnayāna Buddhism was current in Bengal side by side with the Mahāyāna, which appears to have been fully established in Bengal by the beginning of the 6th century, as mentioned by Dr. Bagchi on epigraphic evidence. The Mahāyāna as known to Hiuen Ts'ang in the 7th century was transformed in Bengal with Tantric accretions, into the *Tantra-yāna*, and its ramifications the *Kāla-cakra-yāna*, the *Vajra-yāna* (this concerning itself mainly with a new and elaborate ritual and ceremonial of worship with *bīja-mantras* or mystic syllables of power and *mudrās* or gestures with the fingers, which formed a surer and at the same time much easier esoteric path —*sādhana-mārga*— for the attainment of *Bōdhi* or highest wisdom), and *Sahaja-yāna*, its latest phase (of which the exponents were the 84 great adepts of mysticism known as the *Siddhas*, who discountenanced ritual and outward worship of the gods or cultivation of the 'virtues' and inculcated the culture of hidden powers within the body by *yōga* practices, including breath-control, leading to the condition of supreme bliss that is the natural —*sahaja*— state in which man feels that his essential unity with the inner Spirit of things is realised). The language of these later phases of the *Mahāyāna* in Bengal, which totally eclipsed the earlier *Mahāyāna* schools of Philosophy and Self-culture like the *Mādhyamika* and the *Yōgācāra* or *Vijñāna-vāda*, is replete with the Tantric spirit,—it is language and practice, and mystic outlook and symbolism even more than we note in the case of Puranic Brahmanism, under *Tantra* influence. Till the last there was a certain amount of Brahman opposition to Tantric mysticism and symbolism, and to Tantric practices ; but the Buddhists in Bengal succumbed to these completely : and in Tantric Buddhism, the Tantric symbolism and practices found another and a potent channel through which it could exert an indirect but nevertheless very effective influence on Puranic Brahmanism. Present-day Brahmanism in Bengal may be characterised as more than three-fourths Tantric in its inspiration, outlook and ritual, and less than one-fourth Vedic, with a Puranic background : and the greatest legacy of Buddhism in Bengal, in its latest phase before it died out officially or formally, has been this Tantric attitude and atmosphere.

Buddhism survived as a 'subsidiary' religion, and under the Senas, who were staunchly Brahmanical Hindus, Buddhism was dethroned from its high place as the religion of the ruling house which it had enjoyed under the Pālas. But it continued to flourish even for some centuries after the Turki conquest. In the middle of the 13th century, a North Bengal Brahman Rāmacandra Kavibhāratī declared his formal adherence to Buddhism—and he manifested in his *Bhakti-śataka ślokas*, in Sanskrit, an intense personal devotion to

Buddha which was a Buddhist counterpart of the *Bhakti* movement which characterised the later Vaishnava and other theistic schools centering round the figures of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. But Rāmacandra Kavibhāratī found his own society uncongenial, and he went to Ceylon and settled there. Even as late as the thirties of the 15th century, Buddhist texts like the *Bōdhi-caryāvatāra* continued to be written in Bengal, and we read about Buddhists during the life-time of Chaitanya. But after Chaitanya, the Buddhists as a religion and community cease to have a place in Bengal. (The Chittagong Buddhists at the present day are to be affiliated to the Hīnayāna school of Arakan and Burma—even their Pali learning was derived from Burma before recent reforms through connexion with Ceylon came in).

A good many Buddhists appear to have been at least nominally converted to Islam after the establishment of Turki Moslem rule in Bengal. Bad blood and want of sympathy between Brahman and Buddhist which manifested in the decadent days before and after the Turki conquest was largely responsible for this. But Bengali Buddhists (and Hindus) who adopted Islam did not or could not adapt their mental make up to the atmosphere of Arabic or Irani or Turki Islam. Saint-worship through their tombs (contemptuously described by the more orthodox or puritanical Bengali Mussalmans as *pīr-pirastī* or *gōr-pirastī* 'worship of saints, worship of tombs'), an Islamised version of the Buddhist worship of *stūpas* or *caityas* built over the ashes or relics of great teachers and saints, forms an important cult in the Islam of Bengal and India: and it can legitimately be looked upon as an inheritance, Islamised no doubt, from Buddhistic ritual and practice.

Among present-day Hindus in Bengal, even the name *Buddha* has been lost. Probably the personal name *Budhu* or *Buddhu* is a *tadbhava* survival of the name *Buddha* (cf. *Kānu* < *Kṛṣṇa*). This name we hear as an old-fashioned pet name, which is sometimes connected with *Budha-vāra* or 'Wednesday,' but people do not know what it really means. Before the curiosity of the West rediscovered the history or *Buddhist* Buddha for us, the average Hindu knew of Buddha only as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, who came down on earth deliberately to mislead the sinful into the path of an anti-Vedic faith, although he was moved to pity for the animals slaughtered at Vedic sacrifices. Sanskrit scholars and persons educated in English know about Buddha, but the Buddhist tradition about the master has strangely passed away. Even Buddha images are being worshipped in many places as Hindu gods and goddesses by the Hindu populace. From the 19th century, names like *Amitābha*, *Bōdhi-sattva*, *Śākya-siṃha*, and *Buddha-dēva*, and *Gōpā* and *Yaśōdharā* are being revived. But two names of late Mahāyāna inspiration, although used in Brahmanical or Brahmanised contexts, have continued all along: *Lōkanātha* or *Lōkēśvara*, believed to be a name of Śiva, but really (at least in its origin) it would appear to be the name of the very popular Bodhisattva, *Avalōkitēśvara*; and *Tārā*, usually regarded as the

Tantric goddess who is a form of *Śakti*, but really the name is of the equally popular Buddhist goddess who was the consort of *Avalōkitēśvara*. In fact, in popularity, among the Buddhist forbears of a good many present-day Bengalis, *Avalōkitēśvara* and *Tārā* anticipated *Śiva* and *Durgā*: the names have survived, and many of the attributes; only the mythological atmosphere is different.

The old gods never die, nor do the rituals. If worship of the saints' graves survives, even the name for these saints lives in translation: the Buddhist *sthavira* > *thera* is succeeded by the Islamic *pīr*, which in Persian means the same thing as *sthavira* (= 'old man'), and the lotus and sandal paste are just changed for the rose and rose-water coming from Islamic Iran.

The second name in the Buddhist triad, *Dharma*, came down to Old Bengali in the proper *tadbhava* form *Dharma*>*dhamma*>*dhāma*, but it fell into disuse from Middle Bengali times, the Sanskrit word, never lost to the language (either in its *tatsama* form, or in its *semi-tatsama* variants like *dharama, dhamma*), taking its place. In Middle Bengali, *dhāma* survives in the word *dhāmāt-karaṇī* or *dhāmāt-karṇī*, a title for a priest in the ritual of the Dharma cult (*dharma* + *āyanta-* or *-āpayanta-* = **dhāmāita, dhāmāt*). We have the word in a place-name like *Dhām-rāi* (= *Dharma-rājikā*). The Middle Bengali word *dhāmāli* means 'a particular kind of song, a kind of song accompanied by gestures, dance-song, dance-sport, jest and joke': its Assamese counterpart *dhemāli* means 'a division of the musical performance with the Assamese *khol* and *mṛidang* (drums),' and then 'sport', 'amusement.' These words seem to be akin to the Hindi *dhamār* 'a kind of musical mode' which appears to be just another form of Hindi *dhamāl, dhammāl* = 'jumping into or running through fire (a practice of *faqirs* and *qalandars*): a musical measure: a kind of song (sung during the Holī festival); wild and tumultuous merriment, noise, tumult, uproar.' Platts connects the Hindi words with *dharma*. Originally therefore **dharmāla* meant 'some religious ceremonial,' then 'music and dancing connected with that,' and, finally, 'merriment' on the one hand, and 'a particular kind of musical or poetic composition' on the other: and the word may be of Buddhist antecedents, which has survived to our day—the meaning having degenerated. We may compare the fortunes of the name *Vasiṣṭha*: originally as the priest of Rāma's house, he was the messenger between Daśaratha and Janaka before Rāma's marriage with the latter's daughter, Sītā, as described in the *Rāmāyaṇa*; and then the Middle Indo-Aryan form of the word, *Vasiṭṭha*, must have changed its meaning, so that its New Indo-Aryan equivalent in Hindi, *basīṭh*, finally came to mean 'a village headman, a master of ceremonies, an agent or messenger' (Amīr Khusrau, c. 1300 A.D., uses *basīṭh* as an equivalent of the Arabic *rasūl* the Persian *paigham-bar*) and, finally, to degenerate into the sense of 'a go-between, a tale-bearer, a mischief-maker,' and even into 'a customer (among harlots).'

The word *Saṅgha*, on the authority of the late Mahāmahôpādhyāya Hara-
...d Sastri, survived in Middle Bengali in the word *sāṅgā* (or *sāṅghā*) meaning 'a group of ships or boats sailing together for safety, a convoy.' In Pali also we have the word *saṅghāṭa* to mean 'an array of boats'). We have in Modern Bengali the word *sāṅgāt* 'boon companion, close friend,' and at first sight it would suggest a connexion with the Sanskrit *saṅga*. But the Hindi equivalent shows *gh* and not g : *saṅghātī* 'companion, friend, ally', *saṅghat* 'union, companionship', *saṅghatin* or *saṅghatan* 'female friend.' We have in Hindi the expression *saṅg-saṅghātī* = 'friends and associates', where *saṅghātī* is distinguished from *saṅg* in a synonym-compound. So here we have a folk-survival in Bengali and Hindi of the Buddhist *saṅgha* : *saṅgha* + *-vanta-* = Bengali *sāṅgāt*, and *saṅgha-tva* = Hindi *saṅghat*, from which the nouns. We have here thus a generalisation of the specialised Buddhist term.

Buddha, Dharma and *Saṅgha* have thus not been able to retain any hold on the popular or mass-consciousness of the people of Bengal. On the other hand, some Puranic deities and other figures have been able to do so, e.g., Bengali *Kānu* < *Kṛṣṇa*, *Rāi* < *Rāhī* < *Rādhikā*, *Āyān* < *Āīhaṇa* <*Ahivaṇṇu* < *Abhimanyu*, *Ind* or *Īd* < *Indra*, *Dūgī* < **Durgikā*, *Ṣāṭh*(*i*) < *Ṣaṣṭhī* ; etc.

In some place-names we have naturally enough reminiscences of Buddhist religious foundations or locations, e.g., *Dhāmarāi* which has been noted above, *Pānc-thupī* (= *Pañca-stūpikā*). *Bājāṣan* (= *Vajrāsana*). *Dharma-doha*, *Dhām-sār*, *Uāri* or *Wāri* (*Upakārikā*, 'pavilion, temporary pavilion for religious festivities decorated with flowers and festoons'), *Nabāsan* (=*Navāsana*), *Mahāsthān* ; and a few more. It may not be insisted upon, but it is very likely that the annual festivities, centering round the worship of some god or goddess *Dūgī* < *Durgikā* which are held all over Bengal and are known as *Bār-wārī-pūjā*, is of Buddhist origin. The main item in these festivities is the erection of a temporary structure, a common gathering place, in wood, bamboo and matting, with flags, foliage and festoons, the *uārī* of Old Bengal, in which the performance of dramas and singing of songs for the people are held, and the image is installed in a corner if there is no permanent temple. The cost is met by public subscription, the community taking active part in the whole thing. The word *bār* in *Bār-wārī* appears to be added to the original word *uārī* in later post-Muslim times, as an honorific embellishment, from the Persian (cf. Persian *bār* 'country,' *bārah* 'wall'; cf. *dar-bār* 'king's audience or levee').

The Brahman tradition was to wear long hair and beards—wearing long hair may have been an Indo-European inheritance among the Aryan Brahmans of India. In contrast to that, the Buddhist monks were clean-shaven in both head and face. In post-Muslim times, the clean-shaven Buddhist monks and nuns were contemptuously known as *Nāḍā* (or *Nèḍā*) and *Nāḍī* (or *Neḍī*), and these terms came to be applied by the orthodox Hindus for Vaishnava monks and nuns who also followed this practice of shaving the head, from post-

Chaitanya times, when Chaitanya Vaishnavism admitting monks and nuns became a strongly organised force in the country. The Brahmans, particularly laymen, were accustomed to be clean-shaven in the face and in the head, save for a long tuft at the top (the *śikhā*), and for this hygienic practice the example of the Buddhist monks may have been responsible : in post-Chaitanya times, as we gather from a 16th century literary reference, it was uncommon for a Brahman to wear a beard—more so when the Turks and other Muslims were cultivating this hirsute appendage to the face. Ordination of Vaisnava monks and nuns, which was a very simple ceremony, came to be described by an old word which would appear to be a relic of Buddhist practice : the monk's status of a *bhikṣu* (*bhikkhu*) or Buddhist monk, with the yellow garb and the begging bowl, was known as *bhaikṣya* (*bhĕkkha*), and from this we have the vernacular (Bengali) word *bhēkh* meaning the status of the Vaishnava monk, with his *tulasī*-beads round his neck, his begging bag made of a knotted cloth, and his *kaupīna* or loin-cloth.

Certain cults which were going very strong in Middle Bengali times and have continued a moribund existence even to our day form an undoubted continuance of Tantric Buddhism, more or less mixed with other cults. Of these, the medieval Bengali *Sahajiyā* cult is one : later it affiliated itself to Chaitanya Vaishṇavism. The Nātha cult, with the Siddha Gorakh-nāth at its head, is another : it appears to have been the result of a fusion of Tantric Sahaja-yāna of the late Mahāyāna Buddhism with Sivaite *Yōga*. Gorakh-nāth is one of those elusive persons who are claimed by more than one religious sect. The *Avadhūtas* are another order of religious devotees, frankly Sivaite, who appear to have emerged from *Sahaja-yāna*. The Bāuls are another group of Sahaja-yāna origin or affinity, which until recently kept itself aloof from Brahmanical sects, and followed, its own ideologies and its own life : now it is slowly Vaishnavising itself. The *Kartā-bhajā* or the 'Creator i.e., Master-worshipper' sect is a very late form of the non-descript, extra-Brahmanical sects which grew up in a Vaishnava background.

The present-day Tantric leaven in Bengal Hinduism largely came to it *via* the Buddhistic *Kāla-cakra-yāna*, the *Vajra-yāna* and the *Sahaja-yāna* schools of the *Tantra-yāna*. One matter in which there has been a very subtle influence from Tantric Buddhism upon Bengal Brahmanism would seem to be this : the rather exaggerated importance of the *guru* from whom Tantric initiation is received. The Brahman has his proper Vedic initiation when he is invested with the sacred thread by the *upanayana* rite and is taught the *Gāyatrī* prayer from the Veda : theoretically, he does not require any other initiation. But in practice, all good Hindus in Bengal should have a *guru* who will 'give him the *mantra*,' a Śaiva, Śākta or Vaishṇava mystic syllable and a name of a divinity to repeat : and the *guru* becomes almost as a god to him after this initiation. This mentality has become so thoroughly ingrained

in the Bengali mind, Hindu and Muslim (the Muslims have developed in India and particularly in Bengal a similar *Pīr-Murīd* or *Murshīd-Murīd*, i.e., *Guru-Śiṣya* relationship) that it directs the activities of even otherwise normal people to the extent of blindly following a master, in intellectual as much as in spiritual matters. Now, the *guru* has always had an honoured place in Brahman Society : but he was never an object of divine honours in Vedism. Whereas, as we see in Nepal, where the Tantric Buddhism as in Bengal of the 10th-13th centuries still survives among the Newars, although the strong Śakta or Śaiva cult of the Gurkhas has been profoundly modifying it, a Buddhist is known as a *Gu-bhāju* or 'a Guru worshipper,' and a Brahmanical Hindu as a *De-bhāju* or 'a Deva-worshipper'. (The late MM. Dr. Haraprasad Sastri noted these words in Nepal and explained them in the above way, connecting them with the Sanskrit root *bhaj* 'to adore, to worship' : R. L. Turner in his *Nepali Dictionary*, however, gives *Gubhāju* or *Gubhājyu* as meaning 'a Newari Buddhist priest', but not *De-bhāju*, and explains *Gubhāju* differently, as possibly being from Sanskrit *guru* and a Newari *bhāju* 'master'.)

Some of our middle-class non-Brahman surnames have a Buddhistic ring : *Pālita, Dhara, Rakṣita, Kara* etc., may be equally Brahmanical and Buddhistic, but *Pān* may be Buddhistic (*Prājña* or *-prajña* = Middle Indo-Aryan *Paññа, paṇṇa* = Bengali *Pān*). A good few surnames occur in both the fuller Sanskrit form and in the modified Prakritic form : the former may be due to a Brahmanical context, the latter Buddhistic. But this is, it must be confessed, too theoretical : nevertheless, we may contrast *Canda* with *Candra, Āic* (from *Āicca*) with *Āditya, Hui* for *Bhūti* (=*bhūti*), *Guī* (Guin) for *Gōmika* or *Gomin* (Cf. *Candra-gōmin* = Bengali *Cād Guī*), *Da* besides *Dām* (= *Daman*), etc.

The above are a few aspects of the very meagre survival of the Buddhist world (at one time so wide and so all-embracing) in the present-day Hindudom of Bengal, as they suggest themselves to a student of language. Closer and more specialised investigation is bound to reveal many more venues of Buddhist survival.

KOKĀMUKHASVĀMIN

By

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An obscure deity called *Kokāmukhasvāmin* is mentioned in a Damodarpur inscription of Budha Gupta.[1] Dr. R. G. Basak, who originally edited the record, referred in this connection to Kokāmukhā, a form of the goddess Durgā, and to the Kokāmukha *tīrtha*, both mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. He did not, however, suggest any satisfactory identification of the god Kokāmukhasvāmin. My friend and pupil Dr. D. C. Sircar recently came to the conclusion that Kokāmukha is a form of Śiva.[2] This theory is based on the supposed connection of the name "Ādya Kokāmukhasvāmin", as given in the Damodarpur inscription, with the appellations *Ādyā* and *Kokāmukhā* used in reference to Durgā, the consort of Śiva, and on the term *nāma-liṅga* which, according to Dr. Sircar, occurs in the epigraph in the sense of 'a *Liṅga* established after someone's name,' and points to the god Kokāmukhasvāmin. The land donated in favour of the deity according to the Damodarpur grant was situated on the Himavacchikhara.[3] Dr. Sircar rightly points out that the expression *Himavacchikhara* literally means 'a peak or summit of the Himālayas' ; but he adds : "Here however it appears to refer to a territorial unit (called a forest in [Inscription] No. 39). The situation of the land granted to the gods suggests that it was not far from Dāmodarpur. There is as yet no proof that the Koṭivarṣa district included the hilly region bordering on the northern fringe of Bengal."[4]

Fresh light on the identification not only of Kokāmukhasvāmin but also of 'Himavacchikhara', where apparently the god's temple was situated, is thrown by chapters 219 and 229 of the *Brahma Purāṇa*.[5] The evidence furnished by the above sections of the Purāṇa prove beyond doubt that like Śvetavarāhasvāmin, with whom he is associated in the record, Kokāmukha is a form of the Varāha (Boar) incarnation of Viṣṇu and that the Kokāmukha *tīrtha* was in the Himalayan region on the northern fringe of Bengal.

1. Basak, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 138 ff ; Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 328 ff.
2. *Op. cit.*, 329 n ; cf. *Ind. Cult.*, April, 1939 (Vol. V), p. 432 f.
3. Cf. *Himavacchikhare Kokāmukhasvāminaḥ catvāraḥ kulyavāpāḥ* etc.
4. Sircar, Select Inscriptions, p. 329, fn. 2.
5. Baṅgabāsī edition, pp. 860 ff, 928 ff.

In chapter 219 of the *Brahma Purāṇa* we have a legend about the origin of the place of pilgrimage styled Kokāmukha *tīrtha*. It is unnecessary here to enter into the details of the story. In short it relates how Viṣṇu in his Boar form rescued the divine *pitṛs* who had been engulfed in the waters of the Kokā, a stream that dashed through the Himalayan rocks (*śiśir-ādri*). Cf.

Verse 3 :—
Purā Kokājale magnān pitṛnuddhṛtavān bibhuḥ

Verse 17 :—
Koketi prathitā loke ŚIŚIRĀDRI*samāśritā*

Verse 36 :—
KOKĀMUKHE *pitṛganaṁ salile nimagnaṁ*
Devo dadarśa śirasātha śilāṁ vahantam

Verse 39 :—
VARĀHA*daṁṣṭrāsaṁlagnāḥ pitaraḥ kanakojjvalāḥ*
Kokāmukhe gatabhayāḥ kṛtā devena Viṣṇunā

Verse 114 :—
Kokāpi tīrthasahitā saṁsthitā GIRIRĀJANI

It is added that the sanctity of the Kokāmukha *tīrtha* was due to the presence of the Varāha form of Viṣṇu. Cf.

Verse 106 :—
Kokā nadīti vikhyātā girirājasamāśritā
tīrthakoṭimahāpuṇyā MADRŪPA*paripālitā*

Verse 107 :—
asyāmadya prabhṛti vai nivatsyāmyaghanāśakṛt
VARĀHA*darśanaṁ puṇyaṁ pūjanaṁ bhuktimuktidam*

Verse 116 :—
evam mayoktaṁ varadasya Viṣṇoḥ
KOKĀMUKHE *divya*-VARĀHARŪPAM

It may be noted in this connection that according to the same legend Narakāsura, who sprang from the union of Viṣṇu in his Boar form with the goddess Mahī or Chāyā, and was made lord of the city of Prāgjyotiṣa by his Divine Father, was born in the Kokāmukha *tīrtha* in the Himālayas.[6] The

6. Cf.
Verses 114-115 :
Chāyā mahimayi kroḍi piṇḍaprāśanavṛṁhitā
garbhamādāya sasraddhā Vārāhasyaiva sundarī
tato' syāḥ prābhavat putro Bhaumastu Narakāsuraḥ
Prāgjyotiṣañca nagaramasya daṭṭañca Viṣṇunā

story apparently points to the proximity of the holy spot in question to Prāgjyotiṣa in Kāmarūpa (Lower Assam and North Bengal to the east of the Karatoyā). In the Gupta period, the sacred site is known to have fallen within the limits of the Koṭivarṣa *viṣaya* (district) of the Puṇḍavardhana *bhukti* (province) in North Bengal.

Chapters 229 of the *Brahma Purāṇa* also dilates on the Kokāmukha *tīrtha*; but it hardly adds much to the stock of our knowledge. This section only corroborates the information gathered from chapter 219.

Cf.

ityevamuktvā pitaraṁ praṇamya
gatvā ca Kokāmukhamagratīrtham
Viṣṇuṁ samārādhya VARĀHARŪPAM
avāpa siddhiṁ manujarṣabho'sau

Ch. 229, Verse 86.

In passing it may be pointed out that the Damodarpur inscription noticed above is of great importance for the study of the religious history of ancient Bengal. In the first place, it points to the prevalence of the cult of the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu in Bengal during the Gupta age.[7] Secondly, it demonstrates the existence, even in that early period, of a belief in different varieties (Śveta varāha, Kokāmukha) of the Varāha form of Viṣṇu. It is clear that as early

7. Cf. my remarks on the disappearance of the *independent* worship of the *vyūhas* except Vāsudeva, and the growing popularity of the *avatāras*, *Early History of the Vaishṇava Sect.*, 2nd ed. p. 176. The votaries of the cult of Vishṇu and his *avatāras* were doubtless styled *Bhāgavata*—a sectarian designation that was known to Indian epigraphy from the time of the Besnagar inscription of Heliodoros to the age of the Guptas and their successors. Another designation, *Pāñcarātra*, is met with in the Epic, the Pañcarātra *Saṃhitās*, the *Harṣacarita* of Bāna the *Brahma Purana* and other works. A suggestion has been offered in recent times that Bhāgavatism was ***completely*** different from the Pañcarātra cult ***in the Gupta period***, and that while the former was specially associated with the *avatāravāda*, the latter stood for the ***vyūhavāda***. But the existence of the Pāñcarātras as a sect ***distinct*** from the Bhāgavatas ***in the Gupta age*** is extremely problematical. The epithet *Pāñcarātra* is not prefixed to the name of any personage of importance in Gupta inscriptions or coin legends in the same way as *Sātvata*, or *Bhāgavata*, thus casting doubt on its prevalence as a ***rival*** sectarian designation ***in the Gupta age***. The *Harṣacarita* which does make separate mention of Bhāgavatas and Pāñcarātras is a post-Gupta work. The commentator on the words regards both the sects as Viṣṇuites; but he never suggests that the line of demarcation between the two follows the supposed cleavage between the upholders of the *avatāravāda* and the *vyūhavāda* respectively. In the *Pādma Tantra*, *Bhāgavata* and *Pañcarātrika* are referred to as synonymous terms, and the Pāñcarātra *Saṃhitās* pay devotion to the *avatāras* as well as the *vyūhas*. Even in the *Caitanyacaritāmṛta*, there is no suggestion that the *avatāravāda* is the doctrine exclusively of the Bhāgavatas and the *vyūhavāda* of the Pāñcarātras. In the *Brahma Purāna* the *Mahābhāgavata* Akrura pays homage to the four *Vyūhas* (ch. 190-192). The *Pañcharātra-vidhāna* contemplates worship of the *Vyūhas* as well as the *avatāras* including Mahāvarāha (Ch. 48-49).

as the fifth century A.D. not only were *avatāras* worshipped in Bengal, but the conception of different variations of the same *avatāra* had developed.[8]

8. Gopinatha Rao (*Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, pt. i, p. 132 ff) notices three different conceptional types of the Varāha *avatāra*, namely, (i) Bhūvarāha, Ādivarāha or Nṛvarāha, (*ii*) Yajñavarāha and (*iii*) Pralayavarāha. The relation of these types with Śvetavarāha and Kokāmukha cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. The Eran inscription of Toramāṇa (Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 159) refers to the Boar form of Viṣṇu "who in the act of lifting up the earth (out of the waters) caused the mountains to tremble with the blows of (his) hard snout; (and) who is the pillar (for the support) of the great house which is the three worlds." Cf.

jayati dharaṇyuddharaṇē ghanaghoṇāghātaghūrṇṇitamahīddhraḥ
devo Varāhamūrttistrailokyamahāgṛhastambaḥ

The reference here may be to No. (*i*) of Gopinath. The cult of the boar may have been, like that of the divine apes, snake gods and goddesses, etc., of folk (popular) origin, later engrafted on Vaishnavism and other important creeds.

THE PORTUGUESE IN BENGAL*

By

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Vasco da Gama did not sail for an unknown land when he left Belem with his valiant band in the summer of 1497. India was not a terra incognita to the people of the west. For countless ages the route overland had been used by scores of travellers and traders. Only ten years earlier Cavilhão,[1] a compatriot of Vasco, had sailed from Aden to Cannanore, to find a passage across the sea, from Calicut to Africa where he gathered valuable information about Madagascar and a wide stretch of the coast opposite. He was not destined to see his country again, but the results of his labours were not lost to his countrymen. A faithful friend carried Cavilhão's report to Lisbon. The once dreaded waters beyond Cape Non had no longer any terror for the Portuguese seamen. Sailor after sailor had dauntlessly defied the perils of the unknown for six decades and more, and crept along the west coast of Africa from cape to cape, creek to creek, carefully noting the prominent landmarks, rivers, islets and harbours as they pushed on further and further, until the southernmost limit was reached, and the eastern shores espied. The success of Gama's voyage had been amply assured by the exploits of his precursors. The task set by Prince Henry the Navigator was accomplished when Vasco cast his anchor off Calicut.

Knowledge for its own sake, adventures for their perils alone, had no appeal to Vasco and his friends. They were after the good things of this world, and would secure, if they could, the blessings of the next. They came to this country in quest of commerce and Christians. Of Christians there were but few in this pagan land and that mysterious prince, Prester John of the popular legends, was not to be found in India. But the Portuguese were not disappointed. If their evangelical zeal met with a set-back, their acquisitive instincts were more than gratified in the rich marts of Malabar. Vasco da Gama had his own standard of business morality. If peaceful traffic proved less profitable, he readily indulged in the use of sword and fire. Human beings and their handicrafts were to him equally lucrative and legitimate articles of commerce. What he and his countrymen wanted was a monopoly of the eastern trade, and for twenty years Gama and Cabral, Almeida and Albuquerque, ruthlessly exploited the region of their first visit.

It was not long before that other areas claimed their greedy attention.

1. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, Vol. I, pp. 29-32.

* This paper, written for the Dacca University History of Bengal, has been contributed to this volume with the kind permission of the Editor.

The goods of Bengal were not unknown in the markets recently captured by them, but they found their way to Malabar in crafts other than Portuguese, and the profit went to swell unchristian pockets. Albuquerque had already dwelt upon the bright prospects that trade with Bengal offered in a letter to his King and master, but it was left to his successor, Lopo Soares de Albergaria, to send an expedition to the Bay, and in 1518, Dom João de Silveira appeared with four ships before the bar of Chittagong. He had been shortly preceded there by João Coelho, another Portuguese agent. In 1517 Fernão Peres d'Andrade had been commissioned to explore the Bay of Bengal and the neighbouring country, but lured by the reported wealth of the Far East, he sailed first to Sumatra and thence steered his course for the ports of the Celestial Empire postponing his visit to Bengal for a future date. On the return journey, he sent João Coelho to his original destination, and Coelho arrived at Chittagong, a passenger in a Moorish boat, a few days earlier than Silveira. The first Portuguese mission to Bengal, however, proved a failure. Barros and other Portuguese historians found a satisfactory explanation of Silveira's ill-success in the habitual treachery and innate wickedness of the Bengalee character, but the Portuguese had to thank themselves alone for the cold reception they met with in Bengal.

Silveira had encountered two merchant-men on his way to the Maldives, and promptly made prizes of them. One of the captured boats belonged to a Muslim merchant, Golam Ali (Gormalle), known to be a relative of the governor of Chittagong, who himself was interested in the other. As he was apparently unfamiliar with the waters he was to navigate, the Portuguese captain pressed into his service a pilot from the boats he had seized and took into his confidence a young man, who introduced himself as the pilot's brother-in-law. No wonder that his strange misdeeds on the high seas, which ill-accorded with the peaceful character of his professed mission, were no secret to the governor of Chittagong when Silveira arrived there, and the appearance of two Portuguese agents in quick succession, from opposite quarters, gave ample room for suspicion. The Muslim captain with whom Coelho found a passage, gave him a good character but Silveira's action, as reported to the governor, had all the appearance of piracy. He was accordingly considered to be an undesirable visitor, though Coelho experienced nothing but kindness and courtesy during his brief residence in Bengal. It will be unfair to assume that the high-handed dealings of Gama and Cabral had not been reported by the merchants of Western India to their friends and partners in Bengal. The consequence was inevitable. Silveira was suspected to be a pirate and treated as such, and he had to fight "desperately," as we learn from a Portuguese official report,[2] against the "perverse" people of Bengal, who obstinately refused to do any business with him. Silveira found himself in an

2. Sen, *Early Career of Kanhoji Angria and other Papers*, pp. 88-95.

unenviable plight. He dared not leave the inhospitable shores until the monsoon was over, and he could not find the provision he needed by fair purchase.

It may very well be asked why the Portuguese captain began his voyage with a highly indiscreet, if not positively unfriendly proceeding, which was liable to be unfavourably construed by the very people whose good opinion it was apparently his interest to cultivate. The answer is not far to seek. The sovereignty of the eastern seas pertained by virtue of a Papal grant to the Portuguese crown, and the King of Portugal had solemnly assumed the title of "Lord of the Navigation, Conquests and Trade of Æthiopia, Arabia, Persia and India."[3] According to the Portuguese way of thinking, every Portuguese captain was not only competent, but obliged to exercise the authority that the title connoted. It never occurred to them that the Papal Bull might not possibly have any legal or moral sanctions in countries outside His Holiness's spiritual jurisdiction. But in the Portuguese eyes, there was an additional justification for the policy pursued by their officers in the east. Nothing was unfair to a fanatical Christian, and fanaticism was the order of the day, particularly in the comparatively less civilised lands of the west, when a Moor or Muslim happened to be the victim. They had waged a long and bitter war against the Moor in their native country, and Portuguese patriotism and Portuguese piety equally demanded the extermination of the hated Moor in the neighbouring tracts of Africa. Commercial rivalry added further zest to racial hatred and religious aversion, and a Moor was considered to be a fair prey wherever encountered. The Indian export trade was, in those days, mostly in Muslim hands and the Portuguese captains made it their business to sweep the Muslim merchantmen out of Indian waters. Moreover, the tradition left by the early Portuguese explorers had a sinister influence on the naval practice of their successors, who willingly emulated their pernicious example. While navigating the eastern waters of the Atlantic, the Portuguese captains often found it necessary to requisition the unwilling services of the natives of the neighbouring coast. Raiding parties were usually sent to bring captives of all ages and sexes, and the more intelligent of the unfortunate prisoners were employed as pilots, guides and interpreters, while the rest were sold into slavery.[4] In justice to the Portuguese, it must be admitted that some of the Negroes were converted into Christianity, given a good education, married in Portuguese families and more or less imperceptibly absorbed in Portuguese society. But it cannot be doubted that the great majority suffered all the afflictions of exile and slavery for no fault of their own. Silveira was, therefore, behaving according to the moral code of Cadamosto and Cão, Gomes and Dias, when he made

3. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, Vol. I, p. 77.
4. Prestage, *The Portuguese Pioneers*, p. 101.

of the Gujrat-bound boats from Bengal and pressed into his service the pilot and his youthful relative, not suspecting for a moment that they might not prove so submissive and obliging as the less sophisticated and more helpless people of Nigeria and Gambia. With a strange and perverse consistency, the Portuguese continued to offend the susceptibilities of a civilised society and a cultured court by their failure to conform to the higher standard of international conduct prevailing in India, and most of their misfortunes in Bengal were due to lawless habits contracted with impunity in the congenial climes of the "dark" continent.

To return to our story, Silveira sailed back after a season of futile fighting and useless hostility, and nothing notable happened until 1526, when Ruy Vaz Pereira visited Chittagong and captured a galliot owned by a rich Persian merchant, Khwaja Shihab-ud-din, (Coge Sabadim) with all its cargo. It was alleged that piracy was committed by vessels built and fitted up after the Portuguese pattern and the blame was fastened on the unoffending Portuguese, while the real culprit went scot-free. Khwaja Shihab-ud-din's boat had all the appearance of such a corsair and Pereira professed to have acted in the interest of his own countrymen and all honest traders when he seized the wolf masquerading in a lamb's garb.[5]

Ill winds brought the next Portuguese visitor of note in 1528. Martim Affonso de Mello Jusarte was cruising off Ceylon with a squadron of eight vessels when a violent storm scattered his fleet, and drove his boat to the eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal. De Mello found himself ship-wrecked on the coast of Pegu, and made his way in a frail barque to a sandy bank where he and his men suffered the extremes of hunger and thirst. At last some fishermen offered to guide them to Chittagong but either by design or by mistake took them to Chakaria (on the Matamuhari river, 50 miles from Chittagong under the Head Quarters sub-division, Chakaria still claims some importance having a police station, sub-registry and telegraph office) where Khuda Bakhsh Khan, (Codovascam), the local chieftain unceremoniously threw them into prison. According to the Portuguese accounts, Khuda Bakhsh offered them liberty in lieu of their military services in a feud he had with an unfriendly neighbour. The battle was fought and won but there was no improvement in the lot of the unhappy prisoners. Khuda Bakhsh transferred them to his headquarters further inland in breach of his plighted word. Meanwhile, two of de Mello's lieutenants arrived at Chakaria but their efforts to ransom him proved of no avail, while an attempted flight resulted in greater rigours and de Mello's nephew, an immature youth of charming looks, was permitted to be brutally sacrificed by the local Brahmans. When things looked their ugliest, relief came from an unexpected quarter. Khwaja Shihab-ud-din, that Persian merchant of whose ship Pereira had made

5. Campos, *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*, pp. 30-31.

a prize at Chittagong, now interceded with the chieftain of Chakaria rightly expecting that success would be rewarded with the release of his boat and chattels. It was through his good offices that de Mello was at last ransomed at the not inconsiderable price of £ 1,500, and sent to Goa where he arrived in 1530, after two years of misery and misfortune.

One good turn deserved another and Nuno da Cunha, the Portuguese governor, readily agreed to send another trading and diplomatic mission to Bengal when Shihab-ud-din approached him with a request to that effect. The Persian had some difficulties with the court of Gaur and would fain shake off the dust of Bengal. He proposed to take a berth in a Portuguese boat bound for Ormuz, and offered in return, to use his influence with the grandees of Gaur to secure for his Portuguese friends the much coveted license for building factories and forts at Chittagong and other sites. Da Cunha appointed Martim Affonso de Mello Jusarte to head the expedition, and he sailed with five ships and two hundred men to reach Bengal for a second time in 1533. He was received well by the governor of Chittagong and started unloading his cargo. But it appears that all his past experiences had been completely lost on him and, instead of trying to win the confidence of the local authorities by fair dealing, de Mello did his best to alienate them by fraudulently smuggling his goods to avoid paying the excessive custom duties levied at the port. He was equally imprudent in the choice of his presents for the Sultan. Duarte de Azevedo, his envoy, did indeed take with him fine horses, rich brocades and other gifts to the value of £ 1200 to Mahmud Shah's capital. If it was his intention to create a sensation by the variety and wealth of his presents, he achieved an astounding success. Rarely is a king expected to accept stolen goods and among the presents offered to the Sultan were found several bottles of scented water known to have come from a Muslim merchantman recently plundered by a notorious Portuguese pirate, Damião Bernaldes, and neither de Mello nor Azevedo had deemed it necessary to take the elementary precaution of removing from the offensive packets the labels of the original owner.[6] The Sultan drew the obvious conclusion, and ordered the buccaneers, for as such Azevedo and his colleagues had appeared to him, to be beheaded. The pleading of a Muslim saint is said to have saved the Portuguese from that dire end and they were consigned to a dungeon which Barros likens to the Inferno (hell). At the same time the governor of Chittagong had been instructed to seize the Portuguese and their goods. He would have been perfectly within his rights if he had called de Mello and his associates to account for the fraud they had practised, but instead of placing them under arrest in a straightforward manner, the governor preferred to resort to the safer, but more dubious, methods of those days. The unsuspecting offenders were invited to a banquet, and all, but a few, who

6. Whiteway—*The Rise of the Portuguese Power in India*, pp. 232-234.

preferred the diversions of a hunt to the pleasures of a feast readily stepped into the trap. Despite the desperate defence they offered, thirty of the Portuguese, including de Mello, were neatly secured after ten had lost their lives and the prisoners were sent to Gaur to share the fate of the envoy and his staff. The Portuguese historians are loud in their denunciation of what they, in their wrath, describe, as a treacherous massacre of innocent guests, but it cannot be gainsaid that de Mello and his colleagues had richly deserved incarceration though the questionable method of apprehending the culprits, and the consequent casualty gave an altogether different colouring to the incident.

The masterful spirit of Nuno da Cunha would not brook such an insult to the Portuguese power, and Antonio da Silva Menezes was promptly sent to Bengal, at the head of a powerful fleet, to demand an explanation of the extraordinary treatment that friendly envoys had received at the court of Gaur, and to obtain the release of Martim Affonso de Mello and his men by peaceful persuasion, if possible, and by force, if necessary (1534). On his arrival at Chittagong da Silva Menezes sent an envoy to Gaur with his master's message, but when a month elapsed before a reply arrived, he set fire to Chittagong and put a large number of the Sultan's people to the sword. Violence was not calculated to improve the embittered relations and Diogo Rebello who arrived at Satgaon shortly afterwards (1535) tried a peaceful blockade. His representatives received a better hearing at Gaur, not because the Sultan had repented of his past policy, or the naval demonstrations of the Portuguese had made any impression, but because Mahmud Shah had for sometime past been anxiously looking for new allies against the powerful aggression of Sher Khan Sur. Drowning men clutch at straws. The Sultan promptly released his prisoners, and Martim Affonso suddenly found himself in the honoured position of a trusted military adviser of the King of Bengal. In the war that followed, the Portuguese are said to have performed wonders of valour, but neither their bravery, nor their skill, vitally influenced the course of events and Mahmud Shah had to purchase peace on the terms dictated by his inexorable enemy. Everybody knew that Sher was not likely to rest on his oars longer than was necessary, and Bengal would once again have to experience the terrors of a cruel invasion in the near future. Affonso Vas de Britto, who visited Bengal in 1538, brought the disappointing news that the Portuguese were too much embroiled in Gujarat to be of any service to the King of Bengal. The inevitable followed. Mahmud Shah was chased out of Gaur and died of his wounds. Humayun was outmanoeuvred and worsted. Sher became the King of Delhi and sovereign of Bengal. But the Portuguese had gained their end before the final discomfiture of their ally. Mahmud Shah in his anxiety to enlist their support had permitted the Portuguese to build factories at Satgaon and Chittagong, the "porto pequeno" (little port) and the "porto grande" (great port) of the

Portuguese historians. The conclusion of the war which proved so disastrous for their allies found the Portuguese securely established at both the places with custom houses of their own. In fact when the local nobles contended with Sher Shah's nominee for the possession of Chittagong, Nuno Fernandez Freire, the officer in charge of the Portuguese custom house, conceived the bold project of seizing the town and the harbour in the name of his King and Castanheda holds that had Freire received the support he deserved from Vasco Peres de Sampayo (who had arrived with nine vessels in 1538 too late to defend Mahmud Shah's cause) his scheme might have been successfully carried out. After an armed skirmish with some Moors, Sampayo left for Pegu and died there. With his passing away ends the first chapter in the history of the Portuguese infiltration in Bengal.

II

The next twenty years form a blank in our history. Not that the restless spirits of the Portuguese knew any respite. Their trading vessels continued to visit the ports of the east, and their captains, doubtless, made up for any deficiency in their legitimate profit by their usual filibustering operations. The Portuguese historians found nothing worth recording during these two decades and the chroniclers of the country did not as yet take any notice of the new-comers. But something must have happened in the meantime to demand a revision and reorientation of commercial policy of the Portuguese in Bengal, for in 1559 we find a deliberate attempt on their part to divert the trade of Chittagong to another port. Quite likely the Portuguese were not pulling on well with the new masters of Chittagong. Some light is thrown on this obscure point by a treaty rescued from oblivion by the industry of that great archivist, Julio Firminio Judice Biker. The document was signed on behalf of a Bengali prince, the Raja of Bakla (Paramananda Ray) by Niamat Khan (Nematcáo) and Gannu Bysuar (Kanu or Ganu Biswas?), who seem to have made a journey to Goa to negotiate a subordinate alliance on the part of their master with the Portuguese Viceroy of India (Dom Constantino de Braganza).[7] The treaty of the 30th April 1559, provided for a mutual military and commercial alliance. The Raja was to throw open his port of Bakla or any other suitable port of his principality to the Portuguese trading fleet, treat the Portuguese tradesmen who might visit his country with kindness and consideration, provide the visiting fleet with a full cargo of the produces of the coast land stretching from Bakla to Paigáo, and refrain from raising the custom duties of his ports. The Portuguese, in their turn offered to discontinue their trading voyages to Chittagong, to pay the lawful duties levied at the Raja's port and to grant licence to four of his trading boats for visiting Goa, Ormuz and Malacca every year. The alliance obviously placed the Raja in a subordinate position. While he was precluded

7. Sen, *Studies in Indian History*, pp. 3-10.

from dealing with their enemies in any way, the Portuguese retained the right of concluding similar treaties with other ruling princes of this region. In lieu of the military co-operation, which the Portuguese promised him in his wars against his neighbours, Paramananda agreed to pay an annual tribute in a specified quantity of rice, butter, oil, tar, sugar and finer products of the loom. Obviously the Portuguese wanted to secure the monopoly of the trade of the country through the agency of the local Rajas, whose weakness and ambition readily lent them to the new plan.

The port of Bakla exists no more, we do not know where Paigão was. It was not within the limits of Paramananda's domain, for the treaty refers to other princes of this coast, nor is it certain whether Paigão was situated on the Bay of Bengal. Bakla was a riverside port far from the sea. It may not be unreasonable to identify Paigão with Paigram in the modern district of Khulna. The place is near the Bhairab river which might have been flowing by it four centuries ago. If the Portuguese expected that Bakla, with their backing, would one day rob Chittagong of its preeminence as a centre of inland and overseas trade, they were sorely disappointed. But they had no reason to repent of the alliance of 1559, for in Paramananda and his successors they found unfailing friends in the darkest days of their adversity.

From Paramananda let us turn to one of his successors. Forty years after the conclusion of the treaty a Christian missionary of the Society of Jesus, Melchoir da Fonseca, visited the court of Bakla on his way to Chandikan (Ciandecan). His account of his interview with the king is worth quoting: "I had scarcely arrived there, when the King (who is not more than eight years old, but whose discretion surpasses his age) sent for me and wished the Portuguese to come with me.. On entering the hall, where he was waiting for me, all the nobles and captains rose up, and I, a poor priest, was made by the King to sit down in a rich seat opposite to him. After compliments, he asked me where I was going, and I replied that I was going to the King of Ciandeca, who is 'the future father-in-law of your Highness, but that as it had pleased the Lord that I should pass through his kingdom, it had appeared right to me to come and visit him and offer him the services of the fathers of the Company, trusting that his Highness would give permission to the erection of churches and the making of Christians. The King said, 'I desire this myself, because I have heard so much of your good qualities' and so he gave me a letter of authority, and also assigned a maintenance sufficient for two of us."[8] The boy king of Bakla or Chandradwip has been rightly identified by Henry Beveridge with Raja Ramachandra, son-in-law of the great Pratapaditya of Jessore.[9] It is interesting to note here that his friendship for the Portuguese drew upon him the wrath of the

8. Beveridge, *District of Bakarganj*, p. 31.
9. Beveridge, *District of Bakarganj*, pp. 175-177.

King of Arakan who "suddently threw himself upon that of Bacola, of which he possessed himself without difficulty, as the king of it was absent and still young."

Fonseca's mission supplies an apt illustration of the faith following the flag. But the missionaries were not alone in the field. Fonseca's prayer "for the erection of churches and the making of Christians" was so readily granted because the boy king of Bakla had in his service a captain, and other people of Portuguese extraction and Christian faith. Nor was he the only prince to enlist these foreign adventurers in his army. His father-in-law, for instance, and the powerful chief of Sripur welcomed these daring sailors and employed them to command their fighting fleet. Whether the Portuguese adventurers in the service of the Bhuiyans of Bengal tried, like their French and English successors of the eighteenth century, to further the political interests of their country while improving their own fortunes, we do not precisely know. But some of them certainly made the most of their opportunities and earned by their exploits a permanent place in the history of their times. Of these Domingo Carvalho, was by far the ablest, and he did not miss any opportunity of serving his country's cause when one was available.

Carvalho was a native of Montargil in Portugal. We do not know when he came to India and in what capacity. He must have entered the service of Kedar Ray, the famous chief of Sripur, sometime prior to 1602. He distinguished himself by the conquest of Sandwip which, if Du Jarric is to be credited, belonged of right to the Sripur prince. The island was in those days an important centre of salt industry, and formed a battle-ground for the Moghuls, the Maghs and the Portuguese. Situated off the coast of Chittagong its strategic advantages could not be overlooked either by the Moghul rulers of Bengal or the Magh Raja of Arakan. When Cæsar Frederick visited Sandwip in 1569 the island was inhabited by the Muslims and he found "the king a very good man of a Moore King."[10] How it was annexed by Kedar Ray, and when it passed into Moghul hands remain yet to be ascertained. In 1602, Domingo Carvalho conquered Sandwip in his master's name, but unable to hold it against the natives of the place, he invited the co-operation of Manoel de Mattos, the Portuguese captain of Dianga. The island was then completely reduced and divided between Carvalho and Mattos. The annexation of Sandwip was hailed as a great feat of Portuguese arms and the two heroes were rewarded by the King of Portugal with the knighthood of the Order of Christ and the rank of the gentlemen of the royal household (Fidalgos da Casa real). Their triumph, however, proved shortlived. The King of Arakan, who had extended his dominion to Chittagong, led an expedition against Dianga and inflicted a defeat on

10. *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Vol. X, p. 137.

Mattos. Carvalho hurried to the rescue of his colleague and captured the Arakanese fleet with all its arms and ammunition (Nov. 1602). The Magh king wreaked his vengeance on the Portuguese citizens living under his jurisdiction, and fitted up a second fleet to retrieve his honour. Carvalho did indeed achieve a second victory, but this pyrrhic success rendered his position in Sandwip utterly untenable. He abandoned the island and retired to Sripur with some of his followers, while the rest of the Portuguese and native Christians betook themselves to the friendly courts of Bakla and Chandikan. While at Sripur, Carvalho had to fight a Moghul fleet of hundred masts. With thirty armed *Jalia* boats Carvalho put the invading armada to flight and saved Sripur from Moghul subjugation. We next find him at Hughli where the Portuguese had a flourishing settlement. Obviously he wanted to enlist the support of his countrymen of that colony in another enterprise against Sandwip. While sailing up the Hughli river his fleet was, without any provocation, assailed from the batteries of a neighbouring Moghul fortress. Carvalho retaliated by storming the place and putting the garrison to the sword. This was the last battle that the famous veteran was destined to fight. Shortly afterwards he visited Chandikan (Dhumghat?) where he was treacherously put to death by Pratapaditya, in order, it is said, to propitiate the King of Arakan, whose conquest of Sandwip and Bakla had brought him perilously near the territories of the Jessore prince.

Sandwip naturally recalls the exploits of a romantic ruffian whose name has been writ large in letters of blood in the unhappy annals of that island. His courage, cruelty and cunning placed Sebastião Gonsalves Tibau (better known as Gonzales in Bengal) in a class by himself. Born in an obscure village near Lisbon of peasant stock, Gonzales came to India in 1605 and enlisted as a soldier. Before long he gave up the less remunerative profession of arms for the more lucrative trade in salt. He seems to have prospered in his new venture, and his profits soon enabled him to purchase a *Jalia* of his own. We find him and his boat at Dianga in 1607. He somehow survived the massacre of that year, and set up as a free-booter with a few dozens of his more daring countrymen.[11] The small islands of the deltaic region provided suitable bases of operation from where he carried on plundering raids against the Arakan coast, not missing such defenceless merchantmen as came his way. The Government of Sandwip had in the meantime passed to Fateh Khan, a Muslim captain formerly in Portuguese employ. Unwilling to brook any rival, he murdered the Portuguese and the Christian inhabitants of his island, and set out with a fleet of forty sails in search of Gonzales and his pirates. While busy dividing their spoils in the island of Dakhin Shahbazpur

11. According to Fariya Y Sousa, "Some few escaped into the Woods, and 9 or 10 vessels got to Sea, whereof one was that of Sevastian Gonzales" *Asia Portuguesa* Tr. by Captain J. Stevans, Vol. III, p. 154.

(in the District of Bakarganj) they were surprised by Fateh Khan.[12] Better seamanship however prevailed over greater number, and Fateh Khan was defeated and slain. The victory gained for Gonzales the unquestioning obe-[illegible] of his companions, and he was formally elected their leader. Success added to his ambition, and he next made himself the master of Sandwip (1609). In this enterprise, as in his earlier buccaneering exploits, he relied not a little on the support of the friendly Raja of Bakla. The spoils of his piracy used to be disposed of in the Raja's country, though the treaty of 1559 had positively provided against such a misuse of his ports. The Raja sent two hundred horsemen and some armed boats to help Gonzales in the conquest of Sandwip on condition that the revenue of the island would be equally shared by the two allies. Gonzales was not the man to honour his promise once his object was gained. He ruled Sandwip as an independent ruler and his fame soon attracted fresh adherents until his forces swelled to one thosand Portuguese, two thousand Indian soldiers, two hundred horsemen and eighty armed boats. The unfortunate Raja of Bakla was now to feel the might of his faithless friend, and was forcibly dispossessed of the islands of Dakhin Shahbazpur and Patelbhanga. Fortune continued to favour the bold bad man and the arrival in Sandwip of a princely fugitive of the Arakanese royal house, Anaporam, after an unsuccessful bid for power considerably added to the prestige of Gonzales. His intervention in favour of his new friend proved futile, and his troops had to beat a retreat before the superior forces of Arakan. The death of Anaporam paved the way for peace and the progress of Moghul arms in the south-eastern districts of Bengal provided the motive for a close alliance between the rulers of Arakan and Sandwip. Fidelity however was not one of the failings of Gonzales, and the narrow straight course of rectitude was not to his taste. He not only betrayed the King of Arakan while engaged in fighting the Moghuls, but seized his fleet and ruthlessly massacred his men. This treachery cost him only his nephew's life. The unfortunate youth had been sent to the Arakanese camp as a hostage for his uncle's good faith and the king avenged his wrongs by driving a stake through him. "But he who had no Honour valued not at whose loss he advanced his own Interest."[13]

But the good stars of Gonzales were already on the decline. His tyranny and oppression had alienated most of his adherents, but his ambition knew

12. Fariya Y Sousa says that the surprise was not complete as the pirates were forewarned by Sebastian Pinto who had quarrelled with them over the division of the spoil and "leaving them in a River of the island of *Xavaspur* met *Fatecan's* fleet and gave them notice. They engaged and fought desperately all night, the morning discovered 80 *Portugueses* victorious over 600 *Moors* and *Patanes* and 10 Vessels over 40." Stevens, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 155-156.

13. Stevens, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 161, Fariya Y Sousa calls Gonzales a monster. Stevens Vol. III. p. 153.

no satiety as yet. In 1615 Gonzales felt that he could add Arakan to his conquests, if his plan was supported by the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa. He immediately offered to return to the allegiance of the King of Portugal, and to pay him an annual tribute if his proposals were favourably accepted. The Viceroy, Dom Jeronymo de Azevedo, readily agreed and a fleet of sixteen sails under the command of Dom Francisco Menezes Roxo appeared in the Bay of Bengal (October 1615). Unfortunately for the Portuguese the King of Arakan was not so helpless as they had imagined, and Menezes Roxo unexpectedly found himself confronted with a Dutch squadron of superior number. The fight continued for two successive days in which the Portuguese Commodore lost his life. His successor in command Dom Luiz de Azevedo sailed to Sandwip while the battle was still undecided and in spite of all the importunities of Gonzales left him to his fate and returned to Goa. He was accompanied by many of Gonzales' followers who were glad to be rid of their hard-hearted master. Next year the King of Arakan conquered Sandwip and Gonzales faded out of history. His infamous career covered a brief period of ten years. Gonzales had the making of a great leader, but his training and environments made of him a pirate of the lowest type. For unrelieved cruelty and treachery his record has hardly any parallel, but with better education under more favourable circumstances, he might have been a Raleigh or a Drake.

Here we may bid good-bye to the buccaneers of the Bay though Gonzales was by no means the last or the worst of them. The story of the Feringhee pirates of Chittagong is to be told at another place by another writer.

III

The loss of Sandwip did not mean the loss of Bengal trade. The Portuguese had many settlements of greater or lesser importance scattered all over the province. The prowess and professional skill of their seamen had won for them positions of trust and responsibility at the courts of the more prominent chieftains (Bhuiyans), and small Portuguese colonies flourished under their patronage at Bakla (Bakarganj), Chandikan (Jessore), Sripur (Dacca), Bhulua (Noakahali) and Katrabo (Dacca and Mymensingh). Some of these settlements had been visited by Fonseca, Fernandes and Sousa in the closing year of the sixteenth century. The King of Chandikan provided funds and a site, and the first Christian church in Bengal was constructed in his principality.[14] The Jesuit fathers had full freedom to preach the Gospel wherever they went, and if their flock did not live a truly Christian life, it was no fault of the local rulers. The Portuguese, however, had not limited their commercial and martial enterprise to the semi-independent region under the government of the Bengali princes. They could not possibly ignore the principal

14. *Purchas, His Pilgrims,* Vol. X, p. 206.

trading centres of the country and had their factories at Dacca, Tamluk, Hijili and other convenient places. Two ports, however, demanded their attention most and absorbed the major part of their investments. Despite the abortive attempt of 1559 to rob it of its commercial eminence, Chittagong remained the leading place of Portuguese trade in Bengal. From the beginning to the end it was their Porto grande, the great port. Next in importance was Porto pequeno the little port in west Bengal. When Cæsar Frederick visited Bengal in 1567 Satgaon was the little port of the Portuguese. As early as 1537-38 the Portuguese built their factory and custom house at Satgaon with the permission of the King of Bengal, and within thirty years it attracted sufficient business to keep thirty to thirty-five merchant-men fully employed.[15] The Venetian merchant informs us: "In the port of Satgan every yeere they lade thirtie or five and thirtie ships great and small, with Rice, Cloth of Bombast and of divers sorts, Lacca, great abundance of Sugar, Mirabolans dried and preserved, long Pepper, Oyle of Zerzeline, and many other sorts of merchandise." The prosperity of Satgaon, however, proved short-lived and when Ralph Fitch came to this country barely three decades later (1583-91) "Hugeli" had become the "Porto Piqueno"[16] of the Portuguese, though he found Satgaon "a faire Citie for a Citie of the Moores, and very plentifull of all things."

It is not difficult to guess why Hughli was preferred to Satgaon as an emporium of west Bengal trade. Satgaon owed its rise and fall not to the whims of man, but to the freaks of nature. The big river, that made it a convenient meeting place for the merchant fleets from far and near,[17] had gradually silted up, and trade dwindled as the stream diminished. Even in 1563 the Portuguese found it necessary to build temporary quarters at a village down stream during the trading season as their bigger boats were unable to reach Satgaon. Says Cæsar Frederick: "A good Tides rowing before you come to Satagan, you shall have a place which is called Buttor,[18] and from thence upwards the ships doe not goe, because that upwards the River is very shallow, and little water. Every yeere at Buttor they make and unmake a village, with Houses and shops made of Straw, and with all things necessarie to their uses, and this Village standeth as long as the Ships ride there, and till they depart for the Indies, and when they depart, everie man goeth to his plot of Houses and there setteth fire on them, which thing made me to marvaile. For as I passed up to Satagan, I saw this Village standing with a great number of people, with an infinite number of Ships and

15. *Purchas His Pilgrimes,* Vol. X, pp. 113-14.
16. *Purchas His Pilgrimes,* Vol. X, p. 182.
17. According to Kavi Kankan Mukundaram so much foreign trade it used to attract that merchants of Satgaon never left their home-town.
18. Betor, near Calcutta, has been twice mentioned as a place of importance by Kavi Kankan Mukundaram in his *Chandi.*

Bazaars, and at my returne comming downe with my Captaine of the last ship for whom I tarried, I was all amazed to see such a place so soone razed and burnt, and nothing left but the signe of the burnt Houses." Making and unmaking of temporary villages do not lead to comfort or economy, and the Portuguese were naturally anxious to shift their "little port" to a convenient place on a navigable river with sufficient anchorage and Hughli replaced Satgaon as the principal Portuguese settlement in west Bengal.

The Portuguese settlement of Hughli is associated with the name of the greatest Moghul ruler of India. A serious student of comparative theology, Akbar wanted a competent interpreter of the Chirstian faith at his court and naturally turned to the Portuguese of Bengal about whose commercial enterprise he had heard so much. At his request a Portuguese missionary, Father Juliano Pereira, and a Portuguese man of affairs, Pedro Tavares (Partab Bar Feringui of the *Akbar Nama*), made their journey to the imperial court. Although we do not know whether Tavares preceded Pereira to Agra, it will not be unreasonable to assume that the worldly interests of the merchant were suitably reinforced by the spiritual influence of the missionary, and a *Farman* was in due course obtained and the Portuguese removed their factory and custom house from Satgaon to Hughli about 1580. Tavares was in all probability the first governor of the new settlement. The new "Porto Pequeno" quickly rose in importance and became a flourishing business centre before long. The settlement expanded and the Portuguese merchants acquired landed property on both banks of the Ganges, if Father Sebastian Manrique is to be credited. The main articles of trade that Hughli provided were rice, sugar, silk and cotton goods. Rice in particular was exceptionally cheap in Bengal during the sixteenth century.

Akbar doubtless expected that the Portuguese would devote their energy and resources entirely to the improvement of their commerce, and their armed fleet would prove a better instrument for policing the Bay than any his government had so far been able to provide. Jahangir shared his father's hopes and left the Portuguese in undisturbed enjoyment of their rights and privileges at Hughli. Shah Jahan however found it necessary to revise the policy of his father and grandfather. Within five years of his accession to the throne, Hughli was seized (1632) and a large number of prisoners were sent to Agra where they suffered great misery.

The Portuguese had their own explanation of the implacable hostility of the new emperor. As a law abiding people they had sternly repulsed all the approaches made by Prince Khurram, then a rebel against his father, an insult which he neither forgave nor forgot. According to Father Cabral, Shah Jahan became incensed with the entire Portuguese community because in the days of his adversity one individual had been guilty of faithless desertion. It is also said that the Portuguese of Hughli had failed in the common

courtesy expected of the Emperor's subjects, and did not send the usual message of loyal congratulations when he ascended his father's throne. The enormous loss, in men and money, in his war against Bijapur was also supposed to have been attributed by Shah Jahan to Portuguese co-operation with Adil Shah, and a quick retribution was the result. All these causes singly and collectively would hardly account for the strong measures taken against the Portuguese of Hughli. Shah Jahan could afford to forgive any incivility of the ordinary type, but he could not possibly tolerate the lawless conduct of the Portuguese without prejudice to his sovereign authority.

Far from suppressing the piracy in the Bay, the Portuguese of Hughli were themselves accused of "kidnapping and purchasing poor children and sending them as slaves to other parts of India." Their commercial policy had, according to the local authorities, totally impaired the prosperity of the ancient port of Satgaon to the detriment of the emperor's revenue derived from the customs of that place. Nor could they look upon the Portuguese practice of levying duties on all boats passing by Hughli with indifference or equanimity. Above all, the Portuguese of Hughli were suspected to be in close alliance with the Maghs of Arakan, and their own countrymen of Chittagong, who had rendered life and property absolutely insecure by their piratical activities in lower Bengal. Moreover, the missionary activities of the Portuguese priests could not be to the liking of the Muslim zealots and the Emperor did not yield to anybody in his zeal for the faith of his fathers.

A modern apologist argues that the Portuguese of Hughli were neither in league with the pirates of Chittagong nor guilty of piracy themselves.[19] But it cannot be gainsaid that the Portuguese of west Bengal shared the evil reputation of their confreres of the east for their lawless habits and predilection for piracy. A Bengali poet of note[20] pointedly referred to the dread with which a journey along the Feringui coast was commonly viewed when he said that the boatmen rowed ceaselessly night and day in fear of the *Harmad*[21] or the pirate-fleet. The Portuguese empire had expanded with phenomenal rapidity and the mother country had not the necessary surplus population for the development of the far-flung colonies. Convicts were, therefore, given the option of serving their terms at home or seeking their fortune in the east, and it is no wonder that some of the worst criminals found their way to Bengal. It is to be noted that contemporary European travellers had not a good word for the Portuguese, and Van Linschoten likened them to "wild men" and "untamed horses." If some of the bad characters of Portugal were annually drafted to India, the worst of them according to Linschoten, left the more orderly and better governed settlements on the west coast for the ports of

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19. Campos, *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*, pp. 130-131
20. Kavi Kankan Mukundaram Chakravarti.
21. Portuguese *armada*.

the Bay of Bengal which knew neither order nor discipine.[22] Fernandes says that many of them "lived in Piracie and loose lusts". It is, therefore, futile to argue that the Portuguese settlers of Hughli were orderly people with a healthy respect for law, who would scrupulously avoid any dubious method of making money. It is admitted by all that if Hughli was not a nest of pirates, it was a slave-market to which both Magh and Portuguese pirates had free access. It is there that they disposed of their unlucky prisoners. Slavery, it is true, was an institution recognised by Muslim and Hindu law, but it is the elementary duty of every state to provide for the security of life and property of each and every one of its members. Shah Jahan could not permit his subjects to be bought and sold like cattles in the slave-market of Hughli, simply because his officers had proved unequal to the task of defending their persons against the rovers of Chittagong and Arakan. The Portuguese of Hughli undoubtedly shared their guilt morally and legally when they trafficked with them in their offensive spoils. If Shah Jahan found it impossible to clear the Bay and the rivers of Bengal of these human sharks, the least he could do was to close the market where they brought their victims, and to eliminate their partners in this dismal business.

Into the military details of the capture of Hughli we need not enter. Suffice it to say that the Portuguese had no chance against the superior forces of Qasim Khan, but they stood their ground with courage and resolution worthy of a better cause. The prisoners should have been more humanely treated, but the standards of the seventeenth century required that an example should be made of these unfortunate people because some of their compatriots had made slaves of Muslim women and children of noble birth. But it was not long before the Emperor relented. The Portuguese were permitted to return to their old settlement in 1633. They had felt the full weight of the Emperor's displeasure and might be reasonably expected to have a wholesome respect for his authority in future. No miracle was needed to convert Shah Jahan to a more merciful policy.

The fall of Hughli marked the beginning of the end. The pirates of Chittagong were exterminated in the next reign, but the Portuguese community still survives in Bengal. Even in the eighties of the eighteenth century (1786), they claimed special rights and privileges on the strength of the established custom and their contention was accepted by the Government of the day.[23] The later rulers sometimes found their services useful, and Raja Rajballabh settled a small Portuguese colony at Padri Sibpur in the district of Bakarganj.[24] At Calcutta and Hughli, Dacca and Chittagong, the Luso-Indian citizens still form a link with the past, though they enjoy neither the prestige nor the prosperity of their adventurous fore-fathers.

22. *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Vol. X, p. 205.
23. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. VII, pp. 199-201.
24. Beveridge, *District of Bakarganj*, p. 106.

IV

Our review of the Portuguese relations with Bengal has been so far greatly to the discredit of that nation. Their courage was vitiated by cruelty, their inquisitiveness was marred by greed, and their progress in the province was ordinarily marked by disorder and lawlessness. But in fairness to the Portuguese we cannot leave the credit side out of account.

In spite of all their shortcomings the Portuguese did not suffer from the colour prejudice so common in the west, and freely intermarried with the natives of the country. Some of them permanently settled in this land and, if they failed to make any marked contribution to our civilisation and culture, they tried their best to improve the agricultural resources of the country of their adoption. Good peasants at home, they had a keen eye for the useful plants of other lands and a wonderful knack for acclimatizing exotic flowers and fruits in countries far from their original home. It is seldom realised that many of our common flowers and fruits were totally unknown before the Portuguese came. "The noxious weed that brings solace" to many and now forms a staple product of Rangpur was brought by the Portuguese as was that common article of food—potato which is relished by princes and peasants alike. Tobacco and potato came from North America. From Brazil they brought caschewnut (*Anacardium Occidentale*), which goes by the name of *Hijli badam* because it thrives so well in the sandy soil of the Hijili littoral. The cultivation of this valuable nut is limited to a narrow strip of the sea coast, but the papaya (*Carica Papaya*) and the pine-apple have taken more kindly to the soil of Bengal and few are aware that they are aliens of comparatively recent domicile. We are indebted to the Portuguese for *Kamranga* (*Averrhoa Carambola*) which find so much favour with our children. To this list may also be added *Peyara* (*Psydium Guava*), which found an appreciative poet in Monomohon Basu. The little *Krishnakali* (*Mirabilis Jalapa*) that cheers our countryside in its yellow, red, and white is another gift of the once dreaded Feringui. This does not exhaust the list of plants that the Portuguese introduced in Bengal, but, incomplete as this inventory is, it fairly illustrates their zeal for the art and science of Agri-horticulture.

No less important is the Portuguese contribution to our vocabulary. About fifty Portuguese words have found a permanent place in the spoken language of Bengal. Articles of common use often go by their Portuguese names (e.g. *Chabi, Balti, Perek, Saban, Toalia, Alpin* etc.), and such Portuguese words as *veranda* and *janela* have completely replaced their indigenous synonyms. It is no wonder that chairs and tables should have once been known as *Kedara* (Port. *Cadeira*) and *mej* (Port. Mesa) for these furniture were originally introduced into Bengali homes by the Portuguese. They have not only enriched our orchards but added to the wealth and vigour of our mother-tongue.

When two races or nations intimately associate with each other, as the

Portuguese and the Bengalees did, they naturally borrow from each other's vocabulary, and it is no wonder that so many Portuguese words found currency in our language. But the Portuguese did something more substantial for the development of our prose literature. For the first printed book in Bengali we are indebted to a Portuguese. It was a Portuguese who wrote the first Bengali prose work, and it was left to another Portuguese to compile the first Bengali grammar and dictionary, an achievement of no mean merit, an achievement of which any people might feel proud. About 1599 Father Sosa translated into Bengali "a tractate of Christian Religion, in which were confuted the Gentile and Mahumetan errours: to which was added a short Catechisme by way of Dialogue, which the Children frequenting the Schoole learned by heart,..."[25] Sosa's tractate has been unfortunately lost, but another dialogue written by a Bengali convert has been preserved for us. Dom Antonio do Rozario belonged to the landed aristocracy of east Bengal. In his early youth he was carried by the Magh pirates to Arakan where he was sold as a slave (1663). A Portuguese missionary, Manoel do Rozario ransomed him and later converted him to his own faith. It was under Portuguese inspiration that the new convert wrote a dialogue, the first Bengali work of its kind that has come down to us.[26] Dom Antonio's work might have shared the same fate as that of Sosa but for the devoted care of Manoel da Assumpção and George da Apresentação. Manoel had Antonio's manuscript transcribed in Roman script, and sent the transcript to Evora, probably with a view to publication. He himself wrote a Dialogue in Bengali and compiled a grammar and dictionary of the Bengali language for the benefit of his fellow workers in the province. Manoel da Assumpção was for many years the head of St. Tolentino mission of which Dom Antonio was the founder. *Crepar Xastrer Orth Bhed,* for such was the title of Manoel's dialogue, was printed by Francisco da Sylva at Lisbon in 1743. The same year witnessed the publication of his grammar and vocabulary.[27]. The Portuguese had therefore to their credit two dialogues, a grammar and dictionary long before any of our countrymen had attempted anything of this kind. Even in recent times the Luso-Indian community has produced teachers and scholars of Derozio and Percival's eminence.

If their literary and scientific achievements in other parts of India are taken into consideration, we cannot withhold our ungrudging tribute to the valuable pioneer work done by the Portuguese. The first printing press in India was set up by the Portuguese at Goa as early as 1556.[28] It was at Goa that the

25. *Purchas his Pilgrimes,* Vol. X, p. 205.
26. Sen, *Brahman Roman Catholic Sambad,* introduction.
27. Sen, *Brahman Roman Catholic Sambad*; also Sen, *Early Career of Kanhoji Angria and other Papers,* pp. 125-128.
28. J. B. Primrose, *The First Press in India and Its Printers.* (The Library, December, 1939, pp. 241-265).

first scientific work on Indian medicinal plants by a European author (Garcia da Orta) was published.[29] The Portuguese discovered the all-sea route to India, they explored the western and eastern coast of this country, they demonstrated the superiority of the western methods of warfare, they experimented in empire-making by commercial penetration and subordinate alliance, they exploited the resources of the small indigenous states through Portuguese sailors and soldiers in Indian employment. In short they anticipated the great pro-consuls of the East India Company in many respects, and they may fairly claim that where Portugal led other European countries followed, where they sowed others reaped, where they laid the foundation others built a magnificent superstructure.

29. The first edition of Garcia da Orta's *Coloquios Dos Simples e Drogas e Cousas Medicinais* was printed at Goa in April 1563, by Joannes de Endem.

KIṂVĀDĪ SAMMĀSAMBUDDHO ?

By

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"Kiṃvādī, bhante, Sammāsambuddho" ti ? "Vibhajjavādī, Mahārājā" ti Pañha-vissajjanaṃ Samantapāsādikāyaṃ Vinayaṭṭhakathāyaṃ dissati. *Vibhajjavādo* ti pana na koci pāṭekko vādo sassatavādādisadiso ; ekappahā-ren' eva 'āmā' ti vā 'no' ti vā avatvā vibhajitvā bhājetva vyākaraṇaṃ 'Vibhajjavādo' nāma. Yattakā imasmin loke vādā sassatuccheda-adhiccasa-muppannādivasena, tesam ekam pi Bhagavā na paṭigganhāti. Kasmā ? Sabbe pi'ime vādā sassatapakkhe vā ucchedapakkhe vā patanti. Sassatapakkho nāma : ayaṃ loko attā ca nicco, avināsadhammo, sadākāliko ti gahaṇaṃ. Ucchedapakkho nāma ; ayaṃ loko attā ca uddhaṃ jīvīapariyādānā vinassati, na punaruppattiṃ upetī ti gahaṇaṃ. Na pana Bhagavā imaṃ antadvayaṃ aṅgīkaroti. Attā ucchijissati vinassissatīti vā, attā nicco dhuvo sassatoti vā so na pakāseti.

Atha kiṃ so pakāseti, deseti ? "Anattavādī Sammāsambuddho," "Anat-tavādo Buddhadhammo" ti bahavo paṇḍitā vadanti. Na mayaṃ taṃ paṭik-khipāma. Atha ca pana "Attā ce natthi, puggalo ce natthi, kathaṃ punarup-patti hoti ? Ko sīlaṃ rakkhati ? Ko visujjhati ? Ko nibbāṇaṃ pāpuṇātī ?" ti ime dubbijaṭanīyā pañhā āpātham āgacchanti.

Sabbe va pan'aññe satthāro titthakarā *attānan* anugacchiṃsu, pariyesiṃsu ; pariyesitvā attano attano paṭibhāṇānurūpena "Īdiso attā, Īdiso attā" ti pakā-sayiṃsu. Bhagavā pana Sammāsambuddho aññaṃ maggaṃ gaṇhi. *Attā* pana lokiyasattehi lokiyabhāsāya kathañci pi kadāci pi na vitthāriyo, na vyākaraṇū-pago, na bodhanīyo ti so aññāsi ; tasmā so anatta-dhamme nidassesi. Lokikā pana mayaṃ cakkhusotādi-indriyeh' eva ārammaṇaṃ gahetvā tad anusāren' eva cintetum, anuvitakketuṃ samatthā homa ; na pana mayaṃ indriyavisayam atikkamitvā cintetuṃ vā takketuṃ vā pahoma. Atha ca pan'amhākaṃ indriyā bāhiravisayam eva gahaṇasamatthā, na pana te attano yathāsabhāvaṃ jānanti. Bhagavā pan' aññāsi : imāni sabbāni pi indriyāni anattā, aniccadhammatāya ; rūpavedanā-saññā-saṅkhāra-viññāṇasaṅkhātā pañcakkhandhā pi anattā, anic-catāya. Yattakā saṅkhārā imasmiṃloke vijjanti anantāparimāṇa-cakkavāḷā-dayo, yattakā sattā deva-brahmādayo, sabbe p'ime anattā, addhuvatāyāti aññāsi. Yāvatādhammā anattā sabbe te "attena vā attaniyena vā suññā" ti pakāsesi. So nānappakārena anattadhamme vitthāretvā tesu attasāro vā sukhasāro vā natthī ti dassesi. Tesu anattadhammesu pajahitesu, dūrīka-tesu niccasukhaṃ laddhuṃ sakkā ti vadanto tesaṃ pajahanāya sāvakānaṃ nirantaraṃ ovadi : "Cakkhuṃ, bhikkhave, na tumhākaṃ, taṃ pajahatha ; taṃ vo pahīṇaṃ dīgharattaṃ hitāya sukhāya bhavissatī" ti ādinā nayena.

Ke pana dhammā anattā ? Cakkhu-sota-ghāṇa-jivhā-kāya-manā, rūpā-dayo pañcupādānakkhandhā, sabbe cakkavāḷā, sabbā lokadhātuyo anattā. Yattakā sattā saviññāṇakā devā vā mannussā vā tiracchānā vā āpāyikā vā, sabbe te imehichahi indriyehi pañcahi ca khandhehi saṅgayhanti. Sabbā pi anantāparimāṇā lokadhātuyo rūpakkhandhena saṅgayhanti. Sabbe p'ime saviññāṇāviññāṇaka-saṅkhārā anattā uppādavaya-dhammatāya. Yam pan' aññasatthārehi *attā* ti pakāsitaṃ taṃ sabbam pi aniccatāya anattā ti Bha-gavā pakāsesi. Tasmā so *anattavādī* ti pākaṭo ahosi.

Imāni chaḷindriyāni pañca ca khandhe vajjetvā kim aññaṃ loke avasiṭ-ṭhaṃ ? Natthi kiñcīti vattabbaṃ. Yadi kiñci indriyaṃ vā indriyavisayaṃ vā nāvasissati. pañcannaṃ khandhānaṃ eko pi nāvasissati, tadā sattassa ucchedo bhaveyyā ti ekacce vadeyyuṃ. Napana Bhagavā tan anujānāti. Satto ucchij-jati vinassatīti so na vadati. Yāva satto pañcakkhandhavasagato, chaḷin-driyavasagato, tāva so panappunaṃ uppajjamāno saṃsāre saṃsarati, dukkham anubhavamāno ti Tathāgato pakāseti. Yadi pana so saṃsāradukkhato mucci-tukāmo, tena chapi indriyāni pañca pi khandhā pahātabhā. Atha yaṃ cak-khundriya-mūlakaṃ dukkhaṃ taṃ sabbhaṃ nirujjhati. Sesindriyesu pi es'eva nayo. Yaṃ rūpakkhandhamūlakaṃ dukkhaṃ anantaṃ aparimāṇaṃ āhāraga-vesanādivasena, taṃ sabbaṃ nirujjhati. Sesakkhandhesu pi es'eva nayo. Sab-basmiṃ dukkhe sabbathā niruddhe amissaṃ anākulaṃ sukhaṃ avasissitabbaṃ Idaṃ vuccati *nibbāṇaṃ*.

Cakkhusmiṃ avijjamāne, sotādisu avijjamānesu, manasmiṃ avijjamāne kiṃ sukhaṃ atthī ti lokiyajanā puccheyyuṃ. Te pana dukkham eva sukhaṃ ti kaṇhanti, cirakālaparicitatāya. Mayaṃ cakkhuṃ nissāya subhārammaṇam pi asubhārammaṇam pi passāma ; subhārammaṇe rajjāma, asubhārammaṇe dussāma. Sabbadā va subhārammaṇaṃ laddhuṃ na sakkoma ; subhāramma-ṇalābhāya ussahantā punappunaṃ nānāvidham dukkhaṃ pāpuṇāma. Sesin-driyesu pi es'eva nayo. Na pan'etassa ārammaṇa-gahaṇassa anto paññāyati ; tasmā dukkhassa pi nivutti na hoti. Yadā pana ārammaṇagahaṇaṃ tassānu-vitakkanam pi nivattissati, dukkham pi tadā nivattissati.

Kasmā mayaṃ idam ārammaṇaṃ, subhaṃ, idam asubhaṃ ti gaṇhāma ? Kā pana yutti tathā gahaṇe ? Ko paricchedo tesaṃ ? Kiṃ miṇanaṃ vā tulanaṃ vā ? Sabbāni pi ārammaṇāni mahā bhūta (-dhātu-) sambhūtāni ; tesu eka-ccaṃ subhaṃ ekaccaṃ asubhaṃ tu gahetuṃ yutti paramatthavasena natthi. Avijjāya sammūḷhā mayaṃ yathāsabhāvam ajānantā tathā karoma. Yadā pana avijjaṃ vidāḷetvā yathābhūtañaṇaṃ labhāma tadā'mhākaṃ subhaṃ ti vā asubhaṃ tivā gahaṇaṃ na paññāyati. Subhāsubhavasena gahaṇe avijjamāne rajjana-dussanam pi na vijjeyya ; rajjana-dussane avijjamāne dukkhaṃ niruj-jheyya ; dukkhe niruddhe kevala-sukham eva avasisseyya.

Na-y-idaṃ yathāvuttasukhaṃ lokiyaṃ lokāyattaṃ ; na indriyavisayaṃ ; na amhākaṃ lokiya bhāsāya vitthāretabbaṃ. Tam pan'idaṃ sukhaṃ lokutta-ram (= lokato uttaraṃ), niccaṃ dhuvaṃ avipariṇāmadhammaṃ. 'Satto' ti

..kavohāro, 'attā' ti lokavohāro : tam lokavohāraṃ atikkamitvā, lokato utta-..vā lokuttarasukhalābhāya Bhagavato anusāsanā. Tattha *satto* atthi, natthī ti, *attā* atthi, natthī ti pañhānaṃ okāso na vijjati.

Pañcasu pi khandhesu avijjamānesu ko nibbānasukhaṃ labhatī ti ce? Pañca pi khandhā aniccā, tasmā dukkhā, dukkhattā anattā. Tasmā ekanta-..ukhakāmena te pahātabbā va honti. Pañcakkhandha-vinimmutto puggalo nibbāṇam adhigacchati. Tadā yeva sattassa yathātathabhūto lokuttaro sāro avasissatīti ñātabbaṃ.

Katham idaṃ lokuttarasukhan adhigantabbaṃ? Ariye aṭṭhaṅgikamagge ..ṭipajjanena. Tampaṭipajjanaṃ kimatthaṃ? Dukkhahetu-bhūtāya taṇhāya ..hāṇatthaṃ. Kā pan 'esā taṇhā? Rūpadassane taṇhā, saddasavaṇe, gandha-..āyane, rasasāyane, phoṭṭhabbagahaṇe taṇhā, diṭṭha-suta-mutānaṃ anuvita-..kane taṇhā, attano dehe, puttadāresu, khettavatthusu, vatthābharaṇesu, ..na-vāhanesu, hatthi-gavassādisu, dāsī-dāsādisu taṇhā, rajjasampattiyā, deva-..sampattiyā, brahmasampattiyā, punaruppattiyā taṇhā. Imāsaṃ taṇhānaṃ hetu-..nā punaruppatti hoti ; punaruppattiyā indriyapaṭilābho, indriyapaṭilābhena ..rajjana-dussanaṃ, rajjana-dussanena dukkhuppādo. Yadi panāyaṃ taṇhā sabbaso pahīnā ucchinnamūlā, tadā punaruppatti na bhaveyya, tāya asati indriyapaṭilābho tammūlakaṃ rajjana-dussanañ ca na saṃvijjeyya. Tadā. ..kuttaraṃ avyāmissaṃ anuttaraṃ nibbāṇasukhaṃ avasisseyya.

Atisaṅkhittā panāyaṃ kathā. "Kiṃvādī Sammāsambuddho?" ti puṭṭhe "Idam-vādī" ti ekaṃ vādaṃ nidassetuṃ na sakkoma. Vādapathātīto pana so Bhagavā ; tasmā "vibhajjavādī" atha vā *vibhajitvā-vādī* ti vattabbaṃ. Kiṃ ..ssa vibhajitvā vacanaṃ ti upari vuttanayena ñātabbaṃ paṇḍitehi.

Bahū pan 'idāni Sugatanikāyā hīnayāna-mahāyānādi vasena. Aparimā-..ā tesam āyattāganthā. Bahusu pi nikāyesu bahusu pi matabhedesu vijjamā-..nesu ayam eva Buddhadhammassa sāraṃso, na panāyaṃ kenaci nikāyikena paccakkhātabbo ti vadāmi.

Vaṅgadese Kalikātā-nagare vasantassa Buddhasamayopatthambhaka-anekaganthānaṃ kattubhūtassa *Vimalācaraṇa Lāhā*-nāmassa paṇḍitavarassa pañcapaññāsa-vassapāraṇaṃ nimmittaṃ katvā sampāditā 'yaṃ lipi Laṅkādīpe Ambalangodanagare Aggārāmavāsinā Buddhadattattherena.

*Vimalācaraṇa*yutto *Lāhā*-nāmo sudhīso
Vidita-Sugatadhammo *Vaṅgadese* vasanto
Suvidita-Jinadhammāyatta-ganthāna kattā
Jayatu sucirakālaṃ sabba-ātaṅkamutto.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE OVERSEAS TRADE OF VIJAYA-NAGARA FROM THE ACCOUNTS OF EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS

By

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The Vijayanagara age (1346 A.D.-1646 A.D.) witnessed not only gre.. political activity but also continued commercial enterprise. We are concern.. in this paper with one phase of the commercial history of Vijayanagara—th.. relating to the contact of Vijayanagara with the lands beyond the seas to th.. East and South-East of India. Elsewhere I have shown that, so far as inte.. nal trade was concerned, the Vijayanagara Empire could boast of very man.. good harbours through which a prosperous trade was conducted.[1] I shall ad.. here further details to the same subject with a view to make the account mo.. complete. The following remarks are based on the writings of foreign trave.. lers,—Portuguese, Dutch, and English,—many of whom had intimate dealings with the Vijayanagara Empire.

But before I proceed with the subject, it may not be out of place to no.. a few facts concerning the limits and longevity of the Vijayanagara Empir.. Founded in 1346,[2] the Vijayanagara kingdom expanded into an empire, which survived the tremendous shock of the battle of Rākṣasa-Tangaḍi (1565), and continued uninterrupted till the flight of Śrī Ranga Rāya in 1646 to Ikkeri.[3] The Ikkeri or Bednur chiefs, who had planted themselves on the western parts of the Vijayanagara Empire, continued to be called as the feudatories of the Vijayanagara rulers till 1650.[4] In the centre, a Vijayanagara viceroy ruled over Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa till 1610, when that city fell into the hands of the rising chiefs of Mysore.[5] In Madura and Tanjore the Vijayanagara viceroys called Nāyakas became independent in 1602.[6] But on the Coromandel coast, the Vijayanagara Emperors still maintained their hold, although in certain places, like St. Thome, they had allowed the Portuguese, the English, and the Dutch to build factories in the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

1. Saletore, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanara Empire*, I, pp. 58-59, 69-82.
2. Saletore, *ibid.*, I. pp. 18-19.
3. Saletore, *ibid.*, I. pp. 141-142.
4. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire—Vijayanagar*, p. 220.
5. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 124.
6. Sewell, *ibid*, p. 220.

According to European witnesses, the overseas trade of Vijayanagara began to increase in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, and reached its highest level in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, when it showed signs of decline which marked it till the first quarter of the seventeenth century. That is to say, roughly speaking, we see the overseas trade in the ascendant from about 1414 till about 1514,—which age, it may be noted, marks the highest point in the political history of Vijayanagara—, and it continued to exist, although decreased in volume and profits, from 1514 till about 1614. This latter period, we may likewise observe, marks the downward curve in the political fortunes of the Empire of Vijayanagara.

Certain factors which will not be discussed in this paper, necessitated the shifting of commercial gravity from the western parts of the Vijayanagara Empire to the eastern shore in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Geographically this meant closer relations of Vijayanagara with the great centres of trade in the East and South-East, notably with Tennesserim, Siam, Malaya, Java, Sumatra, and Borneo. I shall take one by one these centres of foreign trade, so that we may be better able to appreciate the remarks of European travellers and historians.

Tennesserim. Fernão Nuniz in his *Chronicle* writes thus about Tennesserim: "At his (*i.e.*, of a king of Vijayanagara whom he calls Visarao identified by Sewell with Vijaya Rāya) death he left a son called Deorao (Deva Rāya), who reigned twenty-five years. He determined to collect great treasures, but owing to constant warfare he could not gain more than eight hundred and fifty millions of gold, not counting precious stones. This was no great sum, seeing that in his time the king of Coullão (identified by Sewell with Quilon), and Ceyllão (Ceylon), and Paleacate (Pulicat, near Madras, which, according to Sewell, was an important province of Vijayanagara in later years), and Pegu and Tenaçary (Tennesserim), and many other countries, paid tribute to him."[7]

Nuniz's testimony may be verified with the help of the evidence supplied by other Portuguese travellers. Although he is by no means an infallible chronicler,[8] yet in this instance he has given, among others, two details, which are of significance in our estimate of the over-seas trade of Vijayanagara. These two details are, firstly, that relating to precious stones, and, secondly, the reference to Tennesserim.

In another context Nuniz mentions the precious stones of Vijayanagara. This is when describing the successful campaign of Sultan Ismail Ādil Shah in the opening years of Emperor Acuta Deva Rāya's reign. The Bijapur Sultan had come to the well-known suburb of the great capital of Vijaya-

7. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 302, and nos. 1-4.
8. Saletore, *Indian Antiquary*, LXI, pp. 2-3.

nagara, by name Nāgalāpura, which he razed to the ground. The Vijayanagara Emperor at once sued for peace, and accepted the humiliating terms of Ismail Ādil Shah. Nunis proceeds to relate these details thus:—"The King (Açyuta Deva Rāya) accepted these terms, and the Ydallcão departed well pleased with this money; and after all was done the King sent to him a diamond stone weighing 130 *mangellinis* (= 162 carats) with fifteen other similar ones weighing fully a *lakh*."[9]

Then, again, Nuniz relates the following, while describing the great barons of the Vijayanagara Empire in the reign of the same Emperor Acyuta Deva Raya (1530-1542). Concerning a great noble, whom he calls Adapanayque (Aḍapa Nāyaka, Hadapada Nayak?), Nuniz writes thus:—"Another captain, called Adapanayque, who is the chief counsellor of the King, is lord of the country of Gate, whence come the diamonds, and many other territories which yield him three hundred thousand gold *pardaos*, excluding the precious stones which form a revenue by themselves. He pays to the King every year forty thousand *pardaos*, with the condition that all diamonds which exceed twenty *mangelllinis* (about nineteen carats) in weight shall be given to the King for his treasury."[10]

That Nuniz is correct in his estimate of the supply of the precious stones in Vijayanagara is proved by Paes, who writes thus about the wealth of the great capital of Vijayanagara. "In this city you will find men belonging to every nation and people, because of the great trade which it has, and many precious stones there, principally diamonds."[11]

Sewell, who has a valuable note on the diamonds of the Vijayanagara Empire, has amply corroborated the evidence of these two travellers with that given by other European writers, and has identified the place which supplied diamonds to Vijayanagara with Vajra Karūr, otherwise called "the mines of Golconda."[12]

From the chronological point of view we may note that the remarks of Nuniz refer to the reign of a king whom he calls "Deorao," who may be identified with king Deva Rāya II. This monarch ruled from A.D. 1419 till A.D. 1446.[13] It is during the reign of this monarch that precious stones figure very conspicuously in the accounts of foreign travellers. The question with which we are concerned is—Which was the outlet through which these precious stones were exported? Almost a century later we get the answer from a letter written by the great Affonso de Albuquerque to the king of Portugal. In this letter dated the 11th December 1513, Affonso de

9. Sewell, *ibid*, p. 368, and note (1).
10. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 388-389. 11. Sewell, *ibid*, p. 256.
12. Sewell, *ibid*, p. 388, n. (71) and App. A. pp. 399-401.
13. Rice, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

Albuquerque recommends to his royal master the necessity of clinging fast to the ports of Cochin and Calicut, which places were capable of supplying cargoes to the Portuguese fleets "until the Day of Judgment." Albuquerque goes on to say thus : "Now that that treacherous coward, the Zamorin, is dead, is the opportunity to cultivate a trade with those two ports which are the emporium of ginger, of the whole of the pepper of Malabar, and of the precious stones of Narsinga."[14] The name "Narsinga", we may note by the way, was the general appellation which the Europeans gave to the Vijayanagara Empire.

A striking testimony to Affonso de Albuquerque's statement that Calicut and Cochin were the export centres for the diamonds of Vijayanagara, is provided in a set of instructions from Hugh Frayne to Nicholas Downton in the Red Sea. These instructions, which relate to the trade in the Moluccos and which are undated, but which are assignable to 1610-1611, contain the following. "At Malabar you shall buy pearls, rice, sapphires, diamonds, for which you shall sell tin, lead, iron, "s of 8, powder, rapiers, and head pieces."[15]

Both the Portuguese and English accounts are silent about the volume of the diamond trade of Vijayanagara. It cannot be understood at the present stage of our investigations, why the diamonds from Vijayanagara should have been exported from the two well known Malabar ports when the Vijayanagara Empire itself possessed excellent ports through which they could have been sent to the different markets of the East and the West. We may conjecture that the Vijayanagara diamonds found their way to the two great ports of Malabar because these latter were then under the influence of the Portuguese, and were far away from the Muslim danger of the north. And the Portuguese were as much interested in the Vijayanagara diamonds as the Flemings (the Dutch) and the English were in those from Sukadama near Borneo.[16] Whatever that may be, the fact remains that by the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the precious stones of the Vijayanagara Empire had received a sort of an international interest ; and that one of the greatest of European statesmen of that age in the East—Affonso de Albuquerque—was very keen in securing for Portugal control over the two prominent centres that exported them.

Let us now pass on to the next point mentioned by Nuniz that relating to Tennesserim. Historians of Vijayanagara have not understood till now why Nuniz should have mentioned Tennesserim in the list of places which

14. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India.* I., p. 285.

15. Foster, *Letters received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East*, I, 1602-1613, p. 73. (London, 1896).

16. In fact, according to the English, the diamonds found at Sukadama (or Succadama) near Borneo, were the best in the world. This place yielded a great store of diamonds of the best quality. Foster, *op. cit.*, I. pp. 22, 79.

are supposed to have paid tribute to the Vijayanagara Emperor. But the accounts of European traders enable us to explain why Tennesserim figures in Vijayanagara history. I believe it was from that place that tin, a commodity that does not seem to have been produced in India, was imported into the Vijayanagara Empire. But the port which controlled the tin trade was Masulipatam which lay on the borders of that Empire. The English factors enlighten us on the importance of Tennesserim for India. John Gourney in his letter dated the 28th July 1614, and addressed to the East India Company, writes thus :—"Store of tin is brought yearly from Tannassary (Tennesserim) to Musulipatam, and sold at betwixt 60 and 80 pagodas per candy, but whether our sort, not being accounted so good, may pass well I know not ; some therefore to try were not amiss."[17]

Borneo. The next chronological reference to an over-seas trade centre is to Borneo. The Portuguese captains inform us that Vijayanagara had direct dealings with that distant island. Dom Jorge de Albuquerque writes thus in his letter dated January the 1st 1524 to the king of Portugal, from Malacca, concerning Borneo :—"The King of Borneo has written to me to say that he is, and wishes to continue, a true friend of the King of Portugual, sending his letter by a Biscayan, the sole survivor of an expedition under Fernão Magalhãss, which the Castilians sent against Borneo. What I have ascertained about Borneo is as follows :—It provides nothing but camphor, for which there is a ready sale in Bengal, Paleacate (Pulicat), Narsinga (*i.e.*, Vijayanagara), and other Malabarese territories, Cochin and Calecut, and a little in Cambay. This camphor is very different from that which comes from China, and does not belong to the King of Borneo, but is the property of another king in the island, who is a Caffre, whereas the King of Borneo and his subjects are Moors. These Caffres cultivate this camphor, and exchange it with the Moors of Borneo for cloth from Malacca, which is imported there from Cambay and Bengal."[18]

Unlike the Portuguese and English travellers, the Dutch are not so explicit in their descriptions. Nevertheless the Dutch accounts help us to confirm the statements made by other European observers that Vijayanagara had commercial relations with the East-Indies in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Thus, for example, in 1596, while sailing in the south-eastern seas under their captain Cornelius Houtiman and others, they refer to Bantam, and write thus :—"They trade very much in *Camphire* at Bantam. They call it *Casar*, or *Camphire*. There are two sorts of it ; the first came from the island of Borneo, and is considered the best ; the second sort comes from Chinceo in China, but not to be compared with the other. The Trees which produce Camphire, are as big as Walnut Trees : the Gum grows in the inside

17. Foster, *ibid*, II, p. 86. See also *ibid*. III, pp. 9, 301.

18. Danvers, *op. cit.*, I. pp. 358-359.

of the trunk and comes out of it like sweat by drops, no bigger than a Barley corn.

"The *Camphire* of China comes forth in lumps, and is cheap enough; but one pound weight of that of Borneo, is as dear as a hundred pounds of China *Camphire*. But the Indians who know how to mix them, adulterate the best, as they do all other Merchandise, being as dexterous at that Work, as any People in the World; so that one must be very cunning, and have a great deal of experience not to be deceived."[19] Since we know from the Portuguese sources that Borneo camphor was in great demand in the Vijayanagara Empire, we have to assume by the term "Indians" given here by the Dutch that it refers to the people of Vijayanagara as well as to those of Bengal and Cambay. We may note incidentally that the Dutch in the above passage do not give a favourable account of the honesty of Indian traders.

The same Dutch expedition under Cornelius Houtiman and others saw in January 1596 pepper which grew like "a bunch of Grapes, though not quite so big," in plenty in Sumatra. They had seen the same kind of pepper in Malabar, Onor (Honnāvar), Barcelor (Basrūr), Mangalur (Mangalore), Calicut, and several other places in India. One quality of pepper which they noticed in Sumatra is specially noteworthy. "The pepper which they call the *Canarins*, or the Boors Pepper, because none but the poor People use it, groweth in Goa and Malabar, and is like *French* Wheat, but Ash coloured, and hollow on the inside with kernels."[20] We can only suppose that this (poor) quality of pepper came from the coast of Kanara which in those times was under the Vijayanagara Empire. It was evidently because of this that it was called the *Canarins* by the Dutch.

We may likewise suppose that the pepper trade of Vijayanagara was extended to Java and Malacca. The following passages in the same history of the first voyage of the Dutch will be of some interest here. The same Dutch travellers describe the pepper grown in Java thus:—"We said before, that the Pepper Plant which grows in Java, runs upon great Reeds called by the Inhabitants *Manbus*, the inside of which is full of a Substance called *Tabaxir*: However, the Dutch having cut some of them, found nothing in these Reeds. The reason why the *Manbus* of Java have no *Tabaxir* is yet unknown, perhaps it hath not been well examined.

"However, it is certain, that abundance of those Reeds grow along the Coast of *Malabar*, especially in *Coromandel, Bisnagar*, and *Malacca*, which produceth a substance called by the Indians *sacar membur, sugar of Membur*, which is much valued by the Arabians, Persians, and Moors, who call it

19. *A Collection of Voyages undertaken by the Dutch East India Company for the Improvement of Trade and Navigation*, Etc., p. 218, (London, 1703).
20. *Ibid*, pp. 135, 142.

Tabaxir, that is to say, white juice, for it resembles curdled milk. (Here follows a description of the reeds).

"The Indians make us of it against Claps, cancers, and other venereal Distempers, as well as burning Feavers, Cholicks, and Bloody Fluxes. They make also their little Boats of the body of a Tree, which holds but two People; they leave a knot at each end, and excavate the rest. Men who row the Boat are all naked, one at each end with a pair of little oars, and row extremely fast even against the Currents. They are so Superstitious as to believe that those Boats are never attacked by the Crocodiles."[21]

Besides pepper there were three other commodities which were articles of trade between Vijayanagara and Java. They were *lac*, water melons, and sandal-wood. Concerning *lac*, the same Dutch travellers inform us the following:—"Among other Merchandise that are sold in Bantam, you find *Laque* or *Lack*, so called by the Moors and *Tieck* at Pegu, where there is a great sale of it. (Here follows a description of how *lac* is produced by flying ants.) It (*i.e.*, the matter deposited on the branches of trees by the flying ants) is of a red brown colour, but the Indians make a powder of it, and mix with it what colours they fancy, or make little sticks of it, which are sold in Europe, under the name of Spanish Wax, to seal letters with. They also make of it several other very curious and well wrought Manufactures."[22]

About water melons of Java, the same source continues to relate thus:—"The Water Melons that grow at Java, are of an extraordinary good taste. Their outside is of a green brown colour, but their inside is white, they are as long as our Pumpkins. The Indians regale one another with them in company, as we do with Fruit in Europe."[23]

That the Dutch travellers had evidently the people of Southern and Western India, that is to say, of the Vijayanagara Empire, in their mind when they talked in general of "the Indians" is proved when we cite their remarks concerning sandal wood an article grown extensively in the forests of Malabar and Karnāṭaka from very early times. The Dutch travellers have the following observations to make on this point:—"You find in the Woods of Java, red *Sanders* Wood, but the yellow and the white, which are much better, come from the Islands of Timor and Solor, situated to the East of Java. *Sanders* trees are like Walnut Trees. They bring forth a fruit resembling Cherries, which is green at first, but black afterwards, without any manner of taste.

"The Indians use a great deal of *Sanders* wood: they bruise it and beat it with Water till it comes to Pap, and then anoint their Body with it, which cools and perfumes it all over. The red *Sanders* Wood is of no use in the

21. *A Collection of Voyages*, pp. 211-212.
22. *Ibid*, p. 217.
23. *Ibid*, p. 217.

indies, so they only transport it to other Countries. It is also Physical, but not near so good as the White."[24]

Which were the outlets through which this trade with Java, Borneo, and Sumatra was carried on? These outlets were evidently situated on the Coromandel coast—the home of commercial enterprise which dates back to centuries before the great Empire of Vijayanagara came into existence. I have already mentioned quite a number of these Coromandel ports in my work referred to above.[25] While the over-seas trade of the Vijayanagara Empire on its long western coast suffered an eclipse due to the political vicissitudes that followed the wars between the Vijayanagara monarchs and the Deccani Sultans, and more specially the advent of the European traders, notably the Portuguese and the English, that on the eastern coast,—which geographically was removed from the storm centres of the belligerent nations—continued to thrive, for nearly a century after the decisive battle of Rākṣasa Tangaḍi (1565). It is to this part of India that the English, who were the bitterest rivals of the Portuguese in the early seventeenth century, turned their attention; and it is from the early English factors that we get some interesting details relating to the overseas trade of Vijayanagara during a period which witnessed the gradual decline of the political might of the monarchs of Vijayanagara. That Coromandel had ever been a vital part of the Empire of Vijayanagara there can be no doubt. Even when Nuniz wrote about the Emperor Acyuta Deva Raya (1530-1542), Coromandel was an important province over which was placed one of the most important viceroys of Vijayanagara. Thus writes Nuniz:—" The King has no controller of the revenues nor other officers, nor officers of his house, but only the captains of his kingdom; of whom I will here mention some, and the revenues they hold, and of what territory they are lords. Firstly Salvanayque (Sāluva, Nāyaka), the present Minister; he has a revenue of a million and a hundred thousand gold *pardaos*. He is the lord of Charamaodel (Coḷamaṇḍala, Coromandel) and of Negspatão (Negapatam), and Tamgor and Bomgarin and Dapatao and Truguel, and Caullim, and these are cities; their territories are very large, and border on Ceylon."[26]

Nuniz mentions two cities which deserve some comment—Nagapatam and Caullim. When another European traveller Cæsar Frederick had visited the former in 1567, it was "a Countrey of small trade."[27] That is to say, till the end of the sixteenth century, Negapatam, while it remained a fairly

24. *A Collection of Voyages*, p. 218. The people of Vijayanagara must have also imported frankincense from Java, about which the Dutch have some remarks to make. *Ibid*, p. 217. But the Dutch do not implicitly mention the Indians as importing it into India.

25. Saletore, *S. P. Life*, I. pp. 78-79.

26. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

27. Saletore, *op. cit.*, I. p. 79.

well known town, had not yet risen to the dignity of a great port. But by the beginning of the seventeenth century, Nagapatam had assumed large proportions as a port to which European ships called. This is proved by a letter written by Captain Anthony Hippon and the merchants of the VII Voyage to the East India Company. This letter is imperfect, but assignable to August 1611. Captain Anthony Hippon relates in it that from Ceylon they sailed to the mainland. "From thence (Ceylon), keeping our course under the Island of Zeilon until the 6th then coming in the road before the town of Negapatam, where was a great ship, riding at an anchor with divers other small barques, and following our order without doing any violence unto any but followed our course, north and by east until the 8th ditto. Then being not far from St. Thome, then did we see a small boat bearing right with us which was bound for Negapatam,"[28] and which the English captured, because it belonged to the Portuguese.

By 1615 Negapatam had established its reputation as one of the largest ports on the Coromandel coast. We infer this from the letter dated the 24th of November 1615, and written from Achin by William Nicolls to John Millward and John Yates at Tiku. In it Nicolls writes thus:—" So I could wish that you, Mr. Millward, had left three or four bales of that sort with me; then could I have engrossed certain commodities of the Coast (Coromandel) which are here now arrived, *viz.*, four ships from Meslepotan, Negapatam, and Collimatt..."[29] In the next year (1616) Negapatam again figures as an important port in a letter dated the 15th of January, and written by the same William Nicolls to the Agent at Bantam, and also from Achin. "Since which time (*i.e.*, the 16th of July 1615) here hath arrived four ships from the Coast (Coromandel), *viz.*, from the 1st of October to the 10th two from Negapatam, one from Cullimat, and one from Meslepotam (Masulipatam), all fraught with rice and many sorts of white cloth, steel and paintathas (pintadres)."[30]

In the above passage Negapatam ranks after Masulipatam and before a port which is called Collimat. Of these we are not concerned here with Masulipatam, which was outside the Vijayanagara Empire. For it belonged to the Qutb Shahs of Golkonda. The port called Collimat has to be identified. It figures in another letter dated November the 24th, 1615, written by William Nicolls to John Millward cited above.[31] Again in another letter written by the same English factor but dated the 23rd of March 1615 (1616),

28. Foster, *op. cit.*, I. p. 132.

29. Foster, *op. cit.*, III, p. 233.

30. Foster, *ibid*, IV, p. 6. In the same year 1616, we may note in passing, the Portuguese had massed from 1,500 to 2,000 soldiers " for a certain exploit," obviously against the Dutch, who had built a fort at Pulicat and manned it with 130 or 140 soldiers. Foster, *ibid*, p. 39.

31. Foster had doubtfully identified it with Quilon. *Ibid*, III, p. 334.

and addressed to the Agent at Bantam, we are informed that "For the Coast (Coromandel), as Meselepotam, Collimat, or Negapatam, here is goods to be bought profitable likewise, those merchants of those parts having here bought the same, *viz.*, brimstone, worth here 2½ taylee the baharr, sold at Meslepotam per the Hollanders for this King's account..."[32]

This port of Collimat or Cullimat was identified by Foster with Conimere in the South Arcot District, eleven miles north of Pondichery. The Tamil name of the village is Kunimēḍa, which, according to the same authority, may have been changed into Collimat, just as Palavelkāḍu was changed into Pulicat. The foundations of an English factory are said to be still visible at Conimere, where the English established themselves in 1682.[33] It was perhaps this same port of Collimat or Conimere which Nuniz referred to when he wrote about Calim, in a passage mentioned already in this paper.[34]

There is another port in the Coromandel coast which may be mentioned here, and which deserves to rank with those we have just now enumerated. This was St. Thome, near Madras. It belonged to the Portuguese but was subject to the Vijayanagara Empire. The first Portuguese settlement in St. Thome was in 1522, but the Vijayanagara Government did not allow foreigners to build any fort there.[35] All the same the Portuguese seem to have maintained a stronghold at St. Thome. This accounts for the successful expedition which Rāma Rāya conducted against St. Thome in 1558.[36] The Vijayanagara viceroy erected a fort near St. Thome in 1615, but the Portuguese captain Manoel de Frias captured it along with the cannon which was in it.[37] When Cæsar Frederick visited St. Thome in 1567, towards the end of the reign of Emperor Sadāśiva Rāya, it was "although it be not very great, yet in my judgment, it is the fairest in all that part of the Indies."[38]

According to the same traveller, the port of St. Thome was, however, dangerous, and the Indian sailors loaded and unloaded merchandise in a most marvellous manner.[39] The anonymous author of the life of St. Francis Xavier tells us that St. Thome traded with Pegu and Malacca in coloured cloths.[40] The English in about 1610 traded in the "stuffs or cloths" called by the Dutch Kleetghees obtainable at that place, and took them to the East

32. Foster, *ibid*, IV, p. 70.
33. Foster, *ibid*, V, p. 295, n. (1).
34. Sewell thought it was probably Kayal. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 384, n. (2). It cannot be made out whether Sewell meant by Kayal the port of Kavalpatnam in the Tinnevelly district. Could Coullimat be the same as Bartholomeo's *Calapada*? *A Voyage to the East Indies*, p. 71. (London, MD. CCC.)
35. Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasties of Vijayanagara*, I, pp. 64-67.
36. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-194; Heras, *ibid*, pp. 67-69.
37. Danvers, *op. cit.*, I, p. 173.
38. Purchas, *Pilgrims*, IX, p. 109; Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 67.
39. Read Purchas, *ibid*. p. 109; Heras, *ibid*. pp. 69-70.
40. Heras, *ibid*. p. 70.

Indies.[41] But the share of the English in this trade was small, because the Portuguese controlled the largest part of the trade at St. Thome.[42]

Without going further into the history of the growth and development of commerce on the Coromandel coast, we may, so far as the subject of our paper is concerned, note very cursorily a few facts which show that that part of the Vijayanagara Empire continued to have commercial dealings with Sumatra, Maluccos, Siam, and even with distant Japan. It is true that by the first quarter of the seventeenth century the English had already arrived on the Coromandel coast, and that the Dutch had laid their plans for building factories on the same coast. The arrival of the English on the Coromandel coast may be dated to September the 10th 1611, when Lucas Antheunis and Peter Floris arrived at Petapolay and at Masulipatam, "in which two places we had our residence this 10th of September 1611."[43] In about the same year the Dutch wrote to the Dutch East India Company that "Amboyna and Banda and again Jamby, and the west coast of Coromandel, to wit Sumatra, are the places of pepper. Acthin (Achin) is a place which cleaveth to the trade of Coromandel, Surat, Arabia, and many western places, where there is sometimes great vent of cloth and other merchandise, and in return there is much goods to be had and other things needful for the aforesaid coasts. They give good advance, for there is brimstone, pepper, Bournesh (from Borneo) camphor, pewter from Perack, gold for the coast of Coromandell, and more other wares..."[44]

A Sumatra product greatly in demand on the Coromandel coast in 1610 was brimstone. This we learn from an advice given by Augustine Bradshaw dated September 1610, concerning the demand for certain Indian goods in Achin and other parts of the Island of Sumatra. "I think there may be yearly sold at the place aforesaid of these coarse Bastaus 2000 or 3000 corge in truck for pepper, gold, benjamin, camphor, brimstone, pitch and saltpetre, which commodities are for the most part very vendible in divers parts as Suratt, Cambaia, Masulipatan, Araccan, and most parts of Bengala and Chormandale."[45] Later on in the same advise the same merchant writes thus:—"From Sumatra at any of the places abovesaid you may send for Suratt, Muslipatam, and other parts of Bengalal and Choromandle, great quality of brimstone, which is worth in Pryamana and Tecoo from 3 masse to 9, 10, and 12 masse, and the highest prices is sold to great profit at the places abovesaid."[46]

Coromandel itself exported a particular kind of "stuff" or cloth "as our men (Englishmen) call them, and by the Dutchmen called Kleetghees, being

41. Foster, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 69-70, *op. cit.*
42. Foster, *ibid*, VI, pp. 67, 83.
43. Foster, *ibid*, I, p. 136.
44. Foster, *ibid*, I, p. 79.
45. Foster, *ibid*, I, p. 74.
46. Foster, *ibid*, I, p. 75.

the same, and such like stuffs as Sir James Lancaster took which are made at Bengala, Mesopotamia, Cheromandle and St. Thome..."[47] What was meant by the "Kleetghees" is related in the same advise written by Hugh Frayne to Nicholas Downton in the Red Sea, which is undated but is assigned to 1610. "Cloths, as our men use to call them, and by the Dutch Kletghees, being linen and made of cotton wool or the same stuff that Callicow cloth is made of; made to cast about their bodies as cloaks or mantles, or a girdle and scarf about their loins; named as followeth and for which the Amboyneses do give cloves in barter. Tooria, Baffata, Keykam, Sallalo, Pattala, Sarassa, Tzier, Malayia, Patta, Mora, Tanknyla (These are white cloths with red stripes at the end)."[48] So that we may better understand the various kinds of cloths manufactured in the Vijayanagara Empire, we may note their details as given by the same merchant in the same advise. *Tzinde* (evidently the same as *Tzier*) are silk cloths with red stripes: *Patta Katuynen*, with red stripes overthwart through; *Dragon*, black and red; *Sallalo*, blue and black; *Bastan*, are white and black, starched and folded up four square; *Kassa*, are white unstarched lawns; *Kreyakam*, are red starched; *Kanteky*, black starched; *Mossafy* is black of the same, starched; *Toorya*, not starched, are painted like as the *Sarassa*, but very coarse; *Bornelaya* are white and black quarls like checkerd, such a *Polingknystry* are; *Paw* are silk cloths with frings on the end, with the quarls of checkers through. The same source tells us that "These foresaid cloths are always to be had at Bantam, yet sometimes better than at othersame, but they be made at Bengala, Mesopatamia, St. Thome, and Chormandle."[49]

Coromandel seems to have exported another commodity—iron—to the same regions in the south-east. This we gather from a letter dated the 20th February 1614 and written by Captain David Middleton to the East India Company from Bantam. "There is good iron brought hither from Corramandell by Mr. Floris and good cheap..."[50]

There was considerable trade from 1614 onwards between Coromondel and the Maluccos. This was "in all sorts of goods," as is related in a letter dated the 24th April 1614, and written by George Cokayne to John Jourdain.[51] But the articles mostly in demand were "cassamera" (?), steel, and cloths.[52] By the same date (1614) the Dutch had already hampered the English trade between Coromandel and Bantam. John Jourdain and others wrote in a letter dated the 2nd January 1614 to the East India Company, thus:—"Whether they (the Dutch) doth it (selling the same goods to be paid for the

47 and 48. Foster, *op. cit.*, I, p. 70.

49. Foster, *ibid*, I, p. 72. Many more examples could be given of the demand for Coromandel cloth in the Islands of the South East. See, for instance, Foster, *ibid*. VI, pp. 45, 45 (n), 71, 71 (n), 144, 257 (n), 258, 264.

50. Foster, *ibid*, II, p. 326. 51. Foster, *ibid*, II, p. 31.

52. Foster, *ibid*, II, pp. 31-34, 78, 274, 323.

next year "at 100 per cent less than the James' goods were rated at") to cross us in our trade of Choromandell or not we know not, but sure we are that the losses remains on themselves..."[53]

And so that our remarks concerning the intercourse between Coromandel and the lands adjoining Tennesserim may be complete, we may give some details relating to the state of affairs in Siam. The Coromandel cloth was much in demand in Siam. John Johnson and Richard Pitts from Yudea (Ayuthia, the capital of Siam till it was destroyed by the Burmese) wrote to Richard Cocks at Firando in Japan, in their letter dated the 23rd of May 1617, thus:—"If we be supplied with good sorts of clothing of the Coast (Coromandel) or Seratt (Surat) coming in time, whereby sales may be made (as we make no question to the contrary), we would not care whether you sent a penny of money or not."[54]

The following letter dated the 20th of December 1617 written by William Eaton to Sir Thomas Smythe, further substantiates our statement that the cloth manufactured in Coromandel was in great demand in Siam. "As concerning your trade at Syam, it is a place that will vent great store of India cloth, and likewise other cloths that comes from the coast of Choromandell, and to great profit..." The names of the Coromandel cloths sold in Siam are given in detail in a later context in the same letter, thus: "The commodities that are vendible at Syam are...as also cloths (that comes) from the coast of Choromandell, *viz.*, tallepines, painted ginnes, jeckand (anus or painted) dupaties, woven tanipie, painted tanipie, white bettils, red bettils, se(lampores), red yarn, which is there in great request and much sought after; there will vent of it greater quantity."[55]

As to the exports from Siam to the Coromandel coast, the same letter relates that if the trade with "Jangamay" (*i.e.*, Kiangmai, or Zimmai) is opened, it would be of much advantage to the English. For "it is a place that will vent much clothing, as I am given to understand, and for great profit, as six or seven of one, besides the returns that may be made from thence, which is gold, rubies, and other precious stones, as also benjiamen (Benjamin, or bezein), sealing wax (which commodities are in great request at the coast of Choromandell), besides deer skins, which are there very cheap."[56]

The importance of Siam on the India-Japan route was recognized by the English even in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Ships from the Coromandel coast touched at Siam and Petania (of Petania, or Patani) in the course of their eight or ten months' voyage from Japan to India.[57]

53. Foster, *ibid*, II, p. 269. See also *ibid*, pp. 274, 308, 323.

54. Foster, *op. cit.*, V, p. 269. 55. Foster, *ibid*, VI, pp. 256-258.

56. Foster, *ibid*, p. 256.

57. Foster, *ibid*, III,, pp. 148, 178-179.

Coromandel cloth was much in demand also in Japan, as we learn from a letter dated the 16th of January 1616 (1617) written by Richard Cocks from Firando in Japan to the East India Company.[58]

The bearing of this continued trade between Vijayanagara and the East Indies on the political history and culture of the former country, I shall discuss in a subsequent paper. Suffice it to say here that these commercial relations open an altogether new chapter in the annals of the Vijayanagara Empire.

58. Foster, *ibid*, V, p. 46. See also pp. 48, 72.

EDUCATION IN ANCIENT INDIA HISTORIC SURVEY OF ITS ACHIEVEMENTS IN DIFFERENT AGES

By

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The rise and fall of a civilisation is intimately connected with its educational system and achievements. As long as the educational system of a nation is sound and comprehensive and its achievements brilliant and remarkable, society continues to prosper. The decay starts when education is neglected or ceases to train efficiently the youths of the rising generation in the different departments of national activity. We propose to take a survey of ancient Indian Education in this paper to see how far Indian history confirms the truth of the above observation.

Four Historical Periods : For the purpose of our survey we shall divide ancient Indian history into four periods. The first period will be from pre-historic times to c. 1000 B.C. It may be conveniently described as the Vedic age, as most of the Vedic literature was composed during this period. The second period will extend from c. 1000 B.C. to c. 200 B.C. It may be described as the age of the Upaniṣads, the Sūtras and the epics, as these works can be assigned to this period. The Bārhadrathas, the Śiśunāgas, Nandas and the Mauryas were the leading political powers of this period and so the age may be conveniently described also as the age of the Nandas and Mauryas. The third period will extend from c. 200 B.C. to c. 500 A.D. It may be described as the age of the Dharmaśāstra, as most of the leading works on this subject were written during this period. It can also be described as the age of the Śuṅgas and the Sātavāhanas, the Vākāṭakas and the Guptas, as these were its leading political powers. The fourth period will extend from c. 500 A.D. to c. 1200 A.D. It may be described as the age of the Purāṇas and digests (Nibandhas), as society was guided mainly by the theories and practices recommended in these works. Politically India was divided into many small kingdoms during this age. Kings Harṣa and Bhoja were the most prominent rulers during the period. The age therefore may be described as the age of Harṣa and Bhoja.

We shall now proceed to describe the condition of education as a whole in each of these four periods.

The Vedic Period : upto c. 1000 B.C. This age marked the beginning of Indian culture, literature and science, and so the Indians had just started their progress in the different departments of knowledge during this early

period ; its literary and scientific achievements were therefore naturally much less dazzling and comprehensive than those of the succeeding age. People of this period however had a very keen desire to make progress in the realm of knowledge. They had realised that it was intellectual efficiency and equipment that was most essential for progress in culture and knowledge. It was emphasised that gods would befriend only those who are wise and learned. Those only were regarded as learned, who could not only recite the texts but also understand and interpret them. Every householder of the age therefore naturally regarded the education of his children as a sacred duty. No distinction was made in this connection between boys and girls ; the education of both received the same attention even during its higher stages. Ordinarily the guardian discharged his duty to teach his wards so regularly and successfully that no necessity was felt for a long time either for the professional teacher or for the public school. Secular literature was yet to be developed and so the literary course was predominantly religious. People however had an open, free and enquiring mind and were eager to explore new realms of knowledge. Great emphasis was laid on the proper development of debating powers ; boys and girls who were successful in debates were highly honoured. Education however did not produce mere talkers but transformed its recipients into men of action as well. This would become quite clear from the successful manner in which the Aryans of the age spread their culture and extended their political influence. The Aryan community was a compact and homogeneous one during this period and there was not much difference in the educational level of the different classes. Priests however generally used to specialise in literary and religious education. Warriors and agriculturists also received some literary education, but it was not naturally so deep or wide as that of the priest or the poet. They used to devote the greater part of their educational course in mastering the arts of war, or the methods of agriculture or the processes of arts and crafts. The followers of the latter were held in high esteem ; some of them like Aśvins and Ṛibhus were even deified. The educational system of the age was successful in forming character, developing personality, promoting progress of the different branches of knowledge and achieving social efficiency and happiness.

THE UPANIṢAD-SŪTRA PERIOD, C. 1000 B.C. to C. 200 B.C. This period can justly be regarded as the most creative period of Hindu culture and literature, arts and sciences. The foundations of whatever is the best in Hindu culture and glorious in Hindu achievements were laid down during this period. Metaphysics made remarkable progress, as is evidenced by the Upaniṣadic, Jain and Bauddha works ; the foundations of almost all the later systems of philosophy were also laid down. Philology and grammar were well developed and the work in the sphere of legal literature was commenced. Speculations in the sphere of political thought were original and fruitful. Astronomy and mathematics, medicine and surgery, mining and metallurgy

began to be cultivated, and sculpture and architecture recorded remarkable progress, especially towards the end of the period. Effort was also made to popularise culture and knowledge by transforming the epic of the Bhārata war into an encyclopaedia of religion and ethics.

These manifold achievements in different spheres became possible because Indians had still a free, open and enquiring mind and were making strenuous efforts to extend the bounds of knowledge and to ensure its transmission to posterity. With a view to enlist the help of the whole society for this work, Upanayana ritual was made obligatory for the whole Aryan community at about the beginning of this period. This gave a great impetus both to the spread of literacy and of higher education. As learning became more and more extensive in course of time, education in the family became impracticable and society began to encourage distinguished scholars to become regular teachers. They used to organise private schools for higher studies, relying mainly on the voluntary contributions of students taking their advantage. Brahmacarya discipline was still rigorous, but towards the end of the period the marriageable age of girls began to be gradually lowered, which adversely affected female education. During the earlier part of this period, however, there was no dearth of women philosophers and scholars, some of whom used to organise schools and hostels for girls. Co-education was however not unknown. Majority of girls received their education at home, as was the case with boys also during the earlier period. The educational system paid as much attention to the cultivation of the Vedic literature as to that of grammar and philology, mathematics and astronomy and epic and legal literature. Professions became specialised towards the end of this period and society began to feel it advantageous that they should become hereditary in order to facilitate further efficiency. The ordinary soldier or agriculturist used however to receive a fair amount of cultural education. The training imparted to the doctor and the sculptor was fairly practical and efficient and the average intelligence of the artisan class was fairly high. The skilled worker was also respected by society. Education was regarded as a serious proposition and society was anxious that its benefits should be extended to as large a class as possible. Various steps were being proposed and adopted to see that studies of students did not terminate at the end of their courses. Educational system continued to be successful in forming character, building up personality, extending the bounds of knowledge and preserving the heritage of the past. It undoubtedly promoted social happiness and efficiency ; it enabled India to be at the vanguard of progress in the contemporary world and repel and subjugate the Greek enemy.

THE AGE OF THE DHARMAŚĀSTRA, C. 200 B.C. TO C. 500 A.D. : This period may be described as the age of critical reflection and specialisation. The achievements of the preceding creative period were critically examined and special systems like the Sāṁkhya and the Yoga, the Nyāya and the Vai-

ṣika, the Vedānta and the Mahāyāna Buddhism were evolved, which marked considerable progress in accurate thought. The creative vein was still active, though in a less marked degree than before. Its activity was particularly noteworthy in the realm of classical literature and sacred law, painting and sculpture, mathematics and astronomy. A considerable part of the religious literature was now canonised, but Hindus still had an open, free and enquiring mind. Philosophical systems continued to be called orthodox though they had no place even for God. Heterodox systems like the Jainism and the Buddhism were studied by the Hindus and theories and dogmas of Hinduism were analysed and examined by the Jains and the Buddhists. This led to considerable progress in logic and metaphysics. Greeks were no doubt regarded as unholy foreigners (*Mlecchas*), but nevertheless their achievements in the realm of sculpture, coinage and astronomy were carefully studied, examined and assimilated, which led to considerable progress in all these sciences.

There was however a distinctive setback to the cause of education as a whole during this period. Child marriages became the order of the day towards the end of the period, and so female education suffered very considerably. Only daughters of high class families used to receive education during this period. The lowering of the marriageable age of girls naturally involved the corresponding lowering of the marriageable age of boys. Brahmacarya discipline consequently became slack and nominal and the educational system could produce only a limited number of young men possessing a developed personality, characterised by self-confidence and self-reliance. During this period Upanayana in the case of Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas first became a mere formality ; this development gave a severe blow to the general and cultural education of the warrior and the farmer, and the trader and the artisan, which reduced their general efficiency. Their education gradually began to become too much specialised and narrow. The same defect arose in the course of time in liberal education also. There was too much of specialisation in logic and philosophy, astronomy and mathematics ; there was no broad based secondary course of education. The educational system was still able to promote social efficiency and happiness and secure the preservation and spread of national culture ; it enabled society to absorb and assimilate a number of foreign tribes whom it could not drive out by military force. Towards the end of this period, the higher education of the cultured classes received a great impetus and encouragement by the rise of organised public schools and colleges ; on account of the liberal support which these institutions received from the state and society they were able to impart free education. Several colleges for higher education became famous centres of education, which in the course of time began to attract students from abroad as well. The training in practical sciences like sculpture and achitecture, medicine and metallurgy was still very efficient, if somewhat narrow.

THE AGE OF THE PURĀṆAS AND NIBANDHAS, C. 500 A.D.—1200 A.D.

India continued to enjoy the reputation of an international centre of education during this period also. Down to c. 900 A.D. Tibetan and Chinese students continued to flock in her eastern Universities and her doctors used to be summoned in Western Asia for curing patients and organising hospitals. Education had not become mere book learning ; Indian teachers excited admiration of foreign students by their remarkable powers of explanation and exposition. Graduates of this period were remarkable for their logical acumen and mastery in Sanskrit, though the latter was no longer the spoken dialect. Facilities for free higher education continued to be ample ; if with the decline of Buddhism the number of monastic colleges decreased, the loss was more than compensated by the rise of numerous temple colleges. Brahmacarya discipline no doubt became nominal owing to early marriages, students however showed commendable perseverance in pursuing protracted courses of studies. Poor students continued to maintain themselves by begging if necessary ; the number of teachers eager to follow the high code of the profession which enjoined free tuition, still continued to be very large. Society's earnestness for education was thus remarkable.

Though thus higher education continued to prosper, the education of the masses suffered during this period. Upanayana now completely disappeared from Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas ; this gave a serious blow to their cultural and literary education, reduced the percentage of literacy among them and made their education narrow. Useful arts and professions began to be regarded as plebeian and were boycotted by the higher sections of Brāhmaṇas ; as the services of the best intellect of society were no longer available for the development of arts and crafts, they ceased to make any progress worth the name. Growing orthodoxy of the age disapproved of dissection and condemned the pursuit of agriculture on the ground that it involved the killing of insects at the time of sowing and reaping. Medical education in the course of time therefore became less efficient ; surgery disappeared and agriculture became a neglected and plebeian profession. The marriageable age of girls was further lowered during this period : girls were ordinarily married at the age of 8 or 9. This naturally gave a death blow to female education. A few ladies no doubt appear as poetesses during this period ; they were exceptions rather than the rule. Education could not reach the masses as the medium of higher instruction was Sanskrit, which was no longer the spoken tongue. No serious or concerted effort was made to develop literature in vernaculars in order to facilitate the infiltration of knowledge to the masses. In the sphere of higher education specialisation was carried to too great an extreme : the logician, the mathematician and the Vaidika, for instance, did not possess much knowledge of the problems and achievements of one another. The preservation of the ancient literature and culture was the main concern of the educational system ; it was unable to produce many scholars who could substantially enrich it. The creative vein in the Hindu intellect could still be seen in the

realm of poetics, and to a less extent in those of philosophy, literature and astronomy. It was however quite feeble, compared with its strength and achievements in the preceding ages. The situation deteriorated further by the growing self-conceitedness of the scholars of the age and their refusal to benefit by the knowledge and experience of outsiders.

They had no longer a free, open and enquiring mind ; they would refuse to accept what was not in consonance with the statements in the sacred texts. For instance, though the astronomers knew full well that the lunar eclipses were caused by the moon coming within the shadow of the earth, they still went on professing adherence to the legend of the demon Rāhu devouring the moon. This attitude stood in the way of further progress in sciences like astronomy and medicine, history and geography. During the medieval age, great importance was attached by Indian Pandits, as by Jesuitical doctors, to cleverness and skill in mere worldly warfare ; a person was hailed as a great scholar if he could perceive distinctions where none existed and silence his opponent by a brilliant display of the resources of a well-trained memory.

It will be thus seen that the decline that overtook Indian civilisation towards the end of the 10th century was to a large degree due to the educational system ceasing to impart education that would produce scholars who would make their own contribution to the march of knowledge and science. The education of the masses and women was neglected and no attention was paid to the development of the vernaculars, which alone could have raised the general intellectual level of society. A society in which education was confined to a small section of population, the scholars in which had no longer an open and enquiring mind could naturally not hold its own for a long time.

HISTORICAL MATERIALS IN GILGIT MANUSCRIPTS

By

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The Gilgit Manuscripts, recently edited by Dr. N. Dutt and Mr. Shiv Nath Sarma, are a valuable addition to the Buddhist literature and throw interesting light on the origin and development of the Buddhist Canon. These aspects have been fully dealt with in the learned introduction. But some of these texts also contain valuable data for the study of political and social history. As a specimen I propose to deal in this paper with the first section of the Cīvaravastu, in the Vinaya Texts of the Mūlasarvāstivādas published in Gilgit Manuscripts Vol. III, Part 2, (pp. 1-52).

§ 1. SUMMARY

It may be summarised as follows :

The King of Videha had 500 *amātyas* with *Khaṇḍa* as their chief (*agrāmātya*). He married in a family of equal status (*sadṛśa kula*) and had two sons, Gopa and Siṁha. Khaṇḍa gradually acquired great power and authority in the state and the other ministers, becoming jealous, conspired to destroy him. They approached the king and poisoned his ears by representing that "Khaṇḍa is the real king and may, if he so desire, seize the throne." The king gradually grew suspicious and looked for an opportunity to bring about his downfall. Khaṇḍa, coming to know of this, became afraid and thought thus "Where shall I go? If I go to Śrāvastī, it is under a king, and so there would be the same troubles. So would be the case in Vārāṇasī, Rājagṛha and Campā which are all subject to the authority of one person (*ekādhīna*). Vaiśālī is under a *gaṇa* (*gaṇādhīna*). What is desired by ten is disliked by twenty. So by all means I must go to Vaiśālī." So he sent a messenger to the Licchavis of Vaiśālī saying "I wish to live in Vaiśālī under your protection (*vāhu-cchāya*)." The Licchavis cordially invited him, and so he went to Vaiśālī with his goods, cattle and attendants.

Vaiśālī was at that time divided into three quarters, having respectively 7,000, 14,000 and 21,000 turrets (*kūṭāgāra*) with gold, silver and copper pinnacles (*niryūha*). They were inhabited respectively by the high, middle and low classes. The Vaiśālī *gaṇa* (republic) set up a convention that a girl born in any of these quarters should be married to a boy born in the same or in a higher quarter, but never to one born in a lower quarter. The best girl (*strīratna*) in Vaiśālī should not be married to any one but would be an object of enjoyment by the *gaṇa* as a whole (*gaṇasāmānyaṁ paribhojyameva*).

Khaṇḍa was made a chief (*pradhānapuruṣa*) and given residence in the high quarters.

When the republican assembly of Vaiśālī held its session Khaṇḍa did not attend, although invited to do so. Being asked for the reason Khaṇḍa replied "my attendance may lead to troubles (*ādīnava*)." The people of Vaiśālī, however, reassured him and he began to attend. But he did not express any opinion in the assembly, until he was similarly reassured that no troubles would follow if he did so. Formerly, the tone of the official despatches sent from Vaiśālī was rather harsh. Since the time Khaṇḍa began to take part in the deliberations of the assembly the language became mild and polite. Those who received these letters were at first surprised at this change, but gradually learnt the truth *viz.* that it was due to the influence of Khaṇḍa.

Khaṇḍa built houses for his two sons Gopa and Siṁha. A daughter was born to Siṁha. Festivities on a grand scale celebrated her birth and she was named Celā. The astrologers, on seeing her, predicted that her son would seize the throne by killing his father. Siṁha had a second daughter named Upacelā.

Gopa, a strong but turbulent fellow, destroyed the gardens of the Licchavis of Vaiśālī. The gardeners, unable to prevent him, reported the matter to his father who expostulated with his son, warning him that the citizens of Vaiśālī are also strong and turbulent and might do him harm. Gopa said: "Father, these people have gardens, but we have none." So Khaṇḍa applied to the '*gaṇa*' for a garden and received a dilapidated one. There was a big Sāla tree in that garden and there one of the brothers set up an image of Buddha and the other constructed a Vihāra.

But the misdeeds of Gopa irritated the Licchavis. So Khaṇḍa asked him to go to a distant village (*karvaṭa*) lest the wrath of the *gaṇa* would fall upon him. Gopa accordingly left Vaiśālī and having gone to the village led an independent life (*svādhishṭhitān karmāntān kārayitum-ārabddha*).

The Commander-in-Chief (*senāpati*) having died at Vaiśālī, Khaṇḍa was appointed to the post by the Licchavis. He, too, died after faithfully discharging his duty for some time. Then an assembly of the republic was held at Vaiśālī to decide upon the appointment of a commander-in-chief. There some said: "The *gaṇa* was protected by Khaṇḍa, so his son should be appointed." Others observed: "His son Gopa is rough and unmannerly. If he be appointed Commander-in-Chief he will constantly cause dissensions in the *gaṇa*. His brother Siṁha, however, is tender-hearted and would be able to please the *gaṇa*. If the *gaṇa* agrees we shall elect him as the Commander-in-Chief." As this proposal was agreed to by all they went in a body to Siṁha and offered him the post. Siṁha said "Gopa is my elder brother. Please appoint him to the post." They replied "Siṁha, the post is not hereditary in your family. Whoever is agreeable to the *gaṇa* will be appointed

to it. If you do not agree we shall select another." Siṁha, considering it to be highly undesirable that the post should go out of the family, accepted the offer and was anointed Commander-in-Chief with great pomp and ceremony.

The official despatches of Vaiśālī hitherto commenced with the phrase: "Thus commands the *gaṇa* with Khaṇḍa as their head (*Khaṇḍa-pramukha gaṇa*)." When Siṁha became the Commander-in-Chief his name was substituted for that of Khaṇḍa in the above phrase. In course of time a letter with this phrase was sent to the village where Gopa was residing. Having learnt from it that his brother had succeeded his deceased father in the post of Commander, Gopa grew angry, went to Vaiśālī, and asked Siṁha whether it was fair on his part to supersede the claims of his elder brother. Siṁha having narrated in detail all the circumstances, Gopa grew angry with the Licchavis of Vaiśālī and proceeded to Rājagṛha. There he was appointed chief minister (*agrāmātya*) by king Bimbisāra.

In course of time the chief queen of Bimbisāra died and Gopa wrote to his brother proposing the marriage of the latter's second daughter Upacelā with the King. Siṁha wrote back accepting the proposal. But he reminded his brother that it was the convention of the *gaṇa* of Vaiśālī that the daughters of the city should be married only to its own citizens. He, therefore, proposed that Gopa should come to the garden and he would send Upacelā there to be taken away secretly by his brother.

When Gopa arrived at Vaiśālī Siṁha asked Upacelā quickly to dress herself and put on her ornaments. But the elder daughter Celā, coming to know of this, also dressed herself. In the meantime the presence of a foreign enemy in Vaiśālī became known by the sound of the Yakṣa's bell[1] and caused great uproar. In the hurry and confusion Siṁha mistook Celā for Upacelā and took her to Gopa, who at once placed her in the chariot and proceeded towards Rājagṛha. Some people of Vaiśālī followed them, but were repulsed by Gopa.

Arrived at Rājagṛha Gopa discovered his mistake and went sorrowfully to the King. He told the King about the astrologer's prediction that the son of Celā would kill his father. The King was, however, fascinated by the beauty of the youthful Celā, and said: "The son kills the father on account of the throne. If I get a son from her I shall anoint him (*paṭṭavandhaṁ kariṣyāmi*) as soon as he is born." So he married Celā with great ceremony, named her Vaidehī as she was brought from Videha country (*viṣaya*), and a son was born to them.

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1. It is related that a gate-keeper of Vaiśālī, having died, became a Yakṣa. He directed the citizens of Vaiśālī to build a house for him (*yakṣasthāna*) and to place a bell there, so that he might strike it whenever any enemy of Vaiśālī entered the city.

About this time Mahānāma, a rich citizen of Vaiśālī, had a daughter named Āmrapālī (*her supernatural birth from a plantain grove is described in details*). When she grew of marriageable age princes, sons of minister, *śresthis, sārthavāhas* and other rich suitors from Krauñca, Śākya and other countries came to ask for her hand. Mahānāma, afraid of incurring the displeasure of these, brought the matter to the notice of the *gaṇa*. A session of the assembly was held to discuss the matter. When the daughter was seen by the members they decided that she was a *strī-ratna* (jewel of a woman), and so according to the convention already laid down, she was not to be married to anybody but was to be enjoyed by the *gaṇa*. Āmrapālī thereupon asked for five privileges, *viz.* (1) She would be given residence in the quarter inhabited by the high class; (2) No one will enter her house so long as another was there; (3) Any one who enters must give a fee of five hundred *kārṣāpaṇas*; (4) In times of general house-search her house would be inspected on the seventh day; (4) Exit from, and entrance to, her house should not be observed or discussed. The gaṇa argued thus: (1) Being the jewel of a woman she deserves residence in the best quarter; (2) It is meet and proper that only one should visit her at a time as otherwise there may be quarrel between the citizens; (3) The fee of 500 *kārṣāpaṇas* is also reasonable for she is in need of dress and ornaments; (4) As regards the search on the seventh day it does not matter whether it is conducted earlier or later; (5) She is a public woman; no one will visit her if he is observed at the time of entrance or exit. So the *gaṇa* granted her all the five privileges she had asked for.

Āmrapālī invited painters from various countries and asked them to paint on her walls the figures of kings, traders, merchants etc. seen by them. When this was done she asked for their names and was told that 'this is King Pradyota,' 'this is Kośala King Prasenajit', 'this is Vatsa King Udayana,' this is Śreṇya Bimbisāra, King of Magadha' etc. She became enamoured of Bimbisāra.

One day King Bimbisāra, engaged in conversation on good topics with his ministers (*satkathayā tisṭhati*), asked them what sort of courtesan each of them had seen. Gopa said that the courtesan Āmrapālī in Vaiśālī was exceedingly charming and accomplished in all the sixty-four arts and is fit to be enjoyed by the king. The king replied: "If so, I shall go to Vaiśālī and visit her." Gopa told him that the Licchavis of Vaiśālī were hostile and may do him harm. But the king said that a man must have the courage of a man and went with Gopa in a chariot to Vaiśālī. Leaving Gopa with the chariot in the garden Bimbisāra entered the house of Āmrapālī. Immediately the yakṣa's bell was sounded, and loud shouts came from the angry citizens of Vaiśālī. Bimbisāra, having asked Āmrapālī, was told that they were searching the houses to find him out. 'Shall I then fly?' asked the king. 'Dont be dejected;' replied the courtesan, 'my house won't be searched till the

seventh day and so you may stay on till then.' On the seventh day the king left Āmrapālī's house, giving her a thin piece of cloth and a signet ring and saying "if a girl is born to you keep her with you; but if a son is born, cover him with this cloth, tie the ring on his neck and send him to me." Bimbisāra was pursued by the people, but as on the previous occasion of taking out Celā, Gopa fought and defeated them. The citizens of Vaiśālī resolved, as on the previous occasion, that they would retaliate on the sons of Bimbisāra.

Āmrapālī gave birth to a son and sent him to Rājagṛha along with some merchants who were allured by the prospect of taking their goods duty-free by having stamped them with the signet-ring. The child, as directed by the mother, went straight to the king seated in court (*arthādhikaraṇa*) and sat on his lap. On account of his fearlessness he was named Abhaya.

King Bimbisāra was not above adultery. Once while going on an elephant in the streets of Rājagṛha by the house of a *śresthin* who had gone abroad with merchandise the latter's wife became enamoured of him and threw a garland from the window towards the king. The king looked up and invited her to come. She said "My Lord, I feel shy, you had better come in." So the king visited her and she conceived. About this time her husband sent news that he would reach home in a few days. The king sent a messenger to him asking him to bring some jewels from far off countries. Having thus contrived to keep off the *Śresthin* for a sufficiently long time the king had the satisfaction of welcoming the son born of her. He was named Jīvaka and Kumārabhṛtya.

Abhaya and Jīvaka, when grown up, reflected thus: "Ajātaśatru, as predicted, will ascend the throne. So we should learn some arts in order to earn our livelihood." One day a chariot-maker (*rathakāra*), clad in white and attended by persons in white clothes, entered the palace. Having learnt that he would get a fee (*vṛtti*) Abhaya also wanted to follow this profession and placed his desire before the king. The king having demurred, Abhaya told him that all the arts (*sarva-śilpāni*) were worthy of being learnt by a prince. Thereupon the king permitted him to become a chariot-maker. Similarly Jivaka, seeing a physician asked the royal attendants about him and was told that he used to tend upon the sick. If they recovered he was paid a fee, but if they died nobody cared for him.[2] He accordingly asked for, and obtained permission of king Bimbisāra to learn the medical arts. Having mastered medicine he wanted to learn the '*kapālimocanī-vidyā*' from a renowned physician named Ātreya of Takṣaśilā. Bimbisāra sent him to Takṣaśilā with a letter to king Puṣkarasārin.

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2. This seems to be the meaning of the passage which runs thus: *yady = ātuto jīvatyabhisāraṁ labhate | Atha prto na mārgyo na pṛcchyaḥ.*

Jīvaka returned after having acquired great efficiency in all kinds of medical treatment[3] and was twice consecrated as *Vaidyarāja* by the king.

When Ajātaśatru, prejudiced by Devadatta and Kalyāṇamitra, killed his father, the virtuous king (*dhārmika dharmarāja*) Bimbisāra, he was attacked with the disease called *gulma*. The royal physicians, when asked to attend the king, said in one voice : "your brother Jīvaka is unrivalled in his knowledge of medicine. When he is present how can we undertake the treatment?" So Jīvaka was sent for. He thought thus : "A *gulma* is burst open by either excessive delight or excessive anger. He is a sinner, and cannot feel much delight in any case. So his anger must be provoked." He then told the king that he would undertake his treatment if he (the king) would eat the flesh of his son prince Udāyibhadra. The king at first got very angry and refused, but had ultimately to consent to the proposal. Jīvaka concealed Udāyibhadra and offered a dish of meat to the king saying that it was the flesh of the prince. When the king was about to take it, Jīvaka struck him on the forehead saying : "Thou hast killed the father and are now eating the flesh of thy son, O sinner." The king got excessively angry and his *gulma* was burst open. Then Jīvaka brought out Udāyibhadra and told the king the artifice he had to adopt for curing him. The king was pleased and consecrated Jīvaka as *Vaidyarāja* for the third time amid great ceremony.

As Jīvaka got exceedingly proud, the Buddha humiliated him by showing his greater knowledge of medicinal plants. Jīvaka thereupon became a devoted disciple of the Buddha.

§ 2. The Licchavis

It will be observed, on a comparison with the corresponding section of the Pāli Vinaya texts, that practically the whole of the story, as given above, is new. The scene in the Pāli Vinaya is also laid in the court of Bimbisāra, and the names of Abhaya and Jīvaka also occur there. But the story concerning the birth of the former is lacking and a different account is given of the parentage of the latter. So far, therefore, as the narrative portion is concerned there is very little in common between the two versions of the Vinaya texts. It will appear from the above summary that the Vinaya texts of the Mūlasarvāstivādins contain important and interesting information regarding the history and social life of the Licchavis and Vaiśālī. In the first place we get a vivid contrast between the republican and the monarchical forms of government, the former being called *gaṇādhīna*, and the latter *ekādhīna*. The context in which Khaṇḍa makes the contrast leaves no doubt about the true

3. This is treated in great detail and various diseases and their remedies are incidentally discussed. The twenty-two pages devoted to it (pp. 27-48) throw very interesting light on the medical science of those days and deserve full treatment by one conversant in the old Āyurvedic system.

democratic spirit which animated the citizens of Vaiśālī. Every important matter was discussed[4] in the assembly and 'what was desired by ten was opposed by twenty.' That the executive authorities were controlled by the assembly even in minute details appears from the change in the tone of official despatches brought about by Khaṇḍa's taking part in the deliberations of the assembly, and his application to it for the grant of a garden.

It would appear that Senāpati was the head of the state. Siṁha was elected to this post by the assembly, and we must presume the same procedure in the case of Khaṇḍa though the election by the assembly is not specifically referred to.

This democratic constitution, however, did not mean social equality. The division of the capital-city of Vaiśālī into three residential quarters based on wealth, and the restriction of marriage between equals in each quarter prove clearly the existence of class distinctions of a fairly rigid character. But that even a foreigner like Khaṇḍa and the courtesan Āmrapālī were assigned residences in the highest quarter shows the flexibility of the social rules.

The convention, actually put into practice by the *gaṇa* in the case of Āmrapālī, that the most accomplished woman (or women) in the city of Vaiśālī should not be married but remain an object of enjoyment by the public, throws an altogether new light on the social and moral ideas of the age. It is interesting to note that in the Pāli Vinaya texts, a pointed reference is made to the courtesan Āmrapālī as having added lustre and distinction to the city of Vaiśālī.[5] What is more, in order that Rājagṛha might not lag behind Vaiśālī, a similar courtesan is installed there with the consent of king Bimbisāra.

The personal character of this king is fully in keeping with this spirit. He gravely discusses with his ministers the type of courtesans each had seen and insists upon visiting Āmrapālī. He had also no scruple in having a love-affair with the wife of one of his own subjects whom he manages to keep at a safe distance by the exercise of his own royal authority. It is also worthy of note that the issues of both these illegitimate connections are reared in the palace and receive high distinctions in life.

§ 3. General Political Setting

The general political history of N-E. India, envisaged in the text, is also not without interest. In addition to Prasenajit, king of Kosala with his capital at Śrāvastī, and Bimbisāra, king of Magadha with his capital at

4. That discussion formed an important feature in the working of the assembly is proved by the request to Khaṇḍa to express his opinion. Even the question of marrying his daughter was placed by Mahānāma before the assembly.

5. "Through that person Vesāli became more and more flourishing" (Mahāvagga VII. 1, 1.)

Rājagṛha, to both of whom frequent references are made, mention is made of the kings Pradyota and Udayana, kingdoms of Videha, Vārāṇasī and Campā, and the tribal states of Śākya and Krauñca. Thus it presents the political condition such as we find in other Buddhist canonical texts. It evidently refers to the period before Aṅga and Kāśī were conquered respectively by Bimbisāra and Prasenajit. The mention of Videha as a kingdom is important. Rhys Davids includes Videha among the tribal republics[6] and translates the epithet Vedehiputta, applied to Ajātaśatru, as the son of the queen of the Videha clan.[7] Both these views are opposed to the testimony of the present text. For, apart from the mention of Videha as a kingdom, it is clearly said that Ajātaśatru's mother was not a queen of Videha but the daughter of a citizen of Vaiśālī, and she was called Vaidehī as she was brought from Videha country.

The story of Ajātaśatru's treatment by Jīvaka brings out the fact that the king had a son named Udāyibhadra. This is in conformity with the Ceylonese tradition and opposed to the Purāṇic statement that Ajātaśatru was succeeded by Darśaka and the latter by Udāyin. It is thus evident that the Ceylonese Chronicles were based upon a common Buddhist tradition and this considerably weakens the argument of V. A. Smith, with reference to the Purāṇic account of Darśaka, that "traditions preserved in Magadha should be more trustworthy than those recorded at a later date by monks in distant Ceylon."[8]

The king of Videha is said to have five hundred *amātyas* with Khaṇḍa as the chief or *agrāmātya*. This post of *agrāmātya* is also mentioned in connection with the kingdoms of Magadha and Kosala, though there is no mention of five hundred *amātyas* in either case. Whether the body of five hundred *amātyas* denotes a sort of deliberative assembly cannot be determined. But although its exact nature cannot be defined it seems to be an interesting feature of the government.

6. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 175.
7. S. B. E., Vol. XI, p. 134. According to Jain tradition Ajātaśatru's mother Cellanā was daughter of Cetaka, Raja of Vaiśālī (*ibid*, Vol. XXII, Introduction).
8. *Early History of India*, 3rd Ed., p. 47.

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF INDIAN PLANTS — ANTIQUITY OF JAWĀR OF JONDHLĀ (HOLCUS SORGHUM)-(FROM B.C. 2200 TO A.D. 1850)

By

Mr. P. K. GODE, M.A.

In July 1941 I published a short paper[1] on the *History of the Fig* (*Ficus Carica*) recording its history from *c.* B.C. 1000 to A.D. 1800. My main object in preparing this paper was to record the history of this plant from foreign and Indian sources and to point out how it was gradually assimilated by the Indian *Materia Medica* like many other plants of foreign origin. This paper of mine has received better appreciation[2] from Sanskrit scholars, botanists and medical men than I expected. Dr. Birbal Sahni, F.R.S., Dean of the Faculty of Science, Lucknow University, directed my attention to a recent book on the *History of Plant Sciences*[3] by Howard S. Reed which has two chapters "on the history of the plant lore of the ancients, where Egypt and Assyria, Greece and Rome, China and early America are all adequately treated" but "one looks in vain for a bare mention of ancient India which was certainly well abreast of the times and gave much that the West has assimilated, though not always gracefully acknowledged." Dr. Sahni rightly observes that the Retrogressive Period (Chap. IV of Reed's book) was retrogressive only so far as the occidental nations were concerned.

The study of Indian culture in all its aspects of which the history of Indian plants is but one aspect has not yet been properly carried out in spite of the wealth of material in Jain, Brahmanical, Buddhist and foreign sources

1. *Vide*, pp. 125-136 of *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IV (1941-42).
2. Dr. P. M. Mehta, M.D., M.S. Chief Medical Officer, Jamnagar State, who is deeply interested in Indian Botany and Ayurvedic System of Medicine suggested that I should take up a systematic study of other plants of medical and nutritive value. His constant correspondence with me during the last 3 years has been responsible for maintaining my interest in the history of Indian Medicine. I am thankful to him for supplying me extracts from works on medicine and botany not easily accessible to me in local libraries.
3. *Vide*, p. 369 of *Current Science*, 1942, XI, No. 9 where Dr. Sahni's interesting review of Reed's book appears. A copy of this review was kindly sent to me by Dr. Sahni, who wrote to me on 12th January 1943 :—"I have read with much interest your Notes on the *History of the Fig* (*Ficus Carica*). I think you would be doing a great service to Indian Botany if similarly you were to work out the history of our knowledge of other common Indian plants of medicinal or nutritive value. Our own ignorance concerning this subject is colossal and we can scarcely blame the western writers if they ignore the ancient Hindu knowledge of the plant sciences."

in contact with India from remote antiquity. It is, therefore, no fault of the Western writers if they ignore the ancient Hindu knowledge of our sciences as reflected in the literary and other sources now available for study. In view of the unsatisfactory character of the history of Indian plant sciences as pointed out by Dr. Sahni I have thought it advisable to note down and record as many facts about the history of different Indian plants as I can gather during the course of my other studies pertaining to the history of Indian Culture in all its manifold aspects. As one such effort in the field of this history I shall deal with the antiquity of *Holcus Sorghum* (*Jawār* or *Jondhḷā*) which is supposed to be the earliest of the wild plants to be domesticated according to SWANSON and LAUDE,[4] who record the following points regarding its antiquity :—

(*i*) *Holcus Sorghum* is indigenous of Equatorial Africa and Asia.

(*ii*) Evidence of its existence about 2200 B.C. is furnished by one of the Egyptian tombs of this date.

(*iii*) In the *Bible* (Book of Ezekiel) the word *dochan* occurs. It is translated by the word *millet* but it is possible that it signifies the *Sorghum*.

(*iv*) The cultivation of *Sorghum* in Asia, particularly in India is very old.

(*v*) *Sorghum* was grown as early as *3rd Century* A.D. *in China*, where it was probably introduced.

Watt in his *Dictionary of Economic Products of India*[5] devotes some space to the history of *Sorghum*. I note below some points from his remarks:—

(1) Some of the cultivated *Sorghums* had been developed in India.

(2) Sir Water Elliot pointed out that the most general Sanskrit name for the crop, *yavana*, denotes in other connections a Greek, Muhammadan or stranger while its Persian name *juār-i-hindi* shows that it reached Persia, at least from India.

(3) De Candolle lays a certain amount of stress on "the absence of a Sanskrit name as rendering the Indian origin doubtful."

(4) Some writers have given *Zūrna* or *Zūra* as the Sanskrit for this grain, but if that be the case, neither *Dhūra* or *Zūra* has given origin to any of the Indian names. *Zūra* or *Zūrna* is, moreover, clearly derived from the Arabic *Dhūra*. The Arabic word has on the

4. Vide *Bulletin No. 266* (1934) by A. F. SWANSON and LAUDE—"*Varieties of Sorghum in Kansas*". (Kansas State College of Agriculture and Allied Science, U. S. A.). This *Bulletin* was not accessible to me but the pertinent information was supplied to me by my brother Mr. R. B. Gode, M.Sc. Assistant Investigator Govt. Dry Farming Scheme (1933 to 1943) and now Bio-Chemist to Govt. for the Bombay Province.

5. Vide pp. 291-292 of Vol. VI, Part III, London and Calcutta, 1893.

other hand passed into the Egyptian and perhaps also the Hebrew, so that it seems almost justifiable to say that the aboriginal people of India knew of and perhaps cultivated their indigenous *Sorghum* long anterior to the Āryan invasion. Indeed, it may be assumed that the Sanskrit people first learned of this grain in India, but gave themselves very little concern regarding it. But, indeed, the absence of any allusion to it in the classic literature of the Sanskrit people can hardly be advanced as proof positive that it was unknown to them. The religious associations of the grain, the observances of cultivation and the multiplicity of forms of the crop, all point, to an antiquity quite as great as can be shown for most other articles of the humbler phases of life. The absence of any historic indications of an ancient importation and the presence in India of an abundant wild species that affords a large conspicuous edible grain seem, when taken in conjunction with the arguments already advanced, *conclusive evidence in support of the opinion that many of the forms of this millet are beyond doubt natives of India.*"

(5) "SMITH (*History of Bible Plants*, p. 214) has endeavoured to show that the stalks of this millet were very probably the reed of *St. Mathew* and that the spikelets on its top were very likely the hyssop of *St. John* mentioned at the crucifixion. The hyssop (*Esob* of the Hebrews) of *Moses* was a word used to denote any common article in the form of a broom or a material suitable for that purpose. If this view be accepted, the cultivation of *Sorghum* in Palestine may be regarded as very ancient."[6]

The foregoing scholarly collection of facts and views bearing on the history of the *Sorghum*, though illuminating, is not conclusive so far as the antiquity of *Sorghum* in India is concerned. It is the purpose of this paper to record some useful data bearing on this antiquity so that the whole problem should be clarified by the application of the chronological method of recording textual evidence adopted by me in my present study of the problem. In recording my evidence I shall follow the method of proceeding from the present to the past so that readers may know how far I have penetrated the mist of

6. *Ibid*. p. 295. These remarks read in conjunction with the existence of *Sorghum* in an Egyptian tomb of 2200 B.C. may tend to confirm the belief that the Sorghum has very great antiquity say of more than 5000 years and if the theory of its importation to India from Africa is accepted we have to suppose that this importation took place in remote antiquity prior to the Christian Era. The evidence recorded in this paper shows its existence on Indian soil for the last 2000 years. It is for the students of the pre-historic Culture of India to investigate the exact period of the suggested importation. In the meanwhile we may accept Watt's conclusion that the *Sorghum* and its varieties are natives of India.

antiquity gathered round this important grain the *Sorghum*, the sustainer of life in different parts of India even in its worst quality now rationed out to millions of my countrymen consequent upon the exigencies of the present world-war.

JOHN GRAHAM published in 1839 his book on *Plants growing in Bombay and its vicinity* in which he refers to *Jowaree* and *Bajree* as follows :—

Page 237—Holcus (From *Helko* to draw in allusion to the supposed emollient properties of a grass to which this name was given.

Page 238—Holcus Shicatus—Bajree—extensively cultivated and forms a very important article of food along *Jondhala*.

Holcus Sorghum—JOWAREE—Jondla, the great millet a well-known cerealia. The straw called *Kurbee* is reckoned very nourishing for cattle and is a substitute for forage for horses, when grass is not obtainable.

EDWARD MOOR, one of the founders of the Royal Asiatic Society London, served with the Maratha army against Tipoo Sultan in A.D. 1790-91. In his *Narrative of the Operations* etc. published in London in 1794 he refers to *Jawary* as follows :—

Page 278—In Chapter XXI Moor gives historical and descriptive particulars of Canara and the Canarese. In this connection he states :—

"We learned that in times of plenty, the ordinary price[7] of provisions was in this proportion : a *bullock load of jowary for a rupee* or four sheep or twenty fowls : sheep we have frequently picked at half a rupee each. A *bullock load is eighty pucka seer* which at a liberal allowance will serve a family of six persons a month.' On *page 505* Moor explains *Jawary* as "A grain called in America and the West Indies *Guinea Corn*."

YULE and BURNELL record usages of the *Jowaur, Jowarree* in their monumental work *Hobson-Jobson*.[8] These usages are taken from sources dated

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7. *Jawār* is selling at *4 seers a rupee* in Poona at present (August 1943). About A.D. 1790, when the Peshwa was still ruling at Poona its cost in the Deccan is indicated by Moor's statement "a bullock-load of *jowary* for a rupee." He further explains " *a bullock-load*" as equal to *80 pucka seers*. It is clear, therefore, that the cost of *jowary* has increased 20 times. Students of Indian Economics should ponder over this contrast.

8. Vide p. 465 of *Hobson-Jobson* (London, 1903)—"*Jowaur, Jowarree* S. Hind. *jawar, juar* [Skt. *yavaprakāra* or *akāra* 'of the nature of barley'.] *Sorghum Vulgare*. Pers. (*Holcus Sorghum* L.) one of the best and most frequently grown of the tall millets of southern countries. It is grown nearly all over India in the unflooded tracts; it is sown about July and reaped in November. The reedy stems are 8 to 10 feet high. It is the *cholam* of the Tamil regions. The stalks are *kirbee*. The Ar. *dura* or *dhura* is perhaps the same word ultimately as *jawār*; for the old semitic name is *dokn*, from the smoky aspect of the grain. It is an odd instance of the looseness which used to pervade dictionaries and glossaries that R. Drummond (*Illus. of the Gram. Parts of Guzeratee* etc. Bombay, 1808) calls "JOOAR, a kind of *pulse*, the food of the common people."

c. *1590, 1760, 1800, 1813, 1819* and *1826*. The earliest of these usages is from *Ain-i-Akbari* by Abul Fazl (trans. by Blochman and Jarret) and reads as "*Jowāri*" as will be seen from the following extract :—

"*C. 1590*—In Khandesh "*Jowāri* is chiefly cultivated, in some places, there are three crops in a year, and its stock is so delicate and pleasant to the taste that it is regarded in the light of a fruit" (*Ain* ed. Jarett, ii, 223)."

Other usages are—*1760* (*Jouari*), *1800* (*jawarry*), *1813* (*juarree*), *1819* (*joiwaree*), *1826* (*Joanee*).

MARSDEN in his book on *Sumatra* (London, 1784) refers to a kind of *padde* as "*paddee Jerroo*" as follows :—" In the Lampoon country they make a distinction of *padde crawang* and *paddee jerroo*, the former of which is a month earlier than the latter."

I cannot say if word "*jerroo*" mentioned by Marsden has any connection with the word *Jawār* or *Jwār*.

RAGHUNĀTHA GANEŚA NAVAHASTA[9] (c. A.D. 1640-1712) a friend of Saint Rāmdas of Mahārāṣṭra composed a work on dietetics called the *Bhojana-kutūhala* (*MS No. 594 of 1899-1915* dated A.C. 1803 in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona). In the *1st Paricceda* of this work represented by the above MS I find the varieties of *Yāvanāla*[10] mentioned as follows :—

Folio 5—" अथ यावनाल गुणाः —॥ नि ॥

धवलो यावनालस्तु गौल्यो बल्यस्त्रिदोषजित् ।
त्रृष्यो रुचिप्रदोशोर्घ्नः पथ्यो गुल्मव्रणापहः ॥
तुवरो यावनालस्तु कषायोलो विशेषकृत् ।
संग्राही वातशमनो विदाही शोषकारकः । ॥ रक्तस्य ॥

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9. Vide my papers on this author in the *Journal of the Bombay University* Vol. X, pp. 132-140. Annals (B.O.R. Institute) Vol. XXII, 254-263 and *Journal of S. M. Library, Tanjore*, Vol. III, pp. 1-12.

10. A Hindi Court-poet of Sevai Jaising of Amber (A.D. 1699-1743) has composed a Cookery book भोजनसार (*MS No. 1515 of 1891-95* in the Govt. MSS Library at B. O. R. Institute, Poona). The name of this poet is गिरधारी and he composed this work in A.D. 1739. In the following extract he describes the preparations of जवारि and बाजरा as Current in the royal kitchen :—

" अथ जवारि मुररी चौपई
हरीभरी मुररी जुन गायति नके अर्कसुपाल लगाय ।
सेकौ अग्नि आकरी होय उष्ण उष्ण चाबत हरिसोय ।
इति जवारि चबैनां चौपई
अथ बाजरे कौ चबैंना
सिरा हरेभरे लेआवै तिनकौं सेक अग्नि यह दाव
उष्ण उष्ण चाबत हरिराय गिरधारी ताके बलि जाय ॥ ५३८ ॥ "

शारदो यावनालस्तु श्लेष्मलः पित्तलो गुरुः ।
शिशिरो मधुरो वृष्यो दोषघ्नो बलिपुष्टिदः ॥ ॥ शाळू ॥
यावनालो महान्बल्यो दुर्जरो वातपित्तकृत् ।
रुच्यः संतर्पणो बालप्रिया मक्का समुद्भवाः ॥ मक्का ॥ "

Folio 71—" यावनाल गुड " is mentioned in the following extract :—

" स्याद्यावनालरसपाकभवो गुडोऽयं ।
क्षारः कषायमधुरः कफवातहारि ॥
पित्तप्रदः सततमेष निषेव्यमाणः ।
कंडूतिकुष्टजननो स्वविदाहदाई ॥ "

It will be seen from the evidence to be recorded subsequently that *Yāvanāla* is a Synonym for *Jawār* or *Jondhḷā*.

SĀDHU SUNDARAGAṆI, a Jain lexicographer who composed his *Dhāturatnākara* in Saṁvat 1680=A.D. 1624 refers to *Yāvanāla* or *Jonnālā* as follows in his lexicon called the *Śabdaratnākara*[11]:—

(*4th Kāṇḍa*, verse 257)—

" जोन्नाला यवनालश्च, जूर्णा, जूर्णिः शणः सणः ॥ २५७ ॥ "

In a Marathi document of A.D. 1541 published by the historian Rajawade we find *Jondhḷā* mentioned as जोझळ (*Jojhaḷa*) several times. I reproduce one entry from this document as follows :—

" जोझळ	गहू	तुरी
२॥।४॥।.	॥३।.	॥३।. "

NARAHARI in his medical glossary called the *Rājanighaṇṭu* composed in Kashmir c. A.D. 1450 refers to *Yāvanāla* and its properties as follows :—

Page 360—(१७) यावनालः ।

यावनालोऽथ नदिजो दृढत्वग्वारिसंभवः ।
यावनालनिभश्चैव खरपत्रः षडाह्वयः ॥ ३८ ॥

गुणाः— यावनालश्शरमूलमीषन्मधुररुच्यकम् ।
शीतं पित्ततृषापघ्नं पशूनामबलप्रदम् ॥ ३९ ॥ "

Sugar produced from *Yavanāla* is called Yāvanālī *Śarkarā* and is mentioned by Narahari as follows :—

Page 91— " यावनाली (शर्कराविशेषः)

यावनाली हिमोत्पन्ना हिमानी हिमशर्करा ।
क्षुद्रशर्करिका क्षुद्रा गुडजा जलबिन्दुजा ॥ १६३ ॥ "

11. Ed. by Hargovinddas and Bechardas, Benares (Veera Era 2439).
12. Vide *Sources of Maratha History* (Khaṇḍa 17, Document No. 62).
13. Ed. *Anandashram Sanskrit Series*, Poona, 1896.

King Madanapāla of the Kāṣṭā race, ruling on the banks of the Jumna composed his medical glossary called the *Madananighaṇṭū*[14] in A.D. 1374. In this work he refers to *Yavanāla* and its Synonyms as follows :—

Page 123— धान्यादिवर्ग

" यवनालो देवधान्यं जूर्णाह्वो जूनलो नलः ॥ ८२ ॥
यवनालः स्वादुशीतो वातलः कफपित्तजित् ॥ ८३ ॥

We have now seen that Sadhu Sundaragaṇi (A.D. 1624) uses the words जूर्णा, जूर्णिः for यावनाल and that Madanapāla (A.D. 1374) uses the word जूर्णाह्व for यवनाल *Hemādri*, the famous minister of the Yādavas of Devagiri (A.D. 1260) composed a commentary called the *Āyurvedarasāyana*[15] on the voluminous medical compendium of Vāgbhaṭa II (*c.* 8th or 9th cent. A.D. according to Hoernle) called the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, in which we find the word जूर्ण mentioned :—

Sūtrasthāna, Chap. 14, verse 21—

" कुलत्थजूर्णश्यामाकयवमुद्गमधूदकम् ॥ २१ ॥

Hemādri (A.D. 1260) explains in his commentary the word जूर्ण (*Jūrṇa*) used by Vāgbhaṭa II as follows :—

" जूर्णो–यावनालः "

This explanation shows that about 700 years ago the word यावनाल, which is given as an equivalent of जोन्नाला by Sādhu Sundaragaṇi (A.D. 1624), meant जूर्ण a term for *Jawār*, which seems to have great antiquity.

In A.D. 1220 Aruṇadatta, the Bengali commentator of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* explains the जूर्ण of Vāgbhaṭa II (*8th or 9th cent.* A.D.) as follows in his commentary *Sarvāṅgasundarā* :—

" जूर्णः तृणधान्यविशेषः दक्षिणापथे जोन्धलक इति प्रसिद्धः "

The variants for जोन्धलक in the above line recorded by Vaidya Paradkar are :—" जोह्लक, जोन्नालक, and जोर्णालक. " It is clear, therefore, that in the *13th century* the old word जूर्ण for *Jawār* or *Jondhḷā* was known in the दक्षिणापथ or the Deccan as जोन्धलक and its variants recorded above. The testimony of a Bengali commentator of A.D. 1220, which equates जूर्ण with जोन्धलक is further confirmed by the Mahānubhāva literature of c. 1250 A.D. In fact CAKRADHARA the founder of the Mahānubhāva Sect was very fond of जोंधळा and its preparations. In a work (in Marathi) called the लीळाचरित्र composed by Mahīndrabhaṭṭa, the pupil of Cakradhara,

14. Ed. (1902, Calcutta) by Ashubodh.
15. Vide Edition of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* by Hari Shastri Paradkar, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1938 with my English Introduction on Vāgbhaṭa II and his Commentators.

there are many references to जोंधळा or *Jawār.*[16] I note below a few of these references from the published edition[17] of *Līlācaritra* :—

Part I, p. 18— " हुरडा सोले "

Part III, p. 76—" ना जी गावीं एकचि पेव काढीलें :
सारिखेचि जोन्हळे: अवघा घरि सारिखाचि भातु: "

Part IV—p. 48—" निच (नित्य) कैसा गोसावीयांसि पाणिभातुचि आरोगणा:
कांहीं अनारिसें नाहीं: म्हणोनि जोंधळे आपजवीलें "

" —p. 49—" उडीदां जोन्हळेयाची तीयें ढीडरीं "

" —p. 51—" तियचिय मात्रे (सामानात) गहुं: चणे: जोंधळे: ऐसे होते: तेयाचा
भक्तजनाचा ठाई उपाहार केला "

" —p. 61—" पुढां कणीसे वोळगवीली......जोंधळेयाचे कण दोनि पाडिले: ते
गोसावी प्रसादु केला........उपाधिया करवी हुरडा भाजविला"

" —p. 62—" बाइसी हुरडा पाखुडिला: वाटा घातला: आणि: साकर घातली:
गोसावीयांसि वोळगवीला: गोसावी प्रसादु केला : गोसावी अवघेयां
भक्तजनां दीधलां: मग गोसावी हुरडा आरोगीला: "

It is clear from the above extracts that in the Deccan of the 13th century the terms जोन्हळे or जोंधळे (*Holcus Sorghum*) and its preparations were current. We also note here that the present custom of roasting the grain bunches of *Sorghum* and eating them in the field or at home was also current 700 years ago and these roasted grains were known as हुरडा a term for these grains which has survived even to this day. The pastoral life

16. My friend Prof. D. R. Bendre of the Commerce College, Poona, has brought to my notice the following references to जोंधळा in a *Canarese work* of the *10th Century* A.D.:—

C. 940 A.D.—*Canto IX, Verse 84* of पम्पभारत (or विक्रमार्जुनविजय published by Karnatak Sahitya Parishad, Bangalore refers to जोळ (Joḷa) :—

(Dialogue between कर्ण and कुंती "Setting aside the good deeds of the Lord (his chief दुर्योधन) and being false to जोळ can one live thereafter?" (Here जोळ = *Jawār*).

Canto X, 42 (A soldier proceeding to the battlefield observes) :—" How shall I repay जोळ if I don't kill so many horses and elephants " (Here जोळ = Jawār).

I am thankful to Prof. Bendre for these references.

17. लीलाचरित्र by H. N. Nene, Parts I and II (1936) ; Part III and IV (1937), Nagpur. Cakradhara was contemporary of King *Kanharadeva* (A.D. 1247-60) and King *Mahādeva* (A.D. 1266-71) of Devagiri. Hemādri was the minister of kings Mahādeva and Rāmachandra of Devagiri. In another Mahānubhāva work चक्रधरोक्त सूत्रपाठ (by H. N. Nene, 1936) there are references to जोन्हळे on pp. 18 and 38.

in the Deccan has not changed very much so far as the crop of *Jondhḷā* and its uses are concerned. The custom of preparing ढीडरीं or omelets from the flour of *Jondhḷā* was also then current though we now prepare them from the flour of gram. This custom is worth renewing even in cities as *Jawār* is now selling at 4 seers a rupee while it was sold at 80 seers a rupee as observed by Edward Moor in A.D. 1790. In the encyclopaedic Sanskrit work called the *Mānasollāsa*[18] composed by king Someśvara or Bhūlokamalla (A.D. 1116-1127) there is a section on *Hunting* (मृगयाविनोद) in which the use of a *jawar* grain-bunch (or "जोंधळ्याचें कणिस" as we call it to-day) is prescribed for feeding the deer as follows :—

P. 282— " कणिशं यावनालस्य क्रमशश्चारयेन्मृगान् "

Keśavasvāmi in his lexicon *Nānārthārṇava-saṅkṣepa* (A.D. *12th century*[19]) mentions यावनाल and जोन्नाला in the following line :—

P. 118— " यावनालाख्य धान्ये तु जोन्नाला स्त्री त्रिषुत्वदः ॥ ८११ ॥ "

In a Canarese inscription[20] of A.D. 1166 we find a reference to corn merchants and *jwāri* as follows :—

P. 110—" All these chief merchants not minding any tax granted to glorious God Cennakeśava *jwāri* of one spoon (*Saṭṭuga*) from each shop " (lines 50-53 of the Inscription).

Canarese Scholars will be easily able to record earlier references to *jawār* from literature and other sources (before A.D. 1166) and I earnestly request them to do so.

From the Deccan and Karnāṭaka of the 12th century we now turn to Gujarat in search of the history of *jawār*. We find that Hemacandra, the great Ācārya of the Jainas (A.D. 1089-1173[21]) who lived at Patan in Gujarat composed a lexicon of *Deśī* words called the *Deśīnāmamālā* in which we find the words "जोण्णलिआ" and "जोवारी" corresponding to the modern words जोंधळा and जवार respectively as will be seen from the following extracts :—

Page 151— " जोवारीइ जोण्णलिआ ॥ ५ ॥

18. Ed. in *G. O. Series*, Baroda, Vol. II (1939).

19. Vide p. 118 of *Classical Sanskrit Literature* by Krishnamachariar 1937—"नानार्थार्णव संक्षेप *composed in the 12th Century.*"

20. Vide p. 110 of *Inscriptions in Northern Karnataka and the Kolhapur State* by Prof. K. G. Kundangar, Rajaram College, Kolhapur, 1939.—Date of Inscription No. 13 in which the reference to *jwāri* occurs is *Saka 1088* = A.D. *1166* (*Tuesday, 5th July*).

21. Vide my paper on *Mammaṭa and Hemacandra* (*Journal of Tanjore S. M. Library*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 9-13).

"जोण्णलीआ जोवारी । धान्यम् । जोवारी शब्दोऽपि देश्य एव ॥ यथा–
चलजोइ अजोइं गणमित्तिखअ जोण्णलीअ कारणं कालं ।
कासद वहूउ हरिसा उप्फुल्लय जोअणाहुन्ति ॥ ४२ ॥

Hemacandra (in the 12th century) states that the word जोवारी is also a *deśya* word like जोण्णलिआ. If this statement is correct we have to regard both these words as dialect words current in Hemacandra's time with some antiquity behind them as Hemacandra has based his *Deśīnāmamālā* on some earlier Deśī lexicons now lost to us.[22]

We have already seen that Madanapāla mentions the word जूर्णाह्व for *Jondhaḷā*. We shall see later that this word is very old. In fact it is used in the earliest medical text known as *Carakasaṁhitā*. *Cakrapāṇidatta* (A.D. 1060) a Bengali commentator explains the term "जूर्णाह्व" as equivalent to जोनार, a word current in his time in Bengal. I have found two references to "जूर्णाह्व" in the *Carakasaṁhitā*,[23] which may be recorded here :—

Page 111—Sūtrasthāna, Chap. 21, verse 25—

"प्रशातिका प्रियङ्गश्च श्यामाका यवका यवाः ।
जूर्णाह्वाः कोद्रवामुद्गाः कुलत्थाश्च कमुद्गकाः ॥ २५ ॥

Page 149—sūtrasthāna, Chap. 27, verse 17—

"शिबिरोत्कट जूर्णाह्वः श्यामाकसदृशा गुणैः"

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22. Hemacandra composed a Sanskrit lexicon called the अभिधानचिंतामणि in which he notes the synonyms of यवनाल (=Jawār) as follows :—

Page 475—(Edition of अभिधानचिंतामणि, with a separate index volume)

भूमिकाण्ड (४) का, verse 244—

"यवनालस्तु योनलः ।
जूर्णाह्वयो देवधान्यं जोन्नाल बीजपुष्पिका ॥ २४४ ॥"

Hemacandra writes his own commentary on the above lines as follows :—

"यवस्य इव नालमस्य यवनालः ॥ १ ॥
यूयते योनलः "मुरल" (उणा ४७४)
॥ इत्यले निपात्यते ॥ २ ॥
'जरैन्चि जरायां' जूर्यते जूर्णः "डीयश्व्यैदितः" ॥ ४ ॥ ४ ॥ ६१ ॥
इति क्तस्य नत्वम्, जूर्ण इत्याह्वयो यस्य जूर्णाह्वयः ॥ ३ ॥
देवप्रियधान्यं देवधान्यं जनाद् नालमस्या जोन्नाला पृषोदरादित्वात् ॥ ५ ॥
बीजाकारं पुष्पमस्य बीजपुष्पिका ॥

23. Ed. by Nirnayasāgar Press, Bombay, 1922—The B. O. R. Institute Govt. MS *No. 66 of 1872-73* wrongly called अग्निवेशसंहिता is in fact Cakrapāṇidatta's comm. on चरकसंहिता —folio 149— जूर्णाह्वो जोन्नान इति ख्यातः"

Cakrapāṇidatta explains :—

"जूर्णाह्वः जोनार इति ख्यातः"—"जोन्नान" is a variant in MS. No. 66 of 1872-73.

In the vernacular names of *Jawār*[25] given by Watts in his *Dictionary* (p. 290 of Vol. VI, Part III) we find the following names which come phonetically near to जोनार of A.D. 1060 :—(HINDI)—*Janera* ; (BENGALI)—*Kasa-jonar* ; (N. W. P. AND OUDH)—*junri* ; (*PB*)—*junri* ; Watt here records some other usages as follows :—

(1) BURMESE—*Pyoung* ; (2) *Zúrna* (=Sanskritized form of the Arabic name *Dhura*), *Yavanála, rakta Khurnah* (*Sanskrit*) ; (ARABIC)—Dhúra (zúra), *taam, jawars* (=smaller millet), *dhurat* ; (EGYPT)—*Kaydi durra* ; (CHINESE)—*Kao-liang* (=tall millet)

Yādavaprakāśa (c. 1050 A.D.) in his lexicon वैजयन्ती[26] refers to *jawār* or *jonnālā* as follows :—

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24. *Ibid.*, p. 111—footnote 3 explaining the term जूर्णाव्ह in verse 25 of Chap. 21 of *Sūtrasthāna* records the following explanation of जूर्णाव्ह as given by शिवदास a later commentator of *Caraka* :—

"जूर्णाह्वा स्तृणधान्यविशेषा दक्षिणापथे योर्णक इति प्रसिद्ध इत्यरुण इति शिः" (शिवदासः).

We have already seen that Aruṇa or Aruṇadatta explains the word जूर्ण as जोन्धलक in दक्षिणापथ. The variants of this जोन्धलक are जोह्लक, जोन्नालक, and जोर्णालक. The variant योर्णक mentioned by शिवदास is an addition to these variants of Aruṇadatta's text.

25. The Prakrit Dictionary called "*Paia-Sadda-Mahaṇṇavo*" Calcutta, 1923-28 (p. 448) records the following usages of जुआरि (juāri) :—

A.D. *1143*—(i) जुआरि [Vide p. 546 of सुपासनाहचरिअ ed. by Har Govinddas, Benares, 1918-19.]

C. A.D. 1090—(ii) जुआरि [Vide सुरसुंदरीचरिअ (Paricceda I, Gāthā 7,) published by जैनविविधसाहित्यशास्त्रमाला, Benares, 1916.]

We have already noted जोवारी and जोण्णलिआ recorded as Deśī words by Hemacandra. जुआरी and जोवारी are synonymous.

About the dates of the two Jain works referred to above I note here the remarks of Winternitz, *Indian Literature*, Vol. II, Calcutta University.

Page 576—"*A voluminous Prākrit poem Supāsanāha-Cariyam* by Lakṣmaṇa Gaṇin deals with the Story of the Seventh *Tīrthakara*. This work, composed in the year 1143 A.D. also contains 68 Apabhraṁśa verses."

Page 536—"*Surasundarī-cariam* by Dhaneśvara, the pupil of Jineśvarasūri and Buddhisāgarasūri written towards the *end of the 11th century* is a voluminous romantic epic in Prākrit."

26. Ed. by Gustav Oppert., 1893.

भूमिकाण्ड–वैश्याध्याय—

"—यावनालस्तु योनलः ॥ ५६ ॥
जूर्णाव्हयो देवधान्यं जोन्नाला बीजपुष्पिका ॥

Hemacandra's lines in the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* quoted by me already are exactly identical with the above lines in the *Vaijayantī*. Evidently Hemacandra (A.D. 1089-1173) has borrowed from *Vaijayantī* (c. A.D. 1050) or from some common source.

It is clear, however, from the statements of Hemacandra and Yādavaprakāśa that the following terms were used about A.D. 1000 for modern *Jawār* or *Jondhḷā* :—

यावनाल or यवनाल, जोनल, जूर्णाह्वय, देवधान्य, जोन्नाला, बीजपुष्पिका,
जोण्णलिआ, जोवारि, जुआरि

It is for linguists to see how far Hemacandra's grammatical explanation of the synonyms of *jawār* such as " यवस्य इव नालमस्य यवनालः " etc. are historically correct.

Going backwards from A.D. 1000 we find that in a *Tamil* work of the *8th century* A.D. the *jawār* is referred to as *Irungu*. The modern word in Tamil for *jawār* is *Coḷam*. *Irungu* is mentioned in *Jivakacintamaṇi* of the 8th century A.D.[27]

Vāgbhaṭa II (8th or 9th century A.D. according to Hoernle) refers[28] to both जूर्ण and जूर्णाव्ह as synonyms for *jawār* as follows :—

(1) सूत्रस्थान Chap. 14, verse 21.

" कुलत्थजूर्ण श्यामाकयवमुद्गमधूदकम् ॥ २१ ॥"

(2) निदानस्थान Chap. 7, verse 46 (This verse is taken from अष्टांगसंग्रह निदानस्थान Chap. VIII).

" मुद्गकोद्रव जूर्णाव्हकरीरचणकादिभिः ॥ ४६ ॥"

I have already recorded the explanations of Aruṇadatta and Hemādri regard-

27. In response to my inquiry about *Tamil references* to *jawār* my friend Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar of Madras writes to me under date 16th August 1943 :—

"Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M.A. whom I had consulted writes as follows :—

So far as I know Colum is a modern word.

It was known in mediaeval literature as *Irungu*. The Sangham classic do not mention it nor the *Silappadhikaram* nor the *Kural*. The earliest reference is in *Jivakacintāmaṇi*, 8th century A.D."

I am thankful to my ever obliging friends Rao Bahadur Aiyangar and Prof. Dikshitar for the above information.

28. Vide Paradkar's edition of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* already referred to in this paper.

ing the meaning of the term जूर्ण used by Vāgbhaṭa II and hence they need not be repeated here.

Vāgbhaṭa I (c. A.D. 625 according to Hoernle) refers to *jawār* as "जूर्णाह्व" in the following line of अष्टांगसंग्रह, सूत्रस्थान Chap. 7, verse 12—(तृणधान्यानां सामान्यगुणाः)

" कङ्गुकोद्रव जूर्णाह्वगवेधुकवरुणपादिकाः ॥ १२ ॥ "

(See निदानस्थान, Chap. 8— " मुद्गकोद्रव जूर्णाह्व etc."

Unfortunately the commentator इन्दु on the अष्टांगसंग्रह does not explain the word **जूर्णाह्व** in the above line...He merely states " कङ्ग्वादयः " It is, however, clear that the term जूर्णाव्ह was known to Vāgbhaṭa in the *7th century* A.D.

In a Jain Prakrit work called the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*[30] (*Trilokaprajñapti*) which belongs to the first stratum of the pro-canon of the Digambaras and the author of which JADIVASAHA is a revered author of antiquity we find a reference to *jawār* as जमणाल (Sanskrit यवनाल) as follows :—

Page 157— " जमणाल वल्ल तुवरी तिलजव गोधुम्ममास पहु दीहिं ।
सव्वेहिं सुधण्णेहिं पुराइं सोहंति भूमीहिं ॥ १३३ ॥ "

The editors identify जमणाल with " यवनाल (जुवार) " " in their Hindi translation[31] of the above stanza, which includes जमणाल amongst the best kinds of grain like wheat etc. The *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* is assigned to the *5th century* A.D. by some scholars. At any rate this reference to जमणाल (यवनाल) is very important, recorded as it is in a Prakrit text of great antiquity, incorporating the hereditary knowledge and ancient tradition of the Jainas pertaining to Jaina cosmography, dogmatics, mythology and chronology.

I have already recorded two references to जूर्णाह्व in the *Carakasaṁhitā*,[32] one of the earliest medical texts. According to Buddhist tradition *Caraka*

29. Ed. by Pt. Ramachandra Shastri Kinjavadekar, Chitrashala Press, Poona, 1940, with the commentary called शशिलेखा by इन्दु.

30. Ed. by Dr. A. N. Upadhye and Prof. H. L. Jain, Pub. by the Jain Saṁskriti Saṁraksaka Sangha, Sholapur, 1943, with Hindi Translation by Pt. Balchandra.

31. This translation reads :

" यवनाल (जुवार) वल्ल, तूवर, तिल, जौ, गेहूं, और उडद, इत्यादिक समस्त उत्तम धान्योंसे युक्त भूमियोंद्वारा वे नगर शोभा को प्राप्त हैं ॥१३३॥ "

32. Vide p. 33 of *Aryan Medical Science* by Thakore Sahib of Gondal (London, 1896)—"Some believe him (चरक) to have been born at Benares 320 years B.C."—Pt. Durgashankar K. Shastri (in his *History of Āyurveda* in Gujarati, Ahmedabad, 1942, p. 87) makes 5th century A.D. as the latest limit for the chronology of early *Āyurveda Saṁhitās*. He also states that *Carakasaṁhitā* and *Suśrutasaṁhitā* were completed before 5th Cent. A.D. (i.e. before A.D. 400 or so).

was the court physician of King Kaniṣka[33] who is assigned by some scholars to the period A.D. 125-140. Whatever be the exact date of the *Carakasaṁhitā*, the fact of its being one of the earliest medical texts before A.D. 400 or so is acknowledged by many scholars and consequently we may regard the term "जूर्णाह्व" as the earliest usage of this term for *jawār* or *jondhḷā* so far known. As regards the other synonym for *jawār* viz. यवनाल which occurs in the Prakrit work of about the 5th century A.D. as "जमणाल" I have to record its usage in another earliest medical text, the भेलसंहिता, where it appears as "यावनाळ" as will be seen from the following extract :—

Page 48 of Bhelasaṁhitā (ed. by Asutosh Mookerjee, Calcutta University, (1921) भोजनविधि—

" हरेणवो मसूराश्च सतिताश्च तथाढके ।
कुलुत्थाश्चा विशेषेण कषायमधुरा रसे ॥
सर्वेतु लवणक्षाराः दिव (दीप) नीय (ाः) प्रकीर्तिताः ।
आपृ (पू) ष्याश्च विशेषेण दुर्बलानां हितानि च ॥
श्वदंष्ट्रा यावनाळ श्च द्वौ क्षारौ शीतलौ स्मृतौ ।
शुक्तं (क्रं) विनिहि (ह) तस्तौतु दृष्टिं चापि शरीरिणाम् ॥ "

The mention of यावनाळ and its properties along with those of other gains like मसूर, कुलुत्थ etc. in the *Bhelasaṁhitā* indicates that यावनाळ is the name of a grain known to Bhela, the pupil of आत्रेय (6th cent. B.C.).[34] Ātreya had six pupils "each of whom is reputed to have committed to writing the teaching of the master in the form of a संहिता or compendium." So far three of these *Saṁhitās* have been discovered. They are अग्निवेश संहिता, in the form of the redaction by चरक (2) भेलसंहिता (ed. by Ashutosh Mookerjee) and (3) काश्यपसंहिता[35] recently published by Rajaguru Pandit Hemarāj of Nepal. If the tradition about the Ātreya school of medicine is correct we have to regard the भेलसंहिता as earlier than the अग्निवेशसंहिता preserved in the form of चरकसंहिता and published by the N. S. Press, Bombay. There is a divergence of views about the chronology of these *Saṁhitās*, which go by the names of *Caraka, Bhela* and *Kāśyapa*. It is, however, agreed to by all scholars that they are the earliest medical treatises that have come down to us from antiquity.

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33. Vide p. 256 of Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*, Oxford, 1914—Kaniṣka came to the throne "*most probably in 78 A.D.*" Dr. Fleet thinks that Kaniṣka came to the throne "*in 58 B.C.*"

Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sircar states that *Aśvaghoṣa* is said to have been a contemporary of Kaniṣka. Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* was translated into Chinese *between 444 and 421 A.D.* (Vide pp. 379 and 389 of *Successors of Sātavāhanas*, Calcutta, 1939). If the tradition about *Caraka's* connection with Kaniṣka is correct the date of Caraka is evidently *before A.D. 400*.

34. Vide prefatory *Note* to *Bhelasaṁhitā* by Sir Ashutosh Mookerji.

35. Published, Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay, 1938.

Starting from A.D. 1839 we have now moved backward through centuries of the history of *Jawār* (*Holcus Sorghum*) and have reached the first few centuries of the Christian era, when this grain appears to have been cultivated and used by our ancestors and when also its properties were studied and recorded by the earliest medical writers of those centuries. If this view based on the data recorded in detail in this paper is accepted we may be able to understand the significance of the following remarks of LASSEN[36] about the introduction of *jawār* into Italy in the 1st century of the Christian era :—

"Another Indian cereal *Milium* was not exported from India it is true; but on the other hand its cultivation was introduced into Italy ten years before PLINY wrote this passage (*Periplus Mar.* Eryther p. 32). It is *probably* the kind of millet very common in India which botanists call *Holcus Sorghum* and the Indians *guari* or *gawar* in the vernacular."

As Pliny, the Roman author flourished between A.D. *23 and 79* and as there was contact of India with Rome in this century the probability of the cultivation of Indian *jawār* in Italy as suggested in the above extract cannot be ruled out in a summary way. In fact Prof. Franklin Edgerton[37] of the Yale University (U. S. A.) has found a reference to the city of Rome in the *Sabhāparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* which he has critically edited for the B. O. R. Institute Critical Edition of this Great Epic of India.

The history of plants, especially when these plants have migrated from their original habitat to different regions of the globe, is necessarily interwoven with the history of the different people who cultivated them in remote ages of the history of the globe. I am quite incapable of getting access to the sources of the history of all these people and must confine my studies to such of these sources as are available to me easily. Even this study of the history of the *jawār* must remain only as a sketch of this history made by a shaking hand on too big a canvas stretching from 2200 B.C. to A.D. 1850. The chronology of the sources from which I have drawn my data is somewhat definite for sources later than A.D. 1000 but only relative so far as sources earlier than A.D. 1000 are concerned. However, in the present stage of our chronology we have no other recourse but to represent only the current views about them, leaving it to future scholars to solve the problems of early chronology on the strength of their own studies of the present sources and in the light of new sources, if discovered hereafter.

About the several problems that arise out of the present collection of data bearing on the history of *Jawār* it is better to defer our judgment. We have no direct peep into remote antiquity and consequently the gleams of

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36. Vide Lassen's *History* (English Trans. in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Patna, Vol. X, 1924, Page 253.

37. Vide pp. 262-265 of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* Vol. 58.

light that are furnished by a few documentary references are the only guides that help us to clarify the age-long history of this edible grain which may have been cultivated in India even prior to the Aryan invasion as observed by Watts in his *Dictionary of Economic Products of India.*

The following chronological table will show at a glance the evidence collected in this paper regarding the antiquity of *Jondhaḷā* or *jawār* :—

Chronology	Evidence J = *Jondhḷā* or *Jawār* (Holcus Sorghum)
B. C. 2200	Evidence about the existence of J furnished by an Egyptian tomb (Swanson and Laude).
	J (= यावनाळ) mentioned in भेलसंहिता, one of the earliest medical treatises like the चरकसंहिता and काश्यपसंहिता.
	J referred to in the Bible according to Smith (*History of Bible Plants*, p. 214).
A. D. 100—200	J (= जूर्णाह्व) Mentioned in चरकसंहिता.
	J (= ? an Indian Cereal *Milium*) introduced into Rome in the time of Pliny (A. D. 23–79) according to Lassen.
A. D. 200—300	J Cultivated in China, where it was probably introduced from outside.
400—500	J (= जमणाल = यवनाल) mentioned in तिलोयपन्नत्ति of जडिवसह a Jain author.
C. 625	J (=जूर्णाह्व) mentioned in अष्टांगसंग्रह of Vāgbhaṭa I.
700—800	J (= चोळम्) mentioned in the *Tamil* work जीवकचिंतामणि.
1050	J (= यावनाल, योनल, जूर्णाह्वय, देवधान्य, जोन्नाला etc.) mentioned by यादवप्रकाश.
8th or 9th Cent.	J (= जूर्ण) mentioned in the अष्टाङ्गहृदयसंहिता of Vāgbhaṭa II.
A. D. 1060	J (= जूर्णाह्व = जोनार) mentioned by चक्रपाणिदत्त a Bengali commentator of चरकसंहिता.
C. 940	J (= जोळ) mentioned in *Canarese* work पम्पभारत.
1089–1173	J (= जोवारी, जोण्णलिआ, यावनाल, योनल, जूर्णाह्वय, जोन्नाल, देवधान्य etc.) mentioned by हेमचन्द्र in देशीनाममाला and अभिधानचिंतामणि.
1090	J (= जुआरि) mentioned in a Prakrit work सुरसुंदरीचरिअ.
1100–1200	J (= यावनाल, जोन्नाला) in नानार्थार्णवसंक्षेप of केशवस्वामी.
1116–1127	J [= यावनाल (कणिश)] mentioned by Someśvara in his मानसोल्लास.

Chronology	Evidence J = *Jondḷhā* or *Jawār* (Holcus Sorghum)
1143	J (= जुआरि) mentioned in the Prakrit work सुपासनाहचरिअ.
1166	J mentioned in a *Canarese inscription.*
1220	J (= जूर्ण = जोन्धलक in दक्षिणापथ) mentioned by Bengali author अरुणदत्त in his Comm. on अष्टाङ्गहृदय (variants of जोन्धलक are जोह्लक जोन्नालक, जोर्णालक).
C. 1250	J (= जोंधळा, जोन्हळा) mentioned in लीळाचरित्र and चक्रधरसूत्रपाठ (Mahānubhāva texts).
C. 1260	J (= जूर्ण = यावनाल) mentioned by Hemādri in his Comm. on the अष्टांगहृदय.
1374	J (= यवनाल, जूर्णाह्व, देवधान्य, जूनल etc.) mentioned in the मदननिघण्टु a medical glossary by मदनपाल.
C. 1450	J (= यावनाल) described in the राजनिघण्टु of नरहरि (in Kashmir).
1541	J (जोन्हळ) mentioned in a Marathi document along with गहु and तुरी.
1590	J grown in Khandesh (*Ain-i-Akbari*).
1624	J (जोन्नाला, यवनाल, जूर्णा, जूर्णि) mentioned by Sadhusundaragani in his शब्दरत्नाकर.
C. 1650	J (यावनाल) described by Raghunātha Navahasta friend of Ramdas Saint in his *Bhojana-Kutūhala.*
1739	J used in the royal Kitchen of Sevai Jaising of Jaipur (Rajputana).
1760	"*Jouari*" (reference quoted in *Hobson-Jobson*).
1784	"*Jerroo*" a Kind of Paddy in Sumatra mentioned by Marsden
1790	Description of J by Capt. Edward Moor.
1800	"*Jowarry*" (*Hobson-Jobson* reference).
1813	"*Juarree*" (*Hobson-Jobson* reference).
1819	"*Joiwaree*" (*Hobson-Jobson*).
1826	"*Joanee*" (*Hobson-Jobson*).
1839	Description of J by John Graham in his work on *Bombay Plants.*

CAN WOMEN PERFORM ŚRAUTA SACRIFICES OF THEIR OWN ACCORD?

By

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Recently I have begun to revise my article on "Dekkan of the Śātavāhana Period" which I contributed to the *Indian Antiquary* a quarter of a century ago. In that connection the Nāṇāghāṭ Inscription of Nāganikā is engaging my special attention. She is here credited with having alone performed a number of Vedic sacrifices, and as Bühler has, I now think, correctly interpreted; and not her husband Sātakarṇi, in association with her consort, Nāganikā, as I then wrongly thought. Rapson practically agrees with Bühler in saying that the inscription is a record of sacrifices performed and donations made by Queen Nāganikā, the wife of king Sātakarṇi, acting apparently as regent during the minority of her son Vediśri. Bühler however admits that according to the Śāstras women are not allowed to offer Śrauta sacrifices but that disabilities attaching to the sex were moved by the fact that the queen must have been ruling as guardian of her son, the prince Vēdiśrī. The conclusion is agreed to by Rapson[1] though he does not adduce any reason in support of it. But is it permissible for a woman or even a queen to perform Vedic sacrifices according to the Smṛitis? Manu, e.g. does not allow even the initiation of women. "The nuptial ceremony" says he "is stated to be the Vedic sacrament for women (and to be equal to the initiation), serving the husband (equivalent) to the residence in (the house of the) teacher, and the household duties (the same as the daily) worship of the sacred fire."[2] Elsewhere he says: "For women there is no sacramental rite with sacred texts—thus the law is settled. Women, being destitute of knowledge and not conversant with Vedic texts."[3] Nevertheless, when the *Manu-smṛiti* was being compiled, women did sometimes perform sacrifices. Why else should Manu lay down that "a Brāhmaṇ must never eat at a sacrifice that is offered by one who is not a Śrōtriya, or by a village priest (*grāma-yājin*) or by a woman .."?[4] Thus Manu places a woman on the same footing as a non-Śrōtriya, i.e. "a man who is a Brāhmaṇ but is not conversant with Vedic literature." Both, it seems, were in the habit of performing sacrifices in the time of Manu. But who could have performed sacrifices for them? Is this possible for anybody who is not a specialist in sacrificial knowledge and practice? He must surely

1. *Cat. Ind. Coits, Andhrgs. W. Kṣatrapas.* Intro. pp. XX and XLV.
2. *Manu-smṛti*, II, 67.
3. *Ibid.*, IX. 18.
4. *Ibid.*, IV. 205.

be a Brāhmaṇ, and, I am afraid, for that specialisation, a Śrōtriya also. *Manu-smṛiti* was composed or was in the making when Hindu society was in a transitional state. At one time Manu is made to say that 'for women there is no sacramental,' and at another time he admits that women can perform sacrifices though no Brāhmaṇ shall eat at these sacrifices.

We shall now turn our attention to another section of Sanskrit Literature, namely, to the Śrauta-sūtras, which deal with sacrificial literature, and which alone are the authority on the subject whether a woman is entitled to perform a Vedic sacrifice in her individual capacity. These are the Pūrva-mīmamsā sūtras composed by Jaimini *alias* Bādarāyaṇa and commented upon by Śabara-svāmin. Anybody who reads *Mīmāṁsā-darśana*, VI, i, 3, 6-16 will be convinced that woman is perfectly entitled to the performance of any Śrauta sacrifice. The opposition is here led by Aitiśāyana. It is very difficult to say whether he was a Smṛtikāra at all. But he leads the opposition by saying that in the Vedic text *Darśa-Pūrṇa-māsābhyāṁ svarga-kāmō yajēta*, the word *svarga-kāmō* is in the masculine gender; therefore man, not woman, can perform a sacrifice. Bādarāyaṇa, that is, Jainini, answers this question by saying that the term *svarga-kāma* denotes a collective class consisting of persons who have the one characteristic of possessing the desire to attain Heaven by means of a sacrifice without any distinction being made between the individuals constituting that class. Hence even women are understood by that term and included in that class.

Many other arguments have been advanced against the capacity of women to perform Vedic sacrifices. One such argument, the most important of them, is that wealth is necessary for performing sacrifices and that men are possessed of this wealth, whereas women are not. Women are like chattels as they are liable to be sold and bought. They are sold by fathers and bought by husbands. They have thus no right to the property of their fathers or to that of their husbands. The Vedic texts say that "a hundred chariots shall be given to the guardian of the bride: and (in the Ārsha form of marriage) one ox and one cow". This is apparently a price to induce the bride's father to part with his daughter and cannot be construed as a religious act. Again, it may be urged that a woman may perform sacrifices with wealth which she has earned by cooking food for others or by savings from the food given her. But as she is another's property, the acquisitions must belong to him. Whatever she does is in the service of her husband. Whatever may thus be acquired by her belongs to her husband. The Smṛti has it: "A wife, a slave and a son have no property of their own. Whatever they earn is the wealth of the man to whom they belong."

Such is the line of argument urged by the exponents of the opposite view. Bādarāyaṇa begins the reply with the curt remark that so long as the earnestness to obtain the fruit of the performance of a sacrifice is common to both

males and females, it presupposes the capacity of a woman to own wealth. If, by slavishly conforming to the Smṛti, woman is made a dependent upon others and considered destitute of all wealth, then obviously the Smṛti is in conflict with Śruti. This is not right, this is not just. Therefore, if she is desirous of the fruit of performing a sacrifice, she ought to set the Smṛti at naught, possess herself of wealth and perform a sacrifice. Surely it is impossible to see a greater disregard shown to the Smṛti when it is pitted against the Śruti. But, as a matter of fact, women are possessed of wealth, says Bādarāyaṇa. Thus at the time of marriage when the bride is presented to the bridegroom, the latter enters into the following agreement with the father of the bride; *dharmē chārthē cha kāmē cha nātich ritavyā*, "she shall not be thwarted in the performance of religious acts (*dharma*), the acquisition of wealth (*artha*) and the fulfilment of legitimate desires (*kāma*)." When therefore the Smṛtis speak of the incapacity of the wife to possess wealth, that is very unjust and is antagonistic to the Śruti. Again, what is called the purchase of a girl, is not a purchase at all. It is a religious act, pure and simple. In the case of a purchase there is always the variation of price. The gift of a hundred chariots (*śatamatirathaṁ*) does not vary and is a constant quantity whether the girl is beautiful or not beautiful. Śabara-svāmī remarks that this may be a sale in conformity with the Smṛtis but is opposed to the Śrutis. The Śrauta School therefore disapproves of it, and stands fast to the conclusion that the girls are not sold. There are Vedic texts also in support of the proposition that women have the capacity of owning and possessing wealth. Śabara quotes at least two. But this much is certain, says he, that woman is the owner of *pāriṇayya*, 'property received by her at the time of marriage.' Śabara further remarks: *patyaiva gatamanumatam kriyate*, "even that which is acquired by the husband is admitted (*as hers*)."

What is the upshot of the above discussion? The woman according to the Śrutis not only can have her own wealth but can also participate in the possession of her husband's wealth. She is neither bought nor sold at any time of marriage. And if she has but the desire of attaining the fruit of a Śrauta sacrifice, she can very well do so alone and on her own behalf or jointly with her husband if both so will it. If there is any Smṛti which lays down an ordinance to the contrary, it has to be ignored, disregarded and completely set at naught. If such was once the state of things, it is no wonder if Nāganikā, wife of Sātakarṇi, could perform not one or two but several Śrauta sacrifices and make any number of donations in money, elephants, kine and so forth, as is quite clear to any scholar who studies the Nānāghāṭ Cave Inscriptions. After Nāganikā not a single inscription has been found describing the celebration of Vedic sacrifices by any queen or woman. But that there was Brahmanic revival can scarcely be doubted. And we find numbers of kings and princes performing Śrauta sacrifices. It is possible that their queens may have joined their husbands in these celebrations.

Now, that remark of Śabarasvāmin quoted above requires further consideration in this connection, viz. *paty=aiva gatam=anumataṁ kriyatē*, "even that which is acquired by the husband is admitted (*as hers*)". This can best be put to the test in the case of political rule or sovereignty. Are they co-partners or joint owners of a kingdom or both? Not far removed in time from Queen Nāganikā was her descendant Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi whose Nāsik Cave Inscription No. 5 contains an order to Sāmaka (Śyāmaka), the Officer at Gōvardhana. It is really a copy of the grant of a fresh plot of land he issued to the Buddhist monks staying in his Cave, in lieu of the old one which had become uncultivable.[5] That the original was a regular deed of grant may be seen from the fact that the text bristles with fiscal terms and contains at the end the name of the engraver and the date of the original donation and the actual execution. But who issues this order to the officer at Gōvardhana? Not Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi by himself, but he and his wife together. She has been therein called not only *Jīvasutā* (one whose son is living) but also *rājamātā*, the king's mother, the latter two epithets obviously referring to her son Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, who was then a ruler. This clearly shows that Gautamīputra and his wife were both at least co-partners in the Sātavāhana sovereignty. But could any one of them issue a grant separately in his, or, above all, on her own, name without reference to the other party? It is true that no such instance is forthcoming from the Sātavāhana period. But about the middle of the seventh century belong two grants issued by Vijaya-mahādēvī, wife of Chandrāditya, who was the elder brother of the Chalukya overlord Vikramāditya of Badāmī. We have not one, but two copper plate charters issued by her.[6] These grants she has made independently and without the ratification of her husband or their suzerain Vikramāditya. And what is most noteworthy is that immediately after mentioning her name as Vijaya-bhaṭṭārikā, the favourite crown-queen of *Pṛthvī-vallabha Mahārāja* Chandrāditya, has been specified the date of the charter as follows: *sva-rājya-pañchama-saṁvatsara Aśvayuja-paurṇamāsya dvitiyāyāṁ vishuvē*.[7] The first part of this phrase has been rightly rendered by Fleet as "in the fifth year of her reign." Evidently the year of her reign is to be taken as also the year of her husband's—the joint reign of her husband and herself. Vijaya-bhaṭṭārikā and Chandrāditya must thus be taken as ruling together so that the regnal year of one can be the same as that of the other. From the details of this date Kielhorn has calculated it as equivalent to 23rd September A.D. 659.[8] The fifth regnal year of Vijaya-bhaṭṭārikā raises one question, namely, whether there is any other evidence

5. *E. I.*, Vol. VIII, p. 73.
6. *I. A.*, Vol. VII, p. 164, ll. 13-15; *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 46, ll. 15-18.
7. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 164, ll. 15-16.
8. *List of Insc. South Ind.* No. 23.

to show that the king and the queen reigned conjointly. Attention may in this connection be drawn to the Baṅkāpūra Inscription of Śaka 977 when the Kādamba chieftain Harikēsaridēva is represented as administering the Banavāsi twelve-thousand, not alone and by himself, but in conjunction with his wife Lachchaladēvī.[9] Here is thus another epigraphic instance of husband and wife jointly ruling over a kingdom.

That a queen could even uptil the end of the eighth century issue the grant of a village as crowned queen is clear from the Jeṭhawai Plates of Śilamahādēvī.[10] She has been described as *Paramēśvarī Paramabhaṭṭārikā Śrī-Śilamahādēvī*,[11] the great queen of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* Dhārāvarsha *alias* Dhruvarājadēva, who was a Rāṣṭrakūṭa sovereign. And she was the daughter of the East Chālukya King Vishṇuvardhana IV of Vēṅgī. Now, what about Śilamahādēvī? Were her titles *Paramēśvarī Paramabhaṭṭārikā* empty and unmeaning? In the prose portion of the record which sets forth the details of the grant, she herself and alone issues orders to the officers concerned with the grant just as every donor king does. Thus at the end of the record, the *Dūtaka* and the officer who drew up the grant are represented as carrying out their respective duties according to the orders, not of Dhruvarāja but of Śila-mahādēvī. And further there is absolutely nothing in the draft of the charter which indicated that any approval or sanction was ever accorded to the grant by Dhruvarāja. This indubitably demonstrates what Śabara-svāmin says,—namely, *paty=aiva gatam=anumataṁ kriyatē*, "even that which the husband acquires is admitted (as hers)."

Things were different in the twelfth century A.D. and especially in North India. An entirely different procedure seems to have been followed e.g. in the case of the Gāhaḍavāla family. Thus Gōvindachandra of this dynasty had two *Paṭṭamahādēvī mahārājñī*, one *Nayanakēlidēvī*, and the other Gōsaladēvī. Both were Paṭṭamahādēvī but apparently not at one and the same time, because the first issues her grant in V. 1176 and the V. 1208. Though they were thus *paṭṭa-mahādēvī* and are described *samsta-rāja-kriy-ōpātā* which Kielhorn renders by "endowed with all royal prerogatives", they are represented to have issued the grants, says the king, *asmat-sammatyā*, that is, "with the express approval of myself (Gōvindachandra)".[12] Husband and wife were neither co-partners nor joint owners of any kingdom or, for the matter of that, of any property in the twelfth century A.D. Smṛti domination was complete at least from this century onwards, in North India. Woman became a chattel in every sense of the term.

9. *E.I.*, Vol. XIII. pp. 168, 171 (1.28) and 174.
10. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII. pp. 98 and ff.
11. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV. pp. 108 ff.; Vol. V. pp. 117 ff.
12. See e.g. *E.I.*, Vol. IV. p. 109, 1.19.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON GUPTA COINAGE

By

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Gupta coinage forms an important branch of Indian Numismatics and presents many interesting features some of which have not been properly noticed.

As is well known, Gupta coinage owes its origin to some kind of foreign influence. Samudragupta has the credit of inaugurating the Gupta gold currency. It may be presumed that he acquired abundance of gold from his *Digvijaya*, or conquests in different directions, and this gold he utilized in issuing gold coins. The course of his conquests brought him into contact with the remnants of the retreating Kushan power in the Panjab and in the North West, and also with their coinage from which he acquired its technique.

Thus the first Gupta coins started as imitations of Kushan coins and of their foreign features. But Samudragupta and the artists and craftsmen of Northern India in those days were not wanting in their own ideas and inventiveness on the subject of money-making, and were thinking of ways and means by which they might produce coins bearing genuinely indigenous Indian features. The foreign features with which the Gupta coins were inaugurated were gradually replaced by Indian features in their later coins. Thus Samudragupta has the unique credit that he both inaugurated and Indianized Gupta coinage.

The degree of Indianization shown in the Gupta coins is thus also the key to their chronology.

Samudragupta has shown his numismatic genius and inventiveness by issuing as many as eight different types of coinage. This variety of coin-types was followed as an example by his successors and forms a characteristic feature of Gupta coinage as a whole.

There is a deep underlying reason inspiring this variety in numismatic performance. The Gupta numismatic technician was, in the first place, seeking ways and means by trying experiments in a variety of designs by which the foreign features of the Gupta coins with which they started could be progressively eliminated and replaced by appropriate Indian features.

To take an example, the earliest coins issued by Samudragupta were of the Standard Type, but both its Obverse and Reverse are full of Kushan features, because this type is the closest copy of the Kushan design of coinage.

There is, however, even here an attempt at the mingling of Indian with foreign features. But these Indian features are very few, and that only on the Obverse, as indicated below :

(1) The Gupta king wears a close-fitting cap instead of the peaked head-dress of the Kushan king.

(2) The Garuḍa standard in place of the Kushan trident.

(3) The jewellery worn by the king is Indian.

Barring these three Indian features, the coin shows the following Kushan features :

(1) The dress of the king is Kushan, viz., coat and trousers.

(2) His name is written vertically.

(3) The standard is bound with a fillet.

(4) The altar and sprinkling of incense (as found on Kanishka's coins).

(5) The halo round the king's head.

The Reverse is a downright copy of the late Kushan 'Ardochsho' Reverse. The Goddess is even given the 'Cornucopiae', the Greek horn of plenty, in her left arm, and fillet in outstretched right hand. Even the back of the throne which lost its meaning is kept up by the Gupta coin-makers.

The Standard Type of coinage was followed by the Archer and the Battle-Axe types which mark an advance in the process of their Indianization. The unmeaning standard copied from the late Kushan coins is replaced in these types by more understandable and appropriate objects like the bow, the battle-axe, or a crescent-topped standard, while the arrow takes the place of the Kushan altar. The bow and arrow recall Vishṇu Śārṅgī, as mentioned in an Inscription.

As has been already stated, Samudragupta issued as many as eight types of coinage, admitting of variety of designs within some of these types. These eight types are :

(1) The Standard
(2) Archer
(3) Battle-Axe
(4) Kācha
(5-6) Tiger
(7) Aśvamedha
(8) Chandragupta

This variety gave a large scope to experiments in the Indianization of the Gupta coins and the progressive replacement of their foreign by indigenous features. The stages of this process are marked out in the different types of coinage as indicated below :

(1) The king's head-dress which from the start was a close-fitting cap in place of the Kushan peaked or conical head-dress. In most Indian coins such as the Tiger Type, the king wears the Indian turban and on some varieties is even bare-headed.

(2) The jewellery worn by the King or Queen, such as ear-ring, necklace, armlet, or anklet (worn by Goddess on Tiger-Type).

(3) The King wears the Indian *dhoti* or waist-cloth on both Tiger- and Lyrist-Types.

(4) Introduction in place of Ardochsho of Indian Goddesses :

(1) Lakshmī marked by her favourite flower, lotus, (a) which she holds in her hand (as on Battle-Axe-Type) in place of the Greek and foreign object, the Cornucopiae ; (b) which is used as foot-stool (as on Battle-Axe Type); (c) on which she is seated (as on some varieties of Battle-Axe Type).

Lakshmī on some coins is seated on the Indian *Moḍhā* or wicker-stool (as on Lyrist type), or on throne without the Kushan back (as on some varieties of the Battle-Axe Type).

(2) Goddess on Lion who is *Durgā—Siṁhavāhinī* with her feet resting on lotus (as on Chandragupta I coins).

(3) Goddess *Gaṅgā* on *makara* (as on Tiger-Type).

(4) Goddess *Sarasvatī* on the Lyrist Type, seated on *moḍhā*.

(5) Introduction of the Queen on certain coins (the Chandragupta I and Aśvamedha coins).

(6) Garuḍa, vehicle of Vishṇu, surmounting the standard.

(7) The Indian weapons of war and hunting, such as Bow and Arrow (on Archer type), Sword and Battle-Axe (on Battle-Axe Type) which take the place of the Kushan Standard, the arrows taking the place of the Kushan altar.

(8) The *Dwarf* who had a traditional place in the Indian royal household (as seen on Battle-Axe-Type). As stated in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, the King's menial staff traditionally included personal attendants marked by physical deformities or deficiencies, such as the *Kubja* (hunch-back), *Vāmana* (*dwarf*), *Kirāta* (*alpatanu*, 'of small body'), *Mūka* (dumb), *Badhira* (deaf), *Jaḍa* (idiot), and even *Andha* (blind) [My *Chandragupta Maurya and His Times*, p. 106].

(9) The Aśvamedha Type inspired by a specifically Indian conception and institution.

A similar study may be made of the coins of the Later Gupta Emperors showing variety of Types giving scope to the gradual introduction of Indian features. Chandra Gupta II issued five types of coins, viz. :

(1) Archer
(2) Couch
(3) Chhatra
(4) Lion-slayer
(5) Horseman

The Indian element of the Archer Type is seen on its Reverse in the Goddess seated on throne without back and holding in left hand lotus instead of Cornucopiae. Lakshmī thus replaces Ardochsho.

Other varieties of this type show more Indianisation : e.g. (1) The Lotus Reverse instead of the Throne Reverse. (2) Wheel (Vishṇu's *Chakra*) above Standard on Obverse. (3) Replacement of the conventional Kushan dress of the King by Indian dress, waste-cloth with sash. The *Chhatra*-Type is Chandra Gupta's own innovation. The umbrella is the Indian symbol of sovereignty, while it is borne by the appropriate attendant, the Dwarf, as prescribed in the *Nītiśāstras*. Certain specimens show Goddess Lakshmī rising from lotus as *Padma-sambhavā*. In general, we may say that Chandra Gupta II introduced in his coinage the following Indian features, viz., the figures of Couch, Chhatra, Lion, Horse, Dwarf, Garduḍa and Lakshmī on, or springing from lotus.

It is needless to pursue the study further in regard to later Gupta coins. We may note in passing the more marked of the Indian features introduced by Kumāragupta I in his new coin-types known as (1) Swordsman (2) Peacock (3) Pratāpa or two Queens-type (4) Elephant-rider type.

Hitherto, we have been considering the point that the variety of Gupta Coin-Types was dictated by the needs of experimentation in evolving genuinely Indian Type of coins which would no longer be modelled on the foreign Kushan types to which they owed their origin. But there was also a deep historical and political reason for the variety, in addition to numismatic necessity. Each type of coins is charged with a political significance, signifying a stage in the expansion of Gupta Power by conquests, and this is indicated by an appropriate legend which is also refreshing in its variety. In some instances, the coins are possessed of a territorial or regional significance to which appropriate expression is given by symbols.

To illustrate this point from the coinage of Samudragupta, we may say that his earliest Standard type shows the standard as the flag of his authority planted by him in the various territories conquered by him "in hundreds of battles", as stated in the legend. His victory won in countless battles was due to his invincible heroism expressed by the appropriate legend *Parākrama*. The legend of the Archer Type brings out the chief weapon of his power as a charioteer who could not be opposed, as stated in the legend *Apratiratha*. The Battle-Axe Type indicates another weapon of his power, the formidable *Paraśu* by which the God of Death, or Yama kills all, as indicated in the legend Kritānta-*Paraśu*. The legend *Sarvarājochchhettā* appearing on his *Kācha* coins points to the completion of his programme of *Digvijaya*.

His coins also reflect both War and Peace. Peace is celebrated in a variety of appropriate coin-types such as the Aśvamedha type, the Lyrist type, or the Tiger-type. The Lyrist-type is the most Indianised type of Samudragupta's coins on which he introduced the Indian *Vīṇā*, 'Wicker-stool,' and possibly the Goddess Sarasvatī on the Reverse as the 'Goddess of Music,' instead of the usual Lakshmī, because the lotus of Lakshmī is omitted.

Thus the legends on the coins change with the changing emphasis on points of the king's achievements both in War and Peace.

But, as has been stated above, some of the coins have a distinct regional or territorial significance. For instance, the Tiger type introduces to us the king as a hunter of big game like the Tiger. His success at tiger-hunting justified the legend *Vyāghra parākramaḥ* on the coin. He can certainly describe himself as being possessed of the prowess of the tiger. But the Reverse of the coin brings out its hidden regional significance. It shows a Goddess standing on *Makara* which helps us to identify her as Goddess Gaṅgā. She is introduced as the standing witness of Samudragupta's conquest in the valley of the Ganges, with its swampy and forested tracts which were, and are to this day, the abode of the Royal Bengal Tiger and gave scope to big-game-hunting by the king. Thus the Goddess Gaṅgā and the Tiger are aptly associated on these coins.

A similar regional significance attaches to the remarkable Lion-Slayer Type of coins issued by Chandra Gupta II with a large variety of designs depicting the king hunting down the lion in different positions on the obverse and on the reverse an appropriate Goddess seated on lion in all possible positions. The Goddess is no doubt *Durgā siṁha-vāhinī*.

Like the Tiger-type of coins, these coins also bear the appropriate legend *Siṁha-Vikrama* which is analogous to *Vyāghra-parākrama*. On some coins, the king calls himself *Narendra-Siṁha*, or *Siṃha-Chandra*.

The large variety of positions given to the lion as it is hunted down by the king shows how the king had a passion for lion-hunting which captured his imagination so much and was given publicity as the favourite royal sport even on his coins. It is further to be noted that while Samudragupta was thinking of the tiger as his big game, his son was more obsessed by the lion. There seems to be a deep underlying reason for this difference between the father and the son in respect of big game hunting. The Tiger type of coins, as already stated, celebrates Samudragupta's conquests of the Gangetic valley abounding in forests which to this day so plentifully breed the Royal Bengal Tiger. The Lion type of coins issued by Chandra Gupta II has a similar regional significance and celebrates his conquest of regions which are the habitat of the lion. It celebrates his conquest of the Śaka Satrapy of Saurāshṭra, or modern Kathiawad, which is the abode of lions to this day.

It is thus possible to trace the working of designs of historical and territorial significance in the fashioning of many a type of Gupta coinage.

There is also another small point of Gupta History on which light is thrown by corns. It concerns the names of the Gupta emperors. It seems that of the name Chandra Gupta II, *Chandra* is to be taken as the king's personal name and Gupta as his surname, the name of his family, so that his name is to be written in its correct form, *Chandra Gupta*. This is revealed in the legend on some of the copper coins issued by Candra Gupta II, the coins classed by Allan under Type IX. The obverse of the coins bears the simple legend *Chandra* and not *Śrī Chandra* continued by the suffix *Gupta* on the Reverse, as shown in the Copper Coins of Type VIII. It may also be noted that some varieties of the king's Lion-Slayer Type of good coins bear the significant legends, Narendra-*Chandra* or Siṁha-*Chandra*, indicating that the king's personal name was simply *Chandra*. This fact revealed by the coins will help to solve one of the difficulties in identifying king Chandra of the Meherauli Iron Pillar Inscription with emperor Chandra Gupta II when the emperor's name is proved to be Chandra, and not Chandra Gupta.

AGALOKAKA AND THE KINGDOM OF AGNI

By

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The expression *Agalokaka*, an explanation of which is attempted in this paper, occurs in a partly damaged Prakrit inscription incised on a marble pillar which was discovered a few years ago at Dharaṇikōṭa in the Guntur District of the Madras Presidency.[1] The pillar is referred to in the inscription as *dhamachaka-dhaya*, Sanskrit *dharmachakra-dhvaja*. In fact, it is the consecration of this marble *dhvaja* that forms the subject matter of the record. As stated therein, the column was erected at the eastern gateway of the Mahāvihāra, belonging to the Buddhists of the Pūrvaśailīya sect at Dhañakada, the modern Dharaṇikōṭa.

The person who set up or dedicated the *dharmachakra-dhvaja* was a minister (*amacha*, Sanskrit *amātya*), who is described to be an *Agalokaka Atapora*. We are told that his name 'has apparently been omitted in the record.'[2] His epithet *Atapora* has been considered to correspond to Sanskrit *Ārddhapaura*, and he is thus alleged to have been a resident of Ṛiddhapura, identified with Rithpur in the Amraoti District of Berar. Another view is that, instead of *Ataporena*, we have perhaps to read *Ataberena*, Atabera being a personal name.[3] This view appears to be more acceptable for two reasons : in the first place, it dispenses with the unwarranted supposition of the donor's name having been omitted in the record ; and secondly the position of the word concerned in the sentence indicates that it ought to be the name of the person rather than an attribute of him. It may, however, be admitted that the name Atabera sounds rather queer, especially when compared with the other two names that occur in the inscription, to wit, Khadanāga (Skandanāga) and Virakhada (Vīraskanda), this latter being the name of the donor's father.

As regards the term *Agalokaka*, it is in all probability to be taken as an attribute. It is supposed to allude to the original home of the donor.[4] It has accordingly been explained as an emigrant from Agaloka.[5] No attempt has, however, been made to identify this Agaloka.

It is clear from the above explanation that the word *Agalokaka* is to be analysed as *Agaloka* + *ka*, the first component being a proper name, and the latter a suffix with the meaning 'belonging to' or 'hailing from'. Nothing

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1. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 256-60, and plate.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 257.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 259, footnote 10.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 257.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 260.

indeed can be said against the plausibility of this analysis of the term. Now, considering the nature of the dialect employed in the record under discussion, it may not be wrong to equate the form *Agalokaka* with Sanskrit *Agnilokika*, which would denote 'one hailing from Agniloka'.[6] This leads us to the question of the location of a country of that name. To all appearance, it is identical with the kingdom of 'O-ki-ni (Akni or Agni),' mentioned by the celebrated Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, which has been identified with 'Karshar, or Kara-shahr, near the lake Tenghiz (Bagarash)' in the Eastern or Chinese Turkistan.[7] From the pilgrim's description of the land we gather that in his time the influence of the Indian culture was very much in evidence throughout that kingdom and that especially Buddhism was in a flourishing condition there. "There are," says he, "some ten or more *Saṅghārāmas* with two thousand priests or so, belonging to the Little Vehicle, of the school of the Sarvāstivādas (Shwo-yih-tsai-yu-po)."[8]

We further learn that Fa-hian, another well-known Chinese pilgrim, whose visit to India preceded that of Hiuen Tsiang by more than two centuries, had also been in the kingdom of Agni about A.D. 400.[9] Even in his time Buddhism was thriving there, as according to his testimony 'there were four thousand monks, students of the Hīnayāna, in the territory.'[10] All this indicates that the law of the Buddha had reached there long previously, resulting in a free intercourse between the people of India and those of that country. There is thus nothing against the supposition that the pious donor of the *dharmachakradhvaja* at Dhañakaḍa had originally hailed from that far off northern region.

One word more. It is said that it was Hiuen Tsiang who first employed the term '*O-ki-ni* and that it was an attempt on his part at Sanskritising the indigenous name of the kingdom. Fa-hien referred to it under the name of *Wu-i* or *Wu-ki*. Another name, given by Chinese historians, of the same is *Yenk'i*, which is supposed to be identical with *Yanghi*. *Yanghi* is a Turkish word for 'fire'.[11] If the present surmise is correct, the donor of the marble pillar would be the first to give the Turkish name an Indian garb.

6. It goes without saying that the word *aga* in the original has been taken here to be a corrupt form of *agni*. Compare Panjābī *ag* or *agg* and Hindustānī *āg*. For the rest, the derivative form is analogous to *arāmaka*, meaning 'gardener' which has been equated with Sanskrit *ārāmika*. H. Lüders, *A List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, No. 756, and p. 214 under *ārāmika*.

7. S. Beals, *Si-yu-ki* (Buddhist Records of the Western World), Vol. I, p. 17, and footnote 52, also p. xix of the Introduction to the same.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

9. *Ibid.*, Introduction pp. xi-xii.

10. Sir Aurel Stein, *Serindia*, Vol. III, p. 1181. Legge, *Travels of Fa-hien*, pp. 14 ff.

11. T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 46. For yet another reference to this pilgrim's visit to the kingdom of Agni, see also *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 331.

Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Deputy Director General of Archæology in India, who kindly went through the article while still unpublished, has made a very happy suggestion concerning the explanation of the term *Agalokaka*. He equates it with the *Aṅgalaukika* of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, which according to Mr. N. L. Dey, was 'the country of the Aṅgalaukikas,......situated below the junction of the Hydaspes and Akesines'.[12] If this view is correct, the donor of the Dhañakaḍa pillar belonged to the Aṅgalaukika tribe and hailed from the Panjab.

12. Nundo Lal Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 8.

LOKĀCĀRYA OF THE ŚRĪ-SAMPRADĀYA

By

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Pillai Lokācārya was the son of Vaḍaka Tiru-Vīthi Pillai, son of Nam-Billai. He flourished in the 13th century A.D. and was the founder of the Tengalai or Southern School.

Lokācārya is the author of eighteen Rahasyas or Tamil treatises on the Viśiṣṭādvaita School, viz. (1) Mumukṣu-paḍi, (2) Prameya-śekhara, (3) Navaratna-mālā, (4) Tani-praṇava, (7) Yāvacchikappada, (8) Dvaya, (9) Arthapañcaka, (10) Sāra-saṃgraha, (11) Paranda-paḍi, (12) Śrī-vacana-bhūṣaṇa, (13) Saṃsāra-sāmrājyam, (14) Śriyaḥ-pati-paḍī, (15) Carama, (16) Arcirādi, (17) Nava-vidha-saṃbandha and (18) Tattva-śekhara.

Of these Artha-pañcaka, Tattva-traya and Tattva-śekhara are the chief, all of which have been rendered into Sanskrit.

The Artha-pañcaka is a theological treatise, concerned with explaining and expounding the main points of the Vaiṣṇava theology.

The Tattva-traya is a philosophical work, composed on the model of Yāmunācārya's "Siddhi-traya." It deals with the three tenets of the Viśiṣṭādvaita School, viz., the cit or the individual soul, the acit or matter, and Īśvara or the Supreme Soul. Although this work can boast of no originality of thought, yet its special merit lies in its succinct, yet very lucid and charming way of expression, entirely free from polemical arguments etc. The views of other schools have been refuted of course, but very briefly and simply. It is specially suitable for those who want to be acquainted with the fundamental ideas of the Viśiṣṭādvaita School without entering into any logical wranglings.

The Tattva-śekhara, too, is a philosophical work of equal simplicity and lucidity. It consists of four prakaraṇas or chapters. The first and the second deal with the supremacy of Viṣṇu, the third deals with the nature of the individual soul, and the fourth with the supreme end of man. In the beginning of the first chapter, tattva-jñāna or knowledge of truth is defined as the knowledge viz. that recourse to the Lord's feet is the only means to salvation. And such a tattva-jñāna is attainable from the Vedas, the Smṛtis and the Purāṇas. The Lord is, as usual, Nārāyaṇa. He is the cause of the world. He is the object to be worshipped by those who are desirous of emancipation. He is the giver of salvation. For all these three reasons, He is the Highest Being (para). The first chapter establishes the first reason, viz. the causality of the Lord, and

rejects the casuality of other Deities, such as Śiva and Hiraṇyagarbha. Nārāyaṇa alone is the uncaused first cause, not subject to transmigratory existence or karma.

The second chapter establishes the remaining two reasons, viz., that the Lord is the object to be worshipped and the giver of salvation, and not Śiva or any one else.

The third chapter begins with the most important characteristic of the individual soul, viz., its absolute dependence on the Lord in every respect. This is emphasised again in the fourth chapter as well, it being the main pivot on which Lokācārya bases his theory of salvation. The individual soul is, further, different from the body, the sense-organs, the mind, the vital-breath and buddhi, self-illuminating, of the form of bliss, the substratum of knowledge and bliss, eternal, atomic, pure, and an attribute of the Lord.

The body is not the soul, otherwise the facts of recognition and memory cannot be consistently explained. The body changes day by day, the body which one possesses during childhood is not exactly identical with the body which he has during youth. Hence unless there be a constant principle in the midst of all changes, the experiences of the past cannot be recalled or recognised. This conclusively proves that the soul is something different from the body. Further, the body is a whole of many parts or limbs. Now, if each of these limbs be endowed with consciousness, i.e. be the soul, then there will be many souls within the same body, and there will be no comprehensive sense of egoity (mamatva). If again, only one among the limbs be the soul, then the experience of pleasure and pain on the entire body becomes inexplicable; further on this view, on the removal of that particular limb, the entire body too should become unconscious—which, however, is never found. Hence the body is not the soul.

The external sense-organs, too, cannot be the soul. In that case, one particular sense-organ must be able to grasp everything, the eye *e.g.* to taste, smell and touch—which is an evident absurdity. Similarly, a man who has become blind must cease to have any other sensation. Thus, no external sense-organ can be the soul.

The internal organ or mind too cannot be the soul. Otherwise, there must be knowledge of everything at all times. Attention, inattention, memory etc. are explicable only if the antaḥkaraṇa be taken to be something different from the soul itself.

Similarly, the vital-breath is not the soul. Knowledge, which is not lasting, is not the Soul, the constant principle.

Nor is consciousness, pure subject-objectless consciousness, the soul. Here Lokācārya gives very brief and easily intelligible summaries of Rāmānuja's criticisms of Śaṃkara's theories, as contained in the Śrī-bhāṣya, such as,

Jñatṛtva, or the attribute of being a knower, belongs to the soul itself and not to mere ahaṃkāra, this latter being but a non-sentient something. Nor can it be said that Jñatṛtva results from the reflection of consciousness on ahaṃkāra, for consciousness itself being (according to the opponents) devoid of Jñatṛtva, can by no means impart it to another. Nor can it be said that just as the face which is manifested by the mirror inheres in the mirror, so consciousness which is manifested by antaḥkaraṇa inheres in the latter—for to say that the self-luminous consciousness is manifested by the non-sentient consciousness is just as absurd as to say that the sun is manifested by the burnt coal.

In the same manner, Lokācārya gives a short and easy summary of Rāmānuja's contentions in his Śrī-bhāṣya viz. that the "I" (ahamartha) persists even during deep sleep and salvation. Thus, the soul is different from the body and the rest, and is a knower or Jñātā.

Knowledge is, by nature, bliss. Hence to say that the soul is possessed of knowledge is to say that it is possessed of bliss. In ordinary life, of course, it is found that some kinds of knowledge do not lead to bliss, such as the Knowledge of rejectible objects like poison, bricks etc. But these are due to the connection of the soul with adventitious circumstances, such as, body, karmas, egoity,—but really all knowledge is nothing but bliss.

There is a plurality of souls, but the mutual differences among these souls are not due to Upādhis or limiting adjuncts, as held by Śaṃkara, but are real and ever-lasting.

In the fourth and the last chapter Lokācārya expounds his theory of salvation and the means to salvation. This is the most important chapter in the whole book, inasmuch as it brings out the main point of difference between Lokācārya and Rāmānuja, the Founder of the school.

According to Lokācārya, the highest end of man or salvation is kaiṃkarya or absolute servitude to the Lord. First, there is the full manifestation of the real nature of the individual soul itself; then the real nature of the Lord is directly intuited; this leads to an intense love for the Lord; and this, finally, gives rise to kaiṃkarya or absolute servitude to the Lord, which is salvation itself.

Thus this servitude is neither blind and automatic, nor super-imposed and obligatory,—but is direct, intelligent, self-imposed and absolutely spontaneous. The individual soul does not blindly submit and dedicate itself to the Lord. But it first realises its own real nature, its own utter insignificance and defects, as well as the supreme purity and majesty of the Lord; then thereby, comes to feel an intense love (prīti) for Him; then alone, it spontaneously and lovingly dedicates itself to an eternal servitude of the Lord. In this way, Kaiṃkarya is based on direct knowledge (anubhava-janita) and intense love (prīti-kārita). Hence such a servitude, instead of being a source of pain as ordinary servitude is, is the cause of highest bliss. As long as the souls are

in bondage, they fail to realise this bliss involved in servitude and engage themselves in other pursuits in vain searches for real happiness. But when they, at last, come to realise it, they become free, enjoying eternal bliss in the service of the Lord alone. Thus, servitude to the Lord is bliss, freedom, salvation.

The Cārvāka view, Lokācārya points out, that salvation means the unhampered enjoyment of earthly objects is not correct, since the soul being different from the body, mere physical pleasures cannot lead to the highest goal of men.

Nor can it be said that Kaivalya or mere realisation of one's own self is salvation, for the individual soul being essentially dependent on the Lord, it cannot abide by itself without serving its Master.

The annihilation of the self is not salvation, as held by the Buddhists, for the self is eternal.

The destruction of the attributes of the self-substance, such as knowledge etc., too cannot be salvation, the self being eternally possessed of knowledge. Nor is salvation a mere negative state of absence of pain, but is a positive state of eternal happiness.

The Śaṃkarite view that salvation consists in the cessation of avidyā too is equally untenable. According to this school Brahman, being absolutely nirviśeṣa, possesses no bliss. Hence if salvation be nothing but an identity with Brahman, then salvation can by no means be said to be a state of supreme bliss.

The view of Bhāskara that salvation means removal of the Upādhis too is open to the very same objection. If salvation be said to be the full manifestation of the so-long hidden bliss, then the question is: Whose bliss is this? It cannot be the manifestation of the bliss of the individual soul itself, for the individual soul has no existence during salvation according to this view. Nor can it be the manifestation of the bliss of the supreme soul, no obscuration of the supreme soul's bliss being ever possible. If it be held that such an obscuration is possible in the region connected with Upādhi, the Lord must cease to be omniscient.

Finally, the doctrine of salvation as held by the advocates of natural difference-non-difference too is equally unreasonable (Yādavaprakāśa). The freed soul being different from the soul in bondage, the former cannot be subject to the miseries of the latter; the Lord being non-different from the individual soul, the former will be subject to the miseries of the latter and will, here, remove them Himself by His own omnipotence; as such individual souls themselves will have not to exert themselves at all for salvation and salvation will become automatic and universal.

Hence the true view is that salvation is the entirely spontaneous and blissful servitude to the Lord.

What is the means to the attainment of such a salvation? According to Lokācārya, the means to salvation is prapatti leading to bhakti. Prapatti, otherwise called nyāsa, śaraṇāgati etc., means resorting to the Lord and surrendering one's self completely to His mercy, and men of all castes are entitled to it. It consists in not transgressing the commands of the Lord and devoting one's self to what is commanded by him; in trying to grasp the Lord's omnipotence; in earnestly longing for Him alone day and night; and, finally, in having a full-fledged knowledge of His strict impartiality. The knowledge that the Lord is omnipotent, and as such capable of favouring any and every one, yet being impartial, does not do so at random, but favours only those who have resorted to Him alone,—naturally leads one to such a prapatti.

Prapatti leads to the destruction of even Prārabdha-karmas, and those who have resorted to it become free at once,—though through the wish of the Lord, some such freed souls continue their earthly existence for the good of the world. Thus Lokācārya admits the doctrine of Jivan-mukti, not supported by Rāmānuja and other Vaiṣṇava teachers.

Prapatti brings about salvation not separately by itself, but by generating bhakti. Bhakti means continuous dhyāna or meditation. Such a meditation is nothing but a direct vision of the Lord (pratyakṣa-samanākāra). By a proper and disinterested performance of one's duties in life, the daily (nitya) and occasional (naimittika) duties, and by the practice of tranquillity, self-control etc., the merits and demerits, i.e. all karmas, are destroyed, thereby obstructions in the form of rajas and tamas are removed, and thereby alone the full and successful practice of dhyāna becomes possible. In this way, meditation comprises all ethical virtues.

Neither pure knowledge by itself, nor actions by themselves, nor a combination of knowledge and action can lead to salvation.

Lokācārya ends his work by pointing out again that salvation is nothing but kaiṃkarya and the means thereto is nothing but prapatti, this latter knowledge being the only true knowledge or tattva-jñāna.

According to him, of the two ingredients of salvation, prapatti and bhakti, the former is by far the more important one.

And herein lies the chief difference between Rāmānuja and Lokācārya. According to Rāmānuja, too, the individual soul is ever subordinate to the Lord, in bondage as in release. But he never emphasises kaiṃkarya or absolute servitude to the Lord to such an extent as Lokācārya does. What Rāmānuja emphasises is not servitude to the Lord (kaiṃkarya), but fellowship with Him (sāyujya); not the realisation of one's own insignificance, but the realisation of one's own real greatness and perfection. Thus according to Rāmānuja, as a part and adjective of Brahman, the Great, the individual soul too is great, and when it becomes free, it realises itself as great, good and pure—similar even to the Great God Himself, and not as a mere worthless and insignificant creature, incapable of claiming any intimate fellowship with the Lord as held by Lokācārya.

Similarly, although Rāmānuja admits prapatti, he is reluctant to give it so great an importance as Lokācārya does. According to Rāmānuja, active and intelligent devotion, and not mere passive self-surrender, is the means to salvation. But according to Lokācārya, though knowledge, action and devotion all play a part, prapatti is by far the most important means.*

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*(1) Tattva-nirṇaya, pp. 7 ff. vide Pañca-rahasyam. (2) Tattva-śekhara pp. 1-2. (3) Op. cit. p. 1. (4) Tattva-prakāśa, p. 2. (5) Op. cit. pp. 3 ff. (6) Op. cit. pp. 13 ff. (7) Op. cit. p. 21 ff. (8) Tattva-śekhara, p. 37. (9) Op. cit. p. 53. (10) Tattva-śekhara, pp. 37-40. (11) Op. cit. pp. 41ff. (12) Tattva-śekhara, pp. 42 ff. vide Śrī-bhāṣya 1. 1. 1. (13) "Tasmāt Jñānasya ānandatvam eva svabhāvam" op. cit. p. 50. 'Evaṃbhūta-jñānavattvam ātmano nanditatvam." (14) Tattva-śekhara, pp. 51-52. (15) Op. cit. p. 56. "Tasmān nirdoṣa-niratiśaya-nanda-svarūpa-paramātma-kaiṃkarya eva mokṣaḥ" vide also p. 55 and pp. 60-61. (16) Tattva-śekhara, p. 54. "Svarūpābhirbhāva-pūrvakaṃ nitya-nirdoṣa-nis-sīma-nandakam, sa-vibhūtika-samasta-kalyāṇa-guṇātmaka-paramātma-yāthātmyānubhava-janita-prīti-kārita-kaiṃkaryaṃ." vide also p. 60. (17) Tattva-śekhara, pp. 55, 60. (18) Op. cit. pp. 54-55. (19) Tattva-śekhara, pp. 55-56. (20) Tattva-śekhara, pp. 64-65. (21) Tattva-śekhara, p. 65. (22) Tattva-śekhara, p. 67. (23) Tattva-śekhara pp. 67-68. (24) Op. cit. p. 70. (25) Op. cit. p. 69. (26) Vide Gadya-traya.

A DISSERTATION ON THE IDENTITY OF THE AUTHOR OF THE *DHVANYALOKA*

By

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The *Dhvanyāloka* of Ānandavardhana, who was a contemporary of Avantivarman of Kashmir (855-883 A.C.), is an epoch-making work, which created a revolution in the history of Alaṃkāra literature. This date and the chronological status of the work are confirmed by other internal and collateral evidence. But a doubt has been raised about the identity of the authorship of the work, which consists of two parts, *Kārikās* (original verses) and *Vṛtti* (the prose elucidation). MM. P. V. Kane following the clue given in the preface of the Nirnayasagar Press Edition raised in his *History of Alaṃkāra Literature* the problem of the separate identity of the authors of the works. He collected all the relevant data, internal and external, which tend to create a presumption in favour of the separate identity of the two. While MM. Kane tentatively suggests his view, which is based upon certain observations of Abhinavagupta, the commentator of the *Dhvanyāloka*, later writers are more dogmatic in their tone. Dr. S. K. De is categorically positive that the *Kārikā* portion is the work of a predecessor, which was expounded by Ānanda-vardhana. The data, on which the theory is based, are however the same as adduced by MM. Kane, but the difference in tone among the later writers is worthy of remark. It seems that the belief in the separate identity of the author of the *Kārikā* from that of the *Vṛtti* has become traditional. It is remarkable that this recent tradition is founded upon certain remarks of Abhimarkable that this recent tradition is founded upon certain remarks of Abhinavagupta, which are by no means free from doubt as regards their implication, and is in direct conflict with the tradition among Sanskrit writers, both predecessors and successors of Abhinavagupta, who have emphatically asserted the identity of the authors of the original and the commentary. I have given a close and prolonged thought to the data, from which the theory of separate authorship is derived, and also to the other data, which seem to have escaped these writers; and my conviction of the numerical identity of the author of the *Kārikā* with that of the *Vṛtti* has deepened by every fresh consideration. I do not think the question to be a closed one and I propose to record the results of my reflections which may serve to stress the need of re-consideration and re-assessment of the problem with all its relevant issues.

The doubt about the dual authorship arises from the differentiation of the author of the *Kārikā* from that of the *Vṛtti* by Abhinavagupta in his commentary, *Locana*, on the *Dhvanyāloka*. MM. Kane has quoted pro-

fusely from Abhinavagupta the passages which distinguish between the author of the *Kārikā* and the author of the *Vṛtti* in his work, and I will content myself with the consideration of those passages, which seem to presuppose the numerical difference of the authors and will ignore those which seem to make a formal distinction. At the very outset I want to make it clear that the mere distinction of the author of an original work, be it *Sūtra* or *Kārikā*, from the author of the *Vṛtti* is not necessarily personal, but a formal distinction, which is seen to be observed even when the same person is known to have composed both. The works, whether the products of the same or different authors, are different not only numerically but in kind. It is usually the case that the two species of works are the products of different persons. Whether they are products of different or same writers, it makes no difference to the nature and status of the works and their mutual relationship. The *Vṛtti* is only a commentary and as such is intended to explain what is succinctly or implicitly stated in the original. The original and the gloss are two different species of work and their rôle and status are also different. The rôle of the commentary is to explain what is implicitly contained in the original and it is an offence against the rules of exegesis to introduce matters foreign to the original. The offence is technically called *utsūtravyākhyāna*. The offence of *utsūtravyākhyāna* is unpardonable on the part of a commentator and deprives him of all claim to audience. Patañjali, the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* categorically asserts that what is stated in excess or in supersession of the original must be given short shrift.[1] Nāgeśa quotes in support the dictum of Kumārila "whatever is in the *Vṛtti* and also in the *Vārtika* must be (shown to be implicitly contained) in the *Sūtras*." The difficulty raised in the *Pañcapādikā* and in the *Vivaraṇa* regarding the introductory of Śaṅkarācārya to his commentary on the *Brahmasūtra*, wherein the theory of *adhyāsa* is discussed, that it is *utsūtra* and so *ultra vires* and the answer to the objection that it is implied and warranted by the wording of the sūtra 1.1.1. are thus seen to be based upon the rules of exegesis and not an uncalled for scholastic ingenuity.[2] Even the *bhāṣya*, which is entitled to certain privileges, e.g. to explain its own statements, cannot introduce matter which is not relevant to the original. Thus the status of the commentary is subordinate to that of the original. The difference of the nature and status of the two species of composition imposes a corresponding difference upon the authors of the two works. And even when the same person happens to be the author of both the original and the commentary, the functional and official difference must not be allowed to be slurred over or obliterated because of the

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1. vo hy utsūram kathayen nā'do gṛhyeta *MBH.*, p. 24 (Ben. ed.) *Paspaśā* Cf. etanmūlakam eva paṭhyate "sūtreṣveva hi tat sarvaṃyadvṛttauyacca vārtike." MBH. PU.

2. Vide *Pañcapādikāvivaraṇa, S. V., Adhyāsabhāṣya* (B.S.I.I.I. tac cedaṃ na sūtrārthakalām api pratipādayati, ato na vyākhyānārham.

personal identity. The author of the *Vṛtti*, even when he happens to be identical with the author of the original, must give himself out as a different person and refer to the original author in the third person. Further he must not outstrip the jurisdiction of his rôle as a commentator, viz. to explain only what is implicit in the original and not to introduce matter, which is not implied or presupposed by the same. Fidelity to the original and observance of the limit imposed by it are absolutely *de rigueur*.

In corroboration of our position we refer to the *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtra* and *Vṛtti* of Vāmana, who expressly states that he is the author of the original and the gloss as well, to the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, the *Bhāṣā-pariccheda—cum—Siddhāntamuktāvalī*, the *Rasagaṅgādhara* and others in all of which the original and the gloss are written by the same person. These works are known to be the compositions of single authors. But the personal identity of the authors does not make any difference to the formal procedure. If we were not aware of the identity of the person of the authors externally and *a priori*, we could not deduce this identity from any reference, veiled or explicit, embodied in the *Vṛtti*. If the author of the *Vṛtti*, even when he is the author of the original text, were to let fall any hint that he is the author of the original text, he would be condemned of bad craftsmanship. As a matter of fact authors, when they happen to be the same person, have not been sufficiently on their guard in their observance of this rule, but the commentators have taken pains to point out that the author *quā* commentator only makes explicit what is implicitly intended by the author of the original text. Thus even when new matters are introduced in the *Vṛtti* and the original text presupposes what is stated in the gloss, the commentator of the gloss takes pains to justify this illegitimate cross reference on the ground that the gloss, or for that matter, its author only states what is implied by the original text or its author. This is the rule of the game and it is not permissible to overstep or transgress it even when the original text and the gloss are the handiwork of one and the same person. It is therefore a necessity of form that the author of the gloss, even when he is the author of the original, should refer to the latter as a different person and should always comply with the subordinate rôle that the function of a commentator imposes upon him. The most outstanding and definitive proof of our contention is furnished in the *Pramāṇa-mīmāṁsā*, a work consisting of *sūtra* and *vṛtti* written by Hemacandra of the 12th century. Hemacandra in the rôle of the commentator behaves as an entirely different person from the author of the original *sūtras*, whom he refers to as the *sūtrakāra* and *Ācārya*. Had Hemacandra not written at the outset of his commentary that he comments on his own *sūtras*, a modern scholar would have naturally declared the commentator to be a different person. Hemacandra sometimes gives alternative explanations as befits a commentator. It is interesting that Hemacandra observes that the particle '*atha*' in the first aphorism proves that the author is identical with that of other

works (*anena śābdānuśāsanādibhir asya ekakartṛkatvam āha* P.M. p. 2). All this proves that the distinction of the original author from the commentator is purely formal and has no bearing on the question of numerical identity.

It is necessary that this etiquette of form should be borne in mind with a view to the adjudication of the evidence of separate identity that is furnished by a commentator, who is a third person, of the whole work, such as is done by Abhinavagupta. We should not let ourselves be carried away by the differentiation by a commentator of the authors of the text and the gloss to the conclusion that his differentiation necessarily refers to personal identity. The differentiation of the authors is necessitated by the qualitative difference of the two compositions and there is no departure permissible from this procedure even when the author of both is an identical person. As we have made it clear, the author of the gloss must keep his personal identity in the background and make believe that he is a faithful expositor of the text, written by a person who is functionally distinct from and in status superior to the former. The numerical difference or identity of the authors can be gathered only from extra-textual evidence, e.g. the statement of the commentators or of other writers. All internal evidence, embodied either in the original text or in the gloss, purporting or alluding to personal identity will be regarded as an offence against the rule of the game. The solicitude of a sympathetic commentator for interpretation of all this evidence as consistent with the numerical and functional difference of the authors becomes intelligible in the light of the findings recorded here.[3]

It is a matter of historical truth that so far as Indian tradition is concerned there is perfect unanimity among writers on Sanskrit Poetics beginning with Mahimabhaṭṭa and down to the latest writers that the author of the *Kārikā* and that of the *Vṛtti* are a self-identical person. Mahimabhaṭṭa wrote the *Vyaktiviveka*, a product of extraordinary learning and ingenuity, with the express purpose of refuting the position of Ānandavardhana. He has criticised Abhinavagupta's exposition also. MM. Kane asserts that he was a contemporary of Abhinavagupta. Mahimabhaṭṭa refers to the author of the *Kārikā* and of the *Vṛtti* as *Dhvanikāra* without distinction and expressly states that the author himself explains the text in the *Vṛtti*.[4] So also has Kṣemendra referred to these texts as the composition of Ānandavardhana, the acknowledged writer of the gloss. Kuntaka, the author of the *Vakroktijīvita*, a reactionary work written for the confutation of the *Dhvanyāloka*, has been shown by MM. Kane to refer to Ānandavardhana as the author of the entire

3. *Vide* the *Vṛttis* of Vāmana, Mammaṭabhaṭṭa, Viśvanātha Kavirāja, Viśvanātha Nyāyapañcānana, the authors respectively of the *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti*, the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* and the *Bhāṣāpariccheda* together with the *Nyāyasiddhāntamuktāvalī*..

4. Artho vācyaviśeṣa iti svayaṃ vivṛtatvāc ca. VV, p. 82 Benares edition.

text, the *Kārikā* and the *Vṛtti* included. These writers belong to Kashmir,
the home-land of Ānandavardhana, and Kuntaka was the predecessor of
Abhinavagupta. It is highly improbable that these writers, who are pre-
eminently noted for their acumen and accuracy and who are the compatriots of
our author and were separated by a short interval from the latter, should all
be guilty of recording a wrong tradition. Rājaśekhara, who was the predeces-
sor of Abhinavagupta, also refers to Ānandavardhana as the promulgator of
the Dhvani theory. We shall give reasons to show that the author of the
Candrikā, the earlier commentary on the *Dhvanyāloka*, which has been
severely criticised by Abhinavagupta and mentioned by Mahimabhaṭṭa, was
also of the opinion that the two works, the *Kārikā* and the *Vṛtti*, were the
product of the same author. Later writers, *e.g.* Hemacandra, who flourished
in the 12th century, and every other subsequent and precedent writer on
Alaṁkāra have all regarded Ānandavardhana as the author of the entire work.
All these facts have been mentioned by MM. Kane, who leaves little room
for originality to his successors in the matter of external evidence. My pur-
pose in stating these data is only to show the unbroken continuity of the
tradition regarding the numerical identity of the authors of the *Kārikā* and
the *Vṛtti*. I only differ from MM. Kane and his successors with regard
to the interpretation of the internal evidence. It is not mentioned by MM.
Kane that Kuntaka has been alluded to by Abhinavagupta.

Mr. Sovani seems to go too far when he propounds that *Sahṛdaya* was
the name of the author of the original text, on which Ānandavardhana com-
ments. To be fair to MM. Kane it must be stated that he has hesitated
to accept this hypothesis as an indubitable fact. It is not necessary for me
to labour the point further as the term is used as an attributive frequently
by Ānandavardhana. The statement of the *Kārikā* 1.1, "the nature of
Dhvani will be elucidated for the delectation of the *Sahṛdaya* (a man of taste
and critical outlook)" [5] should be deemed sufficient to demonstrate the extreme
improbability of the theory propounded by Mr. Sovani. The designation of
the author of the *Kārikā* and of the *Vṛtti* indiscriminately as *sahṛdaya* by
Pratīhārendurāja takes away all the point from Mr. Sovani's argument. The
frequent use of the term as a descriptive appellation by Ānandavardhana him-
self should be deemed a final clincher.[6]

We now propose to examine the remarks of Abhinavagupta, which ex-
pressly distinguish between the author of the *Kārikā* and the author of the
Vṛtti, on which the theory of separate authorship is founded. We must be
on our guard against the too natural mistake of confounding formal distinc-
tion with numerical difference in the light of what has been set forth by us
at the outset.

5. tena brūmaḥ sahṛdayamanaḥprītaye tatsvarūpam, Dh. 1.1.

6. sahṛdayahṛdayāhlādi... also na ca svasamayāntaḥpātinaḥ sahṛdayān kāṁś cit parikalpya......, Op. cit., p. 7.

In the first chapter the classification of *Dhvani* into *avivakṣitavācya* and *vivakṣitānyaparavācya* has been given in the *Vṛtti* and not in the *Kārikā*. In the first *Kārikā* of the second chapter the first type is sub-divided into two kinds. Apart from the observations of Abhinavagupta, it would appear that this *Kārikā* presupposes the classification of *Dhvani* given in the *Vṛtti* in the first chapter and the natural deduction from this cross reference would be that the author of the *Kārikā* is identical with that of the *Vṛtti*. In other words, the author does not discriminate between the *Vṛtti* and the *Kārikā*. This is certainly the case, as otherwise the abrupt division of *avivakṣitavācya* in the Kārikā II.1, of which absolutely no mention has been made before by the author of the *Kārikā*, would be an unintelligible procedure. And if we scan the prefatory remarks of Ānandavardhana at the outset of the second chapter, it would be apparent that he too does not distinguish between the *Kārikā* and the *Vṛtti*, and regards the division proposed as only a continuation of the topic broached in the *Vṛtti* in Chapter I., "*now dhvani has been shown to be of two kinds, avivakṣitavācya and vivakṣitānyaparavācya.* Of these, it is stated as follows for the elucidation of the division of *avivakṣitavācya*" (*Vṛtti*). "*Avivakṣitavācya* is of two kinds according as its expressed sense (*vācya*) is included in another (wider) sense or absolutely surrendered" (Dh. II.1). Though this is the natural procedure for an identical person to make such cross reference, it cannot be regarded as legitimate owing to the technical difference between the *Kārikā* and the *Vṛtti*, the implication and consequences of which have been fully explained by us before. Accordingly Abhinavagupta, as the commentator, steps forward to justify this abnormal breach of the etiquette of exegesis by an ingenious device. In connection with the classification given in the *Vṛtti* in the first chapter Abhinavagupta observes that the author of the *Vṛtti* propounds this classification in pursuance of the implicit reference which will be made to it in the second chapter. In commenting on the *Vṛtti* "dhvani has been shown to be of two kinds etc." Abhinavagupta supplies the necessary corrective "by me in the capacity of *Vṛttikāra*—that is the import. This has however not been stated in disregard of the original text (*utsūtra*) but in pursuance of the intention of the *Kārikākāra*. The twofold classification of *dhvani* (shown in the *Vṛtti*) is endorsed by the *Kārikākāra* also inasmuch as the sub-division of the first variety (given in the Kārikā II.1) contains an implicit reference to the former classification and thereby aims at showing its distinction from the second variety." [7]

Unfortunately both MM. Durgaprasad Dvivedi, the editor of the N. S. P. edition and MM. Kane alike failed to pay proper attention

7. mayā vṛttikāreṇa sate'ti bhāvaḥ. Nacaitan mayo'tsūtram uktam, api tu kārikākārābhiprāyeṇe'ty āha...., (Dh., p. 165, Benares edition). Tatra prathamoddyote vṛttikāreṇa prakāśitaḥ (tasya) avivaksitavācyasya vaḥ prabhedas tatpratipādanāye'dam ucyate......bhavati mūlato dvibhedatvaṃ Kārikākārasyā'pi sammatam eve'ti bhāvaḥ. Op. cit., p. 166.

to the clause 'by me *in the capacity of Vṛttikāra.*' (*mayā Vṛttikāreṇa satā*). The particle '*satā*' would be redundant, unless the functional difference in spite of the personal identity were alluded to by Abhinavagupta. Again, the absence of refutation in the *Kārikā* of the position that *dhvani* is indefinable and the express refutation of the same in the *Vṛtti* would seem to be an introduction of a topic unintended by the *Kārikākāra*. Abhinavagupta justifies the *Vṛttikāra* on the ground that he only makes explicit what is implied by the *Kārikākāra*. A *prima facie* reading of the text would rather give out the impression that the same person being the author of *Kārikā* and the *Vṛtti*, he does not mind to state in the original verse what he will state in the gloss. But this would involve the offence of the confusion of personal identity with functional identity, which, as we have shown, is an unpardonable breach of form. Abhinavagupta's observation serves to eliminate this confusion. Of course the comment of Abhinavagupta is not easily justifiable without the presupposition of personal identity. The real crux of the problem however is found in the beginning of Chapter III. The observation of Abhinavagupta hereunder seems to make him plainly assert his faith in the numerical difference of the author of the *Kārikā* from that of the *Vṛtti*. But let us dispassionately and critically examine the *Vṛtti* and the comment of Abhinavagupta and see whether the postulation of more than functional and official difference is necessary here also.

The *Vṛttikāra* introduces the third chapter by the remark that '*dhvani*' has been fully expounded with all its divisions on the basis of suggested meaning (*vyaṅgya*) ; now it is being expounded again in so far as it is based upon the suggestive form (*vyañjaka*).[8] Abhinavagupta explains the text of Ānandavardhana in a far-fetched way and makes severe animadversions upon the previous commentator, whose interpretation however is more satisfactory and logically more consistent than what is offered by the former. In the third chapter the division of *dhvani* is made on the basis of verbal forms which are exclusively vehicles of suggestion and can never become from the nature of the case objects of suggestion. The *Candrikā*, which was the previous commentary and which is criticized here, explains the meaning of the expression 'on the basis of suggested meaning' (*vyaṅgyamukhena*) as referring to the division of *dhvani* in respect of *Vastu* (matter of fact), *alaṅkāra* (figure of speech) and *rasa* (aesthetic sentiment). Abhinavagupta is impatient with this interpretation. He remarks, "this threefold division has been set forth by the *Vṛttikāra* and not by the *Kārikākāra*. Nor is the *Vṛttikāra* setting forth this division here and now. So what relevancy would be there in the statement 'this has been done and this is being done' in case the authors are different? Nor does this interpretation square with the entire previous text,

8. evaṃ vyaṅgyamukhenai 'va dhvaneḥ pradarśite saprabhede svarūpe punar vyañjakamukhena tat prakāśyate. Op. cit.

since such modes as *avivakṣitavācya* also have been demonstrated therein." Abhinavagupta accordingly explains the remarks of *Ānandavardhana* as having reference to the division of *dhvani* as *avivakṣitavācya* etc.

We must confess that Abhinavagupta's criticism of the *Candrikā* seems to be inspired more by petulance than regard to fact or logical consistency. In the first place, it is not a fact that the threefold classification of *dhvani* has not been shown in the *Kārikā* itself. In II. 2, *dhvani* based on the expressed sense is shown to be twofold according as the sequence between the expressed and the suggested sense is imperceptible or perceptible. In II. 3 *rasadhvani* as representative of the first type is dealt with. In II. 22 *alaṅkāradhvani* based on formal suggestiveness (*śabdaśaktyudbhava*) is discussed. In II. 23-25 the *Vastudhvani* is elaborated at length. In II. 26-31 *alaṅkāradhvani* based upon material significance (*arthaśaktyudbhava*) is treated of rather in detail. The consideration of these facts would show that Abhinavagupta is neither correct nor precise in his categorical assertion that the threefold division of *dhvani* has not been shown by the *Kārikākāra*. In the second place Abhinavagupta's animadversion would still be unjustifiable even if it were true that the threefold classification of *dhvani* were not dealt with in the *Kārikā*, but in the *Vṛtti* only. He forgets in the heat of the controversy that the *Vṛttikāra* could not introduce a matter which was not intended or endorsed by the *Kārikākāra*, since this would involve the fallacy of *utsūtravyākhyāna*. Curiously enough Abhinavagupta himself justifies the cross reference in the beginning of the second chapter by this device. It is incomprehensible why the same principle should not hold good in the case under consideration, were the contention of Abhinavagupta correct.

Another point remains to be disposed of. Let us examine the implication of the complaint of Abhinavagupta about irrelevancy in the case of the difference of authors. Is the difference meant to be personal also or functional only? The implication seems to be plain as follows : "Of course the attribution of what has been stated and what is going to be stated to the same author may hold good in the present case by way of a historical accident when the two authors, viz. of the *Kārikā* and of the *Vṛtti* happen to be the self-identical person. But this would break down if the authors were numerically two different persons" But we have made it sufficiently clear that irrespective of the question of numerical identity or difference of the authors of the *Kārikā* and the *Vṛtti*, the cross reference can be justified on the hypothesis that the *Vṛtti* merely explicates what is intended by *Kārikā*, as otherwise the charge of *utsūtra* statement would make the position repugnant to the canons of exegesis. Even supposing that the authors were identical, transference of a state-

9. etat tāvat tribhedatvaṃ na kārikākāreṇa kṛtam, vṛttikāreṇa tu darśitam, na ce'dānīṃ vṛttikāro bhedaprakaṭanaṃ karoti tataś ce 'daṃ kṛtam idaṃ kriyata iti kartṛbhede kā saṃgatiḥ. *et seq.* Op. cit.

ment made by the *Vṛttikāra* to the account of the *Kārikākāra* would still be absolutely indefensible. We have shown above that Abhinavagupta is not unfamiliar with the rule. On the contrary it has induced him to explain the supposed reference by the *Vṛttikāra* to what has been stated in the *Vṛtti* as implied by *Kārikākāra* on the hypothesis of identity of purpose of the authors. He could have offered this explanation in the present instance with equal propriety. We have shown that the whole piece of Abhinavagupta's attack is not only unfounded but contrary to facts. The question of factual discrepancy apart. Abhinavagupta seems to have made himself appear as the supporter of a false cause. It requires to be stated, in view of the opinion expressed by MM. Kane, that even if we take Abhinavagupta's remarks for all that the former means to establish, it is obvious that the author of the *Candrikā* cannot be supposed to have held the two authors to be numerically different even on the showing of Abhinavagupta. Even if the remarks of the latter were true that the triple division of *dhvani* was the handiwork of the *vṛttikāra* and not of the *kārikākāra*, the confusion implied in the cross reference, made out by the author of the *Candrikā*, would be possible only if the latter were persuaded of the numerical identity of the two authors. Abhinavagupta seems to be conscious of the weakness of his criticism and this leads him to advance another argument immediately after.

There are one or two other instances which seem to imply the numerical difference of the *Vṛttikāra* from the *kārikākāra* and we propose to discuss them now. On page 135 (Dh. N. S. P. edn.) the question of the substratum of *guṇas* is raised and Ānandavardhana observes that the substratum has been *set forth* in the *Kārikā* (II. 7), which he quotes in support. Abhinavagupta completes the sentence in his commentary "as '*set forth*' by our original author" (*asmanmūlagranthakṛte 'ty arthaḥ*). The differentiation need not be more than formal, as we have shown that allusion to the identity of the author of the *vṛtti* with that of the *kārikā* would be a breach of form. On p. 138 while discussing the question of lapse from the norm of propriety Ānandavardhana observes that the matter "has been dealt with subsequently." *darśitam evā 'gre*). Abhinavagupta remarks that the expression "has been dealt with" has for its subject the *Kārikākāra* and hence the past tense is used.[10] MM. Kane explains the significance of the remarks of Abhinavagupta as follows. "If the कारिका and वृत्ति were the work of the same author, he would have used the future tense in place of the past in the word दर्शितम्, when referring to what was to be discussed later on ; but as the कारिकाs were the work of a predecessor and were actually before the वृत्तिकार when he wrote this passage, he employs the words (दर्शितमेव कारिकाकारेण)."[11] I regret I

10. darśitam eve 'ti kārikākāreṇe' ti bhūtapratyayaḥ. Vakṣyate hi 'anaucityād ṛte nā'nyad rasabhaṅgasya kāraṇam' ityādi.

11. *Hal*, p. LIX.

cannot agree with MM. Kane in this interpretation of the implication of the remarks of Abhinavagupta. The *kārikās*, being the original text on which the *Vṛtti* is a commentary, are certainly to be supposed to be logically, though not necessarily chronologically, prior to the latter. And even if the author of the *Vṛtti* were identical with that of the *Kārikā*, the use of future tense with the implication of personal identity as made out by MM. Kane would be unjustifiable, since the *vṛttikāra* is required to behave as a different person as a matter of form. The distinction need not be personal, as personal identity cannot be alluded to under any circumstances without infringement of etiquette, which is tabooed.

The argument based on the use of tense is absolutely inconclusive. MM. Kane's criterion of personal identity, viz., the use of future tense, is unacceptable. In fact Ānandavardhana uses future tense in several places in reference to what is stated later on in the *Kārikā*. It cannot be contended that the reference is to the gloss and not to the *Kārikā*, since Abhinavagupta himself quotes or alludes to the *Karika* as the object of reference. We refer the reader to page 15, page 23, page 26 and page 34.[12] We do not attach undue importance to these uses of future tense, since the allusion to personal identity with the author of the original will be a breach of form on the part of the author of the *Vṛtti*. The identification implied by future tense or first person is to be explained by reference to the identity of interest. The *Vṛttikāra*, even when he is a different person, is to identify himself intellectually with the author of the original text as a loyal commentator. So the use of future tense or of the first person is inconclusive as evidence of personal identity. We need not discuss the other cases of differentiation made by Abhinavagupta between the author of the gloss and the author of the verses since this implies nothing more than what the necessity of form demands.

Let us now consider whether there are positive indications in the commentary of Abhinavagupta of the unity of authorship regarding the entire work. Abhinavagupta plainly asserts that the theory of *dhvani*, though it was not unknown to previous thinkers and though it continued to be orally discussed without break, was not treated of in works of special interest.[13] But the first systematic treatise referred to here may be considered to consist of the *Kārikā* portion alone and thus need not afford any clue to the unity of authorship. But the following consideration is decisive. Ānandavardhana maintains that 'even writers of exceptional intellectual acumen on the science of poetics have failed to discover the existence of *dhvani*. But still it will be

12. tato'nyac citram eve'tye agre darśayiṣyāmaḥ. Dh. p. 34 Abhinavagupta here quotes the Kārikā III 42 as the place referred to. The use of the first person deserves more than a passing notice. Again, the pledge of the *Vṛttikāra* 'vācyavācakacārutvahetavo hi tasyā'ṅgabhūtā na tu tadekarūpā eve'ti pratipādayiṣyamāṇatvāt is endorsed in the *Kārikā* II 4.

13. *Op. cit.*, p. 31.

easy for men of æsthetic taste (*sahṛdaya*) to detect the presence of *dhvani* in the famous poetical works such as the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the light of the definition propounded here.' He concludes with a veiled personal reference, "May Ānanda[14] (aesthetic delight and the author Ānandavardhana) find a secure place in the minds of the men of taste. With a view to this end (the nature of *dhvani*) is being promulgated." Abhinavagupta observes that Ānanda is the name of the author (*granthakṛt*). The promulgation of *dhvani* aims at securing a permanent footing for Ānandavardhana in the hearts of lovers of poetry by means of *the śāstra* (*etacchāstradvāreṇa*). Abhinavagupta refers to Ānandavardhana as *Vṛttikāra* and also as *granthakāra*. It might be supposed that the latter appellation is only an equivalent of the former and as such has no reference to the entire work, consisting of *kārikā* and *Vṛtti*. But the description of Ānandavardhana as the author of *this śāstra* is significant. In another place Abhinavagupta refers to him as the author of *our śāstra*, who established that the absolute Brahman is the only Ultimate Reality in another work, viz., *Tattvāloka*. The author of the *dhvani śāstra* is also the author of the *Tattvāloka*.[15] We know Ānandavardhana is the author of the latter work and it follows that it is Ānandavardhana who is said by Abhinavagupta to be the author of the *Dhvaniśāstra*.

The question now naturally arises whether Ānandavardhana could be described as the *Śāstrakāra*, if he were only the writer of the *vṛtti* alone and the *Kārikās*, which abundantly set forth the doctrine with its details, were the work of a different person. Barring the scholastic devices of Abhinavagupta who tries to make out the *vṛtti* to be only a paraphrase and elaboration of the *Kārikā*, even if we take a dispassionate view of the relative position of the *Kārikā* and the *Vṛtti*, it must be owned that the original contribution of the *Vṛtti* is almost nil. In the circumstances, is it not unthinkable that the author of the *Vṛtti* should pass off as the promulgator of the *dhvani* school, which the title of *śāstrakāra* conferred upon him by Abhinavagupta implies?[16]

Again, in the colophon of the work, there are two verses. While commenting upon '*iti*,' the first word of the first verse, Abhinavagupta observes that it means 'in the light of the exposition given in the *Kārikā* and the *Vṛtti*.' This indicates that Abhinavagupta takes the *Kārikā* and the *Vṛtti* to be the work of one person.* If there be a lingering doubt, the last verse should

14. There is *double entendre* on the word.
15. *Vide* p. 67 and p. 533 Ben. edn. 16. *Vide* p. 41, p. 67 (Bom. edn.).
* It should be noted that the *maṅgalācaraṇa* and the colophon are not integral parts of the text of a work. It is only these places wherein the author of a gloss can reveal his identity with that of the original, *Sūtra* or *Kārikā*, without offending the canons of exegesis. Ānandavardhana cannot be accused of the breach of form when he asserts on the colophon his authorship of the entire work, after the conclusion of the book, because he has already accomplished the task of the *Vṛttikāra* and is no longer in the subordinate rôle.

dispel it completely. The last verse states "Ānandavardhana, whose name is widely known, has explicitly brought out for the edification of men of taste the real essence of true poetry, which lay dormant[17] for all the ages in the minds of even men of mature intellect." The statement that the nature of *dhvani* which is the real essence of true poetry was not discriminatingly grasped by previous writers and that it was for the first time developed and systematised by Ānandavardhana would become unmeaning and untrue, were the doctrine developed in such a systematic form by a predecessor, viz. the *author of the Kārikā*, who is made out to be a different person by the theory of dual authorship. It is further remarkable that the author of the *Kārikā* observes (III. 56) that the true nature of poetry was indiscriminatingly apprehended by previous writers and their failure to disentangle the same was responsible for the promulgation of the theory of *rītis*. This identical claim for originality by both the author of the *Kārikā* and Ānandavardhana is intelligible only if the two are regarded as the same person, otherwise the claim of the latter would be a vain boast. Abhinavagupta observes while commenting on the last verse just quoted that the author here divulges his name in order that students of poetics may feel drawn towards a study of it. People generally are attracted by the fame of a great author. In the first chapter also Abhinavagupta has stated that Ānanda is the name of the author, who gives out his name in order to enlist the support of the readers by creating a sense of regard for his great name.[18] Of course Abhinavagupta speaks of Ānandavardhana as *Granthakāra*, and this has been supposed to stand for the author of the *Vṛtti*. But it is seldom found that the author of a gloss is designated as *Granthakāra*. In all the places where Abhinavagupta speaks of the *Granthakāra*, he does not draw a distinction between the author of the *Kārikā* and the author of the gloss and the presumption is very great to induce the belief that the word should be taken as standing for the author of the entire book. In one place we have seen that Abhinavagupta refers to the *Kārikākāra* as *asmanmūlagranthakāra*. But it seems that too much capital has been made of this distinction. The distinction is made in order to preclude a confusion of the personal identity with functional identity. The *Vṛttikāra* quotes the *kārikā* as the place wherein the substratum of the *guṇas* has been set forth. Abhinavagupta in conformity with the rules of exegesis supplies the proviso 'that is by our original author.' It should be understood that the proviso is added on behalf of the *Vṛttikāra* and not in opposition to him. The author of the *Vṛtti* should naturally quote the *Kārikā* as the work of the original author, on which he comments.

The consideration of the following statements of Abhinavagupta himself should remove all misgiving about the identity of the author of the *Kārikā* with that of the *Vṛtti*. We have proved at the outset that Indian tradition

17. Cf. the identity of language of the verse with that of IIII. 46.
18. Pp. 41 to 42 and pages 553 (Bom. edn.) *et seq* (Ben. edn.).

is absolutely unanimous on the fact that Ānandavardhana is the author of the whole work. It is Abhinavagupta's differentiation between the two works and their authors that has led scholars like the editor of the *Dhvanyāloka* and MM. Kane and others to the conclusion that the two authors are not only functionally but also numerically different. My thesis has been that the distinction is a matter of form, lapse from which was very seriously regarded as an unpardonable offence. The following considerations in addition to what I have given above will serve to clinch the matter under consideration.

On p. 79 Abhinavagupta comments '(He) states—the meaning of the *Kārikā* by means of the *Vṛtti*.' On p. 85 Abhinavagupta observes 'Now (he) explains the expression '*ekarūpa*' (stated in the *Kārikā*) by means of *Vṛtti*.' On p. 102 the commentator says "With this intention (he) explicates in the *Vṛtti*." On p. 104 in the commentary it is observed, "Accordingly (he) will explain in the *Vṛtti* in the twofold way," and on p. 105 again "(he) now explains the minor sub-divisions of *Prauḍhokti* by means of *Vṛtti*." These remarks have escaped MM. Kane and his predecessors and successors alike, but they deserve more than passing notice. The analysis of their import reveals momentous facts. Certainly Abhinavagupta could not make these remarks if he were absolutely convinced of the truth that Ānandavardhana *quâ* the author of the *Vṛtti* was numerically different from the author of the *Kārikā*. Who is the subject of the verbs in the sentences referred to above? We have put the subject "he" within brackets. But whom can 'he' refer to? It cannot be supposed that 'he' here stands for the *Vṛttikāra*, as in that case the proposition will turn out to be hopelessly tautologous. It is sheer nonsense to say that "the *Vṛttikāra* explains the meaning in or by means of the *Vṛtti*." The *Vṛttikāra* can state anything in the *Vṛtti* alone, which is his work—a fact too obvious to be stressed. So the phrases, 'in the *Vṛtti*' or 'by means of *Vṛtti*' would have no sense, if the subject were meant to be the *Vṛttikāra*, a different person from the author of the *Kārikā*. These observations of Abhinavagupta, unless they are to be reduced to downright nonsense, are capable of one explanation only. Abhinavagupta takes the author of the *Kārikā* to be the same person with the *Vṛttikāra* and so observes that the author of the *Kārikā* himself explains the meaning of the words of the *Kārikā* in the *Vṛtti*. There is no question of confusion of personal identity and functional diversity as the commentator is a third person. The *Vṛttikāra* cannot be permitted to allude to his personal identity with the author of the original text as that would involve breach of form. But the commentator can make any observation on the difference or identity of the authors of the original and the gloss, as he is an outsider.

The differentiation by Abhinavagupta of the *Kārikākāra* from the *Vṛttikāra* in his commentary is necessitated by caution to rescue the *Vṛttikāra* from the charge of the breach of the rules of exegesis. We have made the point abundantly clear at the outset. The differentiation is formal and functional

and has no bearing upon personal relationship of the authors. It is a matter of pity that later writers became oblivious of the traditional rules of interpretation and of the consequential difference of status of the *Vṛttikāra* from the author of the original text. The ignorance or oblivion, whichever may be the case, is responsible for the curious arguments advanced by Rāmacaraṇa Tarkavāgīśa, Maheśvara, Vaidyanātha Tatsat and Maheśacandra Nayāyaratna. Rāmacaraṇa argues in his commentary on the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* that the author of the *Vṛtti* is the same person who composed the *Kārikās* on the ground that the *Vṛttikāra* makes the promise, "*We* shall expound the nature of *rasa*," which is implemented in a *Kārikā*. If Rāmacaraṇa were correct, Viśvanātha would be guilty of the infringement of a fundamental rule of exegesis. 'We' has no separatist implication here. The *Vṛttikāra* here speaks on behalf of the original author as befits an exponent and representative.[19] Vaidyanātha and Maheśacandra likewise defend the unity of authorship of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* on the ground of a supposed cross reference in a *Kārikā* to the *Vṛtti*.[20] Maheśvara again defends his theory of dual authorship of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* on the ground that the *Vṛttikāra* refers to the *Kārikākāra* in the third person. He argues that if the authors had been an identical person, the *Vṛttikāra* would have used the first person in referring to the *Kārikākāra*.[21] These errors of judgment would not have been possible if these commentators had cared to consult the *Bhāṣāparicceheda-Muktāvalī* or Vāmana's *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti* and study the procedure adopted therein.

We shall conclude our dissertation by referring to the criticism of the Dhvani theory by Jayantabhaṭṭa, the author of the *Nyāyamañjarī*. Jayanta was the contemporary of Śaṅkaravarman, the immediate successor of Avantivarman, in whose court Ānandavardhana was a minister. Jayanta says, "By the same logic of the unsuspected power of word the doctrine of *dhvani* is refuted, which has been propounded by a fellow, who considered himself a real scholar. Well, when negation is understood from affirmation or affirmation from negation in such sentences as 'Freely walk, O pious man,' or 'Don't enter my room, O traveller,' it is entirely due to the common efficiency of words alone. Or perhaps we should not engage in such controversy with poets. Even scholars are bewildered as to the import of sentences and so let us drop this discourse. It is exceedingly a delicate problem and is beyond the province of logicians."[22] It is obvious that Jayanta here refers to the *Vṛtti* of the *Dhvanyāloka* and thinks that the theory was promulgated by one man, *viz*., Ānandavardhana.

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19. *Sāhityadarpaṇa* 1. 1. *S. V.* commentary.
20. Mālā tu pūrvavat. K. P. Kārikā 94.
21. na tu vṛttikṛd eva kārikākṛt paramṛśatityadiṣu sarvatra nāmayogocitaprathamapuruṣanirdeśasvarasāt, anyathā 'smadyogocitottamapuruṣa eva nirdiśyeta. KPT., p. 5 (Calcutta Sanskrit Series).
22. NM. p. 45 (Chowkhamba edition, Part I).

It follows from both external and internal evidence that has been adduced before that there is no break in the tradition that Ānandavardhana is the author of the entire work and the founder of the Dhvani school. Abhinavagupta's differentiation of the author of the *Vṛtti* from the author of the *Kārikā* has been proved to be a fiction of the law of exegesis even on the basis of his own remarks. Accordingly I feel constrained to assert that the conclusion of MM. Kane, which he states in the following words, is based upon an insufficient appraisal of data. "I feel inclined to hold (though with hesitation) that the *Locana* is right and that Pratīhārendurāja, Mahimabhaṭṭa Kṣemendra and others had not the correct tradition before them."[23] MM. Kane has created a tradition of his own. With due deference to his authority I have to differ from him and I place the results of my prolonged study and reflection before the bar of scholarship for fresh consideration.

To sum up the results of our enquiry : We have explained for the first time the rules of exegesis which require that the *Vṛttikāra*, irrespective of his numerical difference or identity with the author of the original, must behave as a different person and author and observe the subordinate rôle which the status of a commentator involves as a matter of irrefragable form. Secondly, the differentiation of the *Vṛttikāra* from the *Kārikākāra* in the commentary of Abhinavagupta on the *Dhvanyāloka* is nothing more than formal and official distinction which is necessitated by the duty of protecting Ānandavardhana *quá* the *Vṛttikāra* from the charge of *utsūtra* exposition. Thirdly, the designation of Ānandavardhana as the *Śāstrakāra*, the propounder of the school of *dhvani*, would be unjustifiable if the *Kārikās* were the handiwork of a predecessor. Fourthly, the omission of the name of the *Kārikākāra* by Ānandavardhana or Abhinavagupta is proof of the fact that the difference of the *Kārikākāra* from the *Vṛttikāra* is only a fiction of formality. Fifthly, the statements of Abhinavagupta himself have been adduced which are intelligible only on the postulation of the identity of the author of the *Vṛtti* with that of the *Kārikā*. Sixthly, the confusion of functional difference with personal difference has been shown to be due to the oblivion of the fundamental rules of exegesis, which has obtained currency since the end of the 18th century, if not earlier. Seventhly, the colophon of the *Dhvanyāloka* and the comments of Abhinavagupta thereon have been shown to contain indication of the identity of Ānandavardhana with the author of the *Kārikā*. Finally, the testimony of Jayantabhaṭṭa has been recorded, which together with the testimony of numerous authors of established fame, give out the *Dhvanyāloka* to be the product of a single person, viz., Ānandavardhana.

23. HAL., p. LXIII.

N.B.—The references are to the *Dhvanyāloka* (N. S. P. edition) unless specified otherwise.

YAMA IN THE VEDA

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Certain features of the Yama-mythology as represented in Ṛgveda (RV are quite simple and uncomplicated. This very simplicity has however misled many a scholar in the matter of the true interpretation of this mythology. The picture of Yama—his personality and functions—as reconstructed from the RV-references is characterised by considerable inconsistency, discrepancy and vagueness. An approach to this whole problem from the standpoint of 'evolutionary' mythology will alone make it possible to restate the whole Yama-mythology as a reasonably homogeneous and consistent whole.

Let us first of all briefly recapitulate the several details of this mythology as given in RV. Only four complete hymns in RV refer to Yama. His name occurs about fifty times in other RV-passages, which are almost exclusively to be found in the first and the tenth books of the RV. Yama thus belongs, with Parjanya, to the fifth class or group of Vedic gods, on the basis of the frequency of the mention of names. This minor position held by Yama in the Vedic mythology indicates that the true nature of the personality of that god was already being lost sight of, the vestiges of his original importance being revealed, as will be shown hereafter, only through stray references. To begin with, a very significant fact about Yama is that he is never explicitly called a 'god' in the RV. He is no doubt mentioned in the company of other gods—with Agni and Mātariśvan (I. 164. 46), with Varuṇa (X. 14. 7), with Bṛhaspati (X. 14. 3) and with Agni (X. 64. 3 ; 92. 11). In X. 51. 1, we are told that a god found the hiding Agni ; in X. 51. 3, we are told that it was Yama, who found Agni, thus indicating indirectly that Yama was a god. At the same time it is equally significant that Yama is never called a 'man.' As a matter of fact, he is clearly distinguished from the *pitṛs* (X. 15. 8), whose king and lord he is, though only once he is himself called *pitā* (X. 135. 1)—obviously in a different sense. The mention of Yama and *deva* Varuṇa, side by side (X. 14. 7), does not at all indicate that the poet wanted to distinguish between *man* Yama and *god* Varuṇa. Other passages of that nature (III. 20. 5 ; IV. 51. 11) will show that such reference does not possess any special significance. Yama however is clearly a *martya* (AV. XVIII. 3. 13). This unique aspect of Yama's character certainly provides an important clue for our investigation.

The majority of Vedic references to Yama describe him as the lord of the blessed dead (X. 14. 3-7; 16. 9). He is the first mortal, the first to go the way of death and to point out the path for departed souls to follow. He is the gatherer of men, their guide and pathfinder (X. 14. 1) and gives men a resting place (X. 14. 9; AV. XVIII. 2. 37). Of the three heavens, two belong to Savitṛ and one to Yama (I. 35. 6; X. 123. 6). Yama's father is said to have been Vivasvat and his mother Saraṇyu (X. 17. 1 ff.). In another context (X. 10), however, the parents of Yama and his twin-sister, Yamī, are mentioned to have been the Gandharva and the Water-Nymph. Yama dwells in the remote recess of the sky.[1] Reference is made to *harmya*[2] for Yama (AV. XVIII. 4. 55) and to *Yamasya sadanam*[3] (X. 135. 7; AV. II. 12. 7). Under a beautiful tree, Yama revels in the company of gods; there the 'father' entertains kindly thoughts about the forefathers (X. 135. 1). Yama was thus primarily regarded as a legendary king, who, by his holiness, was enabled to establish a realm of immortal life and bliss, for the righteous of olden time, to which good men of all generations have the right of entry. In most RV-passages, he was chiefly worshipped as the king of the blessed dead. He assembled the flocks of the departed in a marvellous kingdom, where there is neither cold nor suffering. He is the king of the people and their father. He has found a way for many and along that path he leads men into their last abode. Later, however, we see Yama's character in course of change to his post-Vedic rôle as the horrific judge of the dead. He is brought in close connection with Death. Death is said to be the path of Yama (I. 38. 5). He is the brother of Mṛtyu and is mentioned by the side of Antaka and Mṛtyu (VS. 39. 13). Mṛtyu is Yama's messenger (AV. XVIII. 2. 27). In certain cases Yama is even identified with Mṛtyu (I. 165. 4; MS. II. 5. 6; AV. VI. 28 31; 93. 1). References to Yama's *paḍbīśa* (X. 97. 6), to his messengers, *ulūka* and *kapota* (X. 165. 4) and to his dogs (X. 14. 10-12) further help to consolidate his character as the fearful god of death.

Let us now turn to a unique hymn, in which Yama figures very prominently. In a dialogue between Yama and his twin-sister, Yamī[4] (X. 10), Yama is shown to be protesting strongly against the advances of Yamī for a sexual intercourse, which was intended for the procreation of the human race. The impression derived from that hymn as a whole, however, is that, in spite of the suggestion of the apparently immoral motif of incest, Yama and

1. The abode of Yama is also mentioned (X. 63. 10) to be over high mountains across a river. HOPKINS (*PAOS* 1891) takes this literally and believes that Yama's abode was the ancient home of the Aryans, the recollection of which they still retained.
2. According to EHNI, it is a mound of the dead.
3. PISCHEL's suggestion that this indicates Yama's chapel cannot be accepted.
4. In YV, Yamī is both wife and sister of Yama.

Yamī were then actually regarded as the first parents of the human race.[5] Yama's protest only reflects the moral scruples of the author of that hymn.

Apart from these main references, attention may be drawn to other passages, which, though stray and obscure, are of considerable importance. Yama is said to have been the first to stretch the web of sacrifice (VII. 33. 9-10). A reference is already made to Yama's having discovered the hidden Agni (X. 51. 1-4). This fact also represents Yama's function as the first sacrificer. But Yama was not merely the first 'sacrificer'; he was also the first 'sacrificed.' For the sake of progeny, Yama, we are told (X. 13. 4), chose death; in spite of his deathless birth (I. 83. 5) he surrendered his own dear body in the sacrifice (X. 13. 4). The metres, which symbolise the sacrifice, are said to be deposited in Yama (X. 14. 16; AV. XVIII. 2. 6; 2. 32). In such cases, Yama seems to be exalted almost to the position of an All-god.

Can these heterogeneous and, in many cases, vague details of the Yama-mythology in the Veda be presented in a systematic and consistent manner, indicating thereby the various successive stages in the evolution of that mythology?

Before we proceed further, it would be helpful to examine the views of earlier scholars in regard to Yama's personality and functions. The study of Vedic mythology was, in its early stages, dominated by what may be called the 'naturalistic' tendency. As a matter of fact this was the case with regard to the study of all ancient mythologies. It was normal to trace the origin of gods to natural phenomena. Ancient mythology in general, and the Vedic mythology in particular, thus came to be crowded with sun-gods and moon-gods. Yama was, for instance, made to represent both the sun-god and the moon-god. EHNI (*Ursprüngliche Gottheit des ved. Yama* and *Der vedische Mythus des Yama*) believes that Yama is the deified representation of the setting sun. He is the son of Vivasvat ('whose light spreads afar'), who, according to EHNI, is the rising sun. Yama follows the path of the sun to go to a remote recess. The path of the sun was a symbol of the path of human life, and, as a matter of fact, the same words were often used in the Veda for the death of man and for the sunset. Of the sun it is said that it is the sure retreat. The sun is a bird and has birds as his messengers, like Yama. Like the sun-god, Yama has two steeds, golden-eyed and iron-hoofed. Vivasvat and Yama, who are related as father and son, stand, according to EHNI, for the visible and the invisible sun respectively. This explains the suggested contrast between the two (X. 14. 2; VS. 24. 1; ŚPB XIII. 2. 2. 7). Yama's character as a sun-god, in one form or another, is accepted by several other scholars. MAX MÜLLER (*LSL*), for instance, regards Yama to be the setting sun and thus the god of the dead. According to WEBER (*Vedische*

5. L. von SCHROEDER believes that the dialogue between Yama and Yami represents a fertility drama.

Beiträge), Yama represents the parting day and Yamī the night. KUHN (*Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*) and BERGAIGNE (*La Religion Védique*) think that Yama was a form of Agni, particularly the lightning Agni, and Yamī, the voice of thunder. This difference of opinion itself indicates that the solar character of Yama is not at all clear. BLOOMFIELD (*Religion of Veda*) tries to support the solar character of Yama on the basis of the description of his two dogs. According to that scholar (*JAOS* 15), the two dogs of Yama represent day and night or the sun and the moon. As against this, WEBER believes that the dogs represent a specific constellation and BERGAIGNE sees in them forms of Yama and Yamī. A closer scrutiny of the descriptions of the dogs shows that they are rather the outcome of a typical motif in primitive cult about death and of the common fantasy regarding the abode of the dead. Their description is too minute to mistake them for any natural phenomena.[6]

HILLEBRANDT'S starting point (*Ved. Myth.*) is the fact that Yama is the son of Vivasvat, whom that scholar regards to be the sun-god. He further pays particular attention to the contrast between Yama and Vivasvat, which is often emphasised in the Vedic mythology and ritual. These facts, according to HILLEBRANDT, conclusively prove that Yama cannot be the sun-god. EHNI'S explanation in regard to the contrast between the two is quite artificial and unconvincing. That Yama was a 'god', and not an ordinary 'human being,' is clear from several passages in the Veda. Still Yama is said to be the first 'mortal' who dies. These two characteristics of Yama's personality, namely that he is an offspring of the sun and that he 'dies,' will be properly understood, according to HILLEBRANDT, only on the assumption that Yama represents the moon-god.[7] The moon owes his splendour to the sun and is therefore the sun's child. The moon is also seen to wane by digits until he becomes completely extinct and again begins to grow. This is poetically described as the periodical death and birth of the moon. HILLEBRANDT points to several Vedic passages where the moon is said to be the child of the sun (IX. 93. 1; AB. VIII. 28. 14), and where he is referred to as dying and being reborn (I. 164. 4; X. 55. 5; 85. 19; ŚSS. 16.5). In support of his theory HILLEBRANDT further produces considerable anthropological evidence from the writings of BRINTON, GRÄBNER, CROOKE, FRAZER, EHRENREICH, HARTLAND and others. The primitive people all over the world often connect the phases of the moon with death, birth, regeneration etc., and consequently regard the moon as the lord of the dead fathers. Yama's part with reference

6. MAX MÜLLER takes Yama's dogs to represent Time in its double aspect as morning and evening. According to N. AIYANGAR (*Indo-Aryan Mythology*), Yama's dogs are Aśvinau or Agniṣomau. ARBMAN (*Rudra*) considers them to be refined versions of theriomorphic death-demons.

7. N. AIYANGAR also suggests (*Indo-Aryan Mythology*) that Yama is the moon sprung from the sun. According to him Yamī is Rohiṇī.

to sacrifice is explained by HILLEBRANDT also on the basis of his being the moon-god. For, the moon is the messenger of sacrifice, brings order in seasons and distributes offerings among the gods (I. 105. 4). Taking for granted that Soma and Bṛhaspati also represent the moon-god, HILLEBRANDT further quotes Vedic passages (like IX. 2. 10) wherein they are closely associated with sacrifice, and concludes that these ritualistic features were transferred to Yama because all the three gods represent but one divinity. Yima, the Avestan counterpart of Yama, is, according to HILLEBRANDT, closer to the moon-god. His final conclusion is that the lunar character of Yama was not clearly realised by Vedic poets, who emphasised only one aspect of his personality, namely, his connection with the dead. Yama was the moon-god of the Indo-Iranian or even earlier period. Only in certain typical passages in the Veda do we still find the traces of Yama's ancient majesty as the moon-god.

These theories which make Yama represent one natural phenomenon or another seem to cancel one another. HILLEBRANDT has made it quite clear that Yama cannot be the sun-god. The apparent solar features of the Yama-mythology referred to by EHNI and others are the outcome of poetic convention in the Veda, which was dominated by solar myths. They do not indicate the intrinsic character of Yama. The 'solarisation' of mythological elements, which are originally of an altogether different nature, is a normal feature of Vedic poetry. At the same time it can also be shown that Yama did not originally represent even the moon-god. The character and function of Vivasvat, in the Veda and the Avesta, are very vague, and the statements regarding his relationship with Yama are characterised by contradiction and inconsistency (AV. XVIII. 2. 32; 3. 61-62). No theory based on Vivasvat's solar character and his connection with Yama can therefore be in any way convincing. Moreover Yama is represented in the Veda as possessing so very markedly human features that it is difficult to believe that it is merely a case of normal anthropomorphism. To explain Yama's death on the basis of the natural phenomenon of the moon's phases is again not in the least satisfactory. Firstly Yama is never described as being reborn after his death like the moon. He is never said to be undergoing periodical death and regeneration.[8] Secondly Yama's death, unlike that of the moon, is of the nature of selfimmolation and serves a definite purpose. Yama is again not only the first to die, but he is also the first parent of the human race, which fact does not fit well even anthropologically, in the moon-theory. Yama's rôle as the first sacrificer is of special significance. He is not, like the moon, merely a messenger of sacrifice or anything of that sort. He is both the sacrificer and the sacrificed and as such is more intrinsically connected with sacrifice. To bring forth references to Soma and Bṛhaspati in support of the connection of the moon with sacrifice

8. The same may be said in regard to the setting of the sun and Yama's death.

amounts to depending on unproved assumptions. Any attempt to prove Yama's solar or lunar character on the strength of the evidence of the Avestan Yima-mythology is again bound to fail, for, Yima is all along described to have distinctly possessed the personality of a human sovereign. The myth of Yama and Yamī as the first parents of the human race becomes entirely meaningless if that pair were assumed to be representing specific natural phenomena. The tone of the whole dialogue between the twin brother and sister is unmistakably human and its theme is, without doubt, the procreation of mankind. HILLEBRANDT'S suggestion that Yama, the son of Vivasvat, should be distinguished from Yama, the brother of Yamī, cannot possibly be accepted —indeed it is discarded by all other scholars—and only indicates the weakness of his hypothesis. Finally the 'naturalistic' theories about Yama entirely disregard the true significance of the name, Yama. The derivation and the explanation of the name given by EHNI and HILLEBRANDT are linguistically defective. It may also be pointed out that, in a Vedic passage (X. 64. 3), Yama is distinguished from the sun and the moon in very clear terms.[9]

One fact thus becomes absolutely self-evident as the result of our foregoing investigations, namely, that Yama did not, at any stage, represent any natural phenomenon. While, therefore, discarding the naturalistic interpretations of the Yama-mythology, ROTH (*ZDMG* 4) also denied Yama's divine character. HOPKINS follows the lead given by ROTH and traces in detail the whole development of Yama's personality and functions (*Rel. of Ind.* and *PAOS* 1891). According to that scholar, Yama is the first human being and as such becomes, with Yamī, the progenitor of the human race. He is incidentally the first sacrificer as also the first earthly king and ruler. As Yama was the first human being to be born, the Vedic poets näively regarded him also as the first human being to die. The next natural step was to regard the first mortal to die as the founder of a new colony of the dead where all who died subsequently had to go. Yama, the first to be born and the first to die, thus becomes the guide, the pathfinder and the lord of the departed souls. In course of time he almost comes to represent the ideal side of ancestor-worship. He becomes the poetic or symbolic image of all fathers. It is this phase of the Yama-mythology, which is primarily represented in the Veda. Yama's comparison with Avestan Yima abundantly supports this view. A more or less similar view is put forth by OLDENBERG (*Rel. des Veda*) and SCHERMAN (*Festschrift für K. Hofman* and *Materialien zur Geschichte der Visionsliteratur*). According to OLDENBERG, the original character of Yama is that of the first ruler rather than that of the first sacrificer. Yama, like Yima, was a king in a golden period. OLDENBERG further points out that men in that golden period, who lived with Yama on earth, also went to the other world, where he ruled as the king of the dead, and became his special com-

9. In JB (I. 28) also Yama is distinguished from the moon.

panions. Angirasas and others (X. 14) may thus be said to have belonged to Yama's first order of noblemen. SCHERMAN believes that Yama was originally a human figure, who was later elevated to the status of, if not identified with, the sun-god. That scholar disputes the generally accepted opinion that Yama was an earthly sovereign, who, in later times, became the dread king of horrible hells.

Compared with the 'naturalistic' theories, these 'humanistic' theories regarding Yama seem to come closer to the true interpretation of the Yama-mythology.[10] But they too can be accepted, not in all their details, but only partially. Their insistence on the human character of Yama is based on the fact that Yama is never mentioned as god in Veda. But they do not seem to have properly estimated the other fact as well, namely, that Yama is also never mentioned as a man. He is a 'mortal', and, as CARNOY has pointed out (*JAOS* 36), according to primitive belief, 'man' is supposed to be 'god' who has become mortal. Moreover, as is shown elsewhere, there are several references to Yama, in Vedic literature, which unmistakably indicate his divinity. Further it may be pointed out that this character of Yama as a 'mortal' is not the result of näive speculation. Yama dies first, not because he is born first, but because he immolates himself as a necessary condition for the procreation of mankind. Undue emphasis is placed, in these theories, on an incidental aspect, namely, Yama's kingdom in paradise. The part played by Yama with reference to the creation of the universe and the procreation of the human race, as well as his special connection with sacrifice are not adequately explained on the assumption that Yama was just a human figure, who died first and as such attained to heaven before every one else and thus became the lord of the paradisial abode of the blessed souls. Yama, as a matter of fact, possesses, in the Vedic mythology, the peculiar character of a 'god-man.'

Yama's personality as a whole cannot thus be satisfactorily explained on the basis of the sun-theory or the moon-theory or the first-man-theory. The Yama-mythology is far too complicated for any such simple formula. Vedic poetry and Vedic mythology are, to a very considerable extent, dominated by artificial, poetic and priestly conventions. The original nature of the myths is therefore often shrouded in a large amount of extraneous and conventional details, which, many times, give those myths quite a different appearance. It is only in certain typical references to a Vedic god, which are usually stray and scattered, and which are therefore regarded as inconsistent and obscure, that we have to seek for the traces of the true character of that god. There

10. According to MEYER (*Indogermanische Mythen*), Yama the twin is the *alter ego* of the living man. L. D. BARNETT revives (*BSOS* IV) the Vedic and Avestan data relating to Yama and Gandharva and considers the possibility of connecting them with the Glaucussaga.

are, in the Veda, some passages, which have luckily escaped priestly revision and have retained their original nature. Such passages have, in most cases, provided the proper starting point for the reinterpretation of Vedic mythology. This is particularly the case with regard to the so-called minor gods of the Vedic pantheon. Another point which should be noted in this connection is that, besides comparative philology, new research in comparative mythology has necessarily to keep pace with and take into account the remarkable progress that has been made in anthropology and folklore.

We shall start our present investigation with the study of a reference to Yama, which is usually considered to be obscure and vague. In X. 13. 4, we read :

> *devebhyaḥ kam avṛṇīta mṛtyum prajāyai kam amṛtam nāvṛṇīta*
> *bṛhaspatim yajñam akṛṇvata ṛṣim priyām yamas tanvam prārirecīt*

"For gods' sake, verily (he) chose death ; (he) chose not indeed, in the interest of progeny, a life immortal. They (gods) made Bṛhaspati, the Ṛṣi (himself), sacrificial offering. Yama surrendered his (own) dear body." It is not necessary to reproduce here the ample evidence in support of Yama's original divine character. Yama was one among the gods ; accordingly he shared in the normal immortality of gods. As a matter of fact, in another stray passage (I. 83. 5), there is a clear mention of Yama's original immortality. On this background let us critically examine the reference in X. 13. 4. In spite of his natural immortality, Yama is said to have discarded it and surrendered his own dear body in sacrifice. Through this act of self-immolation, Yama served the cause of gods and progeny alike. As it seems quite clear, the gods organised this sacrifice for the sake of the creation of the universe and the procreation of the human race. On that occasion Yama, we are told, offered himself as the sacrificial offering. Out of this self-offering originated the *prajā*. The second half of the Ṛk indicates that Yama was, for that sacrifice, which we may now call the primeval sacrifice, himself the Bṛhaspati, the principal priest and sacrificer. The motif of a cosmic human sacrifice as the cause of the origin of the world and the human race is quite common in ancient cosmogonic mythologies. It was believed by several primitive communities that a primeval being of 'divine' or cosmic character, but possessing a human form, was immolated in a sacrifice and out of his limbs originated the several aspects of creation. Reference may be made in this connection, among others, to the Babylonian myth of the creation of heaven and earth from the two halves of Goddess Tiāmat, and to a similar Buddhist myth about the giant Banio. It is highly instructive to consider in this context the ancient Germanic myths of Tuisto and Ymir. In *Edda* (II), we are told that 'in the primeval times when Ymir lived, when there was neither

sand nor sea, neither earth nor heaven above, from Ymir's flesh was the earth created, out of his blood the ocean ; mountains from his bones and trees from his hair ; from his skull the heaven originated.' This motif, it may be pointed out, is common to several ancient mythologies, indogermanic and non-indogermanic.[11] So far as RV is concerned we find two main versions of this cosmogonic mythological motif of the primeval sacrifice—one in the reference to Yama in X. 13. 4 and the other in the famous Puruṣasūkta.[12] The latter may be said to be merely a more detailed and more elaborate priestly form of the former. According to the version in X. 13. 4, it is one of the gods himself who surrenders his own body for immolation thus serving the cause of gods and progeny alike. That god, Yama, is thus different from other gods. This unique character of Yama is indicated in RV by referring to him not as a god, because he surrenders his immortality, nor as man, because his act of self-immolation, for the sake of creation, is far too 'cosmic' or 'divine' for an ordinary human being. but by calling him simply a *martya*. The two conceptions of 'cosmic' or 'divine' on the one hand and 'human' on the other are thus tactfully represented there. In the Puruṣasūkta, the offering in the primeval sacrifice of gods was the *agrataḥ jātaḥ puruṣaḥ* (X. 90. 7), whose fantastic description, such as, *sahasraśirṣā sahasrākṣaḥ* etc. (X. 90. 1), however indicates his character to have been quite different from that of ordinary *puruṣas*. This *puruṣa* is again *amṛtatvasya īśāna* and comprehends everything. Thus here too an attempt is made to preserve the abovementioned conceptions of cosmic, divine nature and human form, which are common in all myths about the primeval sacrifice. The basic motif in the case of Yama and Puruṣa is thus the same, namely, the immolation of a god-man for the sake of creation.[13]

There is another significant conception, which is often associated with the motif of the immolation of the primeval being. Just as the primeval being is regarded to possess the nature of 'god-man', so too it is regarded to possess the nature of a male-female or of a hermaphrodite. Tuisto and Ymir of the ancient Nordic people, Agdistis of the Phoneceans, Phanes or Mise of the Orphiks, Zrvan of the Zervanites, among others, are all forms of an andro-

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11. BOUSSET believes (*Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*) that such cosmogonic motif may have arisen out of some primitive fertility cult.

12. A reference may be made in this connection to another passage in RV (X. 81. 5 ff) where the creator Viśvakarman is asked to offer himself in the primeval sacrifice.

13. It is difficult to accept W. Norman BROWN's suggestion (*JAOS* 51) that Puruṣa in the Puruṣasūkta is a blend of elements drawn from Agni, Sūrya and Viṣṇu fused, in a rather shadowy way, in a new unity with special reference to the sun. Nor is it necessary to assume, as KARMARKAR does (*JBBRAS* 18), that the idea of the Puruṣa-sacrifice is an attempt on the part of the Aryans to compromise with the Proto-Dravidians of Mohenjo-Daro.

gynous primeval being. The character of the Puruṣa as a sexually unseparated being is made evident by the opening verses of the Puruṣasūkta and by the fact that the Puruṣa creates out of himself a female form, *virāj*. In the case of Yama, on the other hand, his androgynous character is not directly mentioned. But it can certainly be assumed on the strength of the evidence of the analogies of other primitive mythologies and of the evidence derived from the linguistic consideration of the name Yama. As Professor GÜNTERT has clearly pointed out (*Der arische Weltkönig und Heiland*), the word *Yama* can be linguistically connected with two series of words—on the one hand, with Av. *yema*, Lett. *jumis*, Mir. *emuin*, all meaning twins, and on the other, with Lat. *geminus*, *gemellus* and Gk. *didumos*, which mean both 'twin' and 'hermaphrodite'. A closer examination of words of this type indicates that the two conceptions of 'twin' and 'bisexual being' are usually represented by similar words.[14] Professor GÜNTERT's thorough investigation of the name Ymir and the Icelandic mythology associated with that name is very enlightening in this respect. Ymīr of the *Edda* and Yama of the Veda are mythologically as also linguistically (morphologically and phonetically) related to each other. They are the two Indogermanic representations of the basic motif of a hermaphrodite primeval being offering itself for immolation in sacrifice for the sake of the creation of the universe and human race.[15] The Puruṣa of the Puruṣasūkta is only a priestly modification of the original mythical conception of Yama. It may be pointed out that the same cosmogonic motif of an androgynous *Urwesen* is also represented in the *Bṛhad. Up.* I. 4, where we read : *Atmā vā idamagra āsīt puruṣavidhaḥ ...... sa ha etāvān āsa yathā strīpumaṁsau sampariṣvaktau.* Of a similar purport are further the passages in the *Kāṭh.* (XIII. 7), where Prajāpati is said to have assumed a bisexual form because he did not have any other person for pairing, and in the *Ait. Br.* (III. 33), according to which, Prajāpati appears in the form of an antelope united with his sister.[16]

This is the first stage in the evolution of the Yama-mythology to be noticed in RV. The primitive conception of a hermaphrodite primeval being as the creator of the universe and the progenitor of the human race, which characterises this stage, is suggested by the name, Yama, which basically means a bisexual being, and by the fact that the counterparts of Yama in other primitive cosmogonic mythologies possess a similar character. It must however be said that, as it has happened in several other cases in the Veda, the

14. GÜNTERT thinks that probably Tveggi mentioned in Voluspa 63 also means both a twin and a hermaphrodite.

15. GÜNTERT refers in this connection to Doias of the Phrygian mythology and reiterates his favourite theory that, on the strength of the evidence of comparative mythology, it can be proved that, in prehistoric times, there must have existed a close contact among the Germanic, the Thrako-Scythian and the Aryan tribes of the east.

16. The myth of Mānu and Iḍā also is significant in this context.

originally very expressive name of Yama lost its basic significance and it soon degenerated into a colourless appellation. The other current of thought, which characterises this stage, namely, the immolation of the god-man for the sake of creation is happily preserved in a clear reference to Yama's self-immolation in X. 13. 4. The connection of Yama with sacrifice is thus of a very special nature. He is the first sacrificer, the first to stretch the web of sacrifice (VII. 33. 9-10), which was further extended by the Vāsiṣṭhas. He was also the first to serve as the sacrificial offering. All this would alone rationally explain why in certain stray passages, which are otherwise obscure, Yama is so highly elevated with reference to *yajña* (AV. XVIII. 2. 32). The metres symbolising the magical power of sacrifice are said to be deposited in Yama (X. 14. 16). Moreover Yama is also seen to have been exalted almost to the position of an All-god because he was the universe itself. Yama's close relation with Agni (X. 51. 1-3 ; 64. 3 ; 92. 11) may also be explained on the basis of this motif of Yama's primeval sacrifice.

This primitive motif of the immolation of an androgynous primeval being for the sake of the creation of the universe is, in some cases, found in a slightly modified form. The original myth came to be regarded as too raw and unrefined particularly with reference to the procreation of the human race. The hermaphrodite *Urwesen* therefore was represented to have separated itself into a male and a female, who came to be duly recognised as the first parents of mankind. As these two were the offspring of the same being they were supposed to be related to each other as brother and sister. They were also regarded as twins. This is exactly what seems to have happened in the evolution of the Yama-mythology. Yama, the hermaphrodite *urwesen*, gave place to a pair of twins who were regarded as the parents of mankind.[17] As the result of the peculiar linguistic phenomenon, which we have already noticed, the same word, Yama, possessed the two senses of a bisexual being and a twin. Even in this second stage therefore the name Yama was preserved to denote the male twin, though the character and function of this Yama were materially different from those of the Yama of the first stage in the development of the Yama-mythology. Yama and his twin-sister Yamī, whose name is formed in obvious imitation of that of Yama, became the progenitors of the human race.[18] Yama's original function as the creator of the universe was thus considerably restricted. This aspect of the Yama-mythology, in the course of its evolution, is preserved in a whole hymn in RV (X. 10). It is however represented there in quite a different light. The conception of an incestuous intercourse between the twin brother and sister, Yama and Yamī, giving rise

17. According to the Icelandic myth, Ymir slept and from under his arm sprang up a maiden and a child.

18. Yima and Yimak are the Iranian primeval pair. So are Manuśak and Maśyānīk.

to the human race became positively offensive to the conventional moral sense of Vedic poets and priests. The real motif of that episode was therefore altogether changed and was presented in quite a different perspective. Yama is shown there as protesting strongly against the amorous advances of his twin-sister, Yamī. He draws Yamī's attention to the law of *ṛta* (X. 10. 2, 6, 8), which does not warrant an incest between brother and sister. An attempt is made by the Vedic poet to suggest that Yama and Yamī were not the first parents of the human race, for, they themselves are represented to have parents, namely, the Gandharva and the Water-Nymph (X. 10. 4). The poet further suggests that Yama and Yamī were not the first human beings, by making Yama direct Yamī to a person other than himself (X. 10. 8, 10, 12, 14), as if such a person actually existed. But in spite of all his efforts the Vedic poet could not entirely obliterate from that hymn certain details, which clearly betray the true nature of that myth. Yamī is represented in that hymn as being keen—quite naturally, too—on the procreation and the furtherance of the race. The procreative instinct of the female is quite unmistakable there. Moreover a very clear mention is made in that hymn (X. 10. 3) of the fact that Yama was the only male in existence at that time. Does this not indicate that Yama was the first human being to exist? The colourless and very impersonal character of the so-called parents of Yama and Yamī at once betrays that their inclusion, by the poet, in the hymn was obviously an afterthought. The Vedic poet has tried to make the ancient myth of Yama and Yamī a vehicle for a sermon on ṛta, moral law,—but, undoubtedly, without success. For, as it is, the hymn appears to end abruptly. The poet does not make it clear whether the incest actually took place or not, obviously because the answer to that question would have nullified the poet's purpose. There seems to be therefore no reason to doubt that the hymn contains, in spite of its tendentious perversion by the poet, which only reflects the morality of his age, unmistakable traces of a distinct form of the Yama-mythology, according to which Yama and Yamī, the twin brother and sister, were considered to be responsible for the procreation of the human race through an incestuous union.

The motif of the androgynous *Urwesen* separating itself is clearly preserved in the Puruṣasūkta. The *Urwesen* (Puruṣa) created out of itself a female form, *virāj*,[19] who, in her turn, produced the Puruṣa, who may be regarded as the symbol of further procreation. The primeval Puruṣa is thus at once made responsible for the creation of the macrocosm as well as microcosm—of course, in different ways. It will be seen that the selfimmolation of the bisexual Yama, representing the first stage in the evolution of the Yama-mythology, as also the myth of the twins, Yama and Yamī, procreating the human race, which represents the second stage, are both preserved, in a modi-

19. Adam is said to have produced Eve out of his own rib.

fied form, in the Puruṣasūkta. Though Yama's original character as a hermaphrodite god-man and as the first twin-parent is relegated to stray and obscure references,[20] it has been, so to say, resurrected in the form of the Puruṣa of the Puruṣasūkta. The original Yama-myth and the Puruṣa-myth are thus organically connected with each other.

It cannot however be denied that there was among conventional Vedic priests and poets a strong prejudice against this myth of an incestuous union between the twins. As the result of this prejudice of the Vedic hierarchy, Yamī disappeared from the Yama-mythology as silently as she was introduced in it. No further reference to Yamī is available in RV.[21] Consequently out of the pair of twins Yama alone remained as the first-born progenitor of mankind. Associated with this progenitorship of the human race we find, in Veda, also faint traces of Yama's sovereignty on earth.[22] Himself a 'mortal,' Yama is regarded as the leader of the human race, its king ruling in an earthly paradise. This aspect is specially emphasised in the case of Yama's Iranian counterpart, Yima (Jamshed), who, according to Vd. II. 4-19, was the kingly ruler in whose reign the golden age of the world prevailed.[23] It was from Ahura Mazdah himself that Yima received the command to further and increase the world. The plenitude of life and increase on earth form the dominating features of Yima's rule. No special reference is made to this aspect of the Yama-mythology in the Veda. There are, all the same, some indications which unmistakably point to it. The possession by Yama of the *padbīśa* (X. 97. 16), which corresponds with the *pāśa* of Varuṇa and which may be regarded as the symbol of sovereignty, seems to be one of the remnants of Yama's kingship. Yama's particular association with Varuṇa (X. 14. 7), who, in course of time, came to be regarded as the typical sovereign in the Vedic mythology, can be adequately explained only on the basis of the former's own sovereignty. The conception of sovereignty over mankind is a natural extension of the conception of progenitorship of mankind. This assumption is confirmed by analogous phenomena in other primitive mythologies. Curiously enough, as A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON points out (*JAOS* 17), a passage in the *Mahābhārata* (III. 142. 35 ff) revives this characteristic feature of Yama's personality, which is only faintly suggested in the Veda. The description of the *sabhā* of Yama in the *Mahābhārata* (II. 8. 2-4) further reminds us of the *vara* of Avestan Yima.

20. It is significant that such references are to be found mostly in maṇḍalas 1 and 10, and not in the hierarchical family-books.

21. The whole conception of Yamī is as a matter of fact of a schematic nature.

22. As seen elsewhere, according to OLDENBERG, it is this characteristic of Yama's personality that is original in the Veda.

23. Attention may be drawn also to H. COLLITZ's article, "König Yima und Saturn" (*Pavry Comm. Vol.*, 1933).

Another myth about the progenitor of the human race was, about this time, being developed in the Vedic thought—the myth of Manu, the first man. Manu is mentioned in the Veda as the father of the human race (I. 80. 16) and as the first sacrificer (VIII. 43. 13; X. 63. 7). The legend of Manu's deliverance from the flood by the fish (ŚPB I. 8. 1. 1)[24] clearly indicates his function as the progenitor and leader of mankind. He is the son of Vivasvat, and Manu Vaivasvata was commonly regarded as the symbol of the 'first man,' the 'first sacrificer' and the 'first ruler.' Manu was thus more or less a 'double' of Yama. There was therefore, naturally enough, considerable mutual interaction between the Manu-myth and the Yama-myth. To begin with, the Manu-myth completely overshadowed the stage in the development of the Yama-mythology, which has just been referred to. Yama's character as the progenitor and the first sovereign of the human race was almost relegated to oblivion and can now only be inferred from stray references to it in the Veda. The strong prejudice of the Vedic hierarchy against the Yama-Yamī myth had already prepared the ground for this. The legends of Manu were such as could easily agree with the conventional attitude of the Vedic priests. The motif of incest in the Yama-mythology seems to have been particularly responsible for the withdrawal of Yama from the Vedic cosmogonic mythology and the priestly emphasis on Yama's double, Manu, as the first man. Yama's rôle of the first sacrificer, which was associated with the myth of the primeval sacrifice of the hermaphrodite god-man, soon became repulsive to the Vedic priests and poets and passed on to Manu. Secondly the parallelism between the Yama-myth and the Puruṣa-myth helped to bring the Yama-myth and the Manu-myth close together. This was due to a peculiar linguistic fact. The word Manu is employed to denote specifically the progenitor of the human race as well as man in general. That word and the word Puruṣa, which also signifies man, were thus more or less synonymous. Yama and Puruṣa, on the other hand, were almost identical in personality and character. The natural next step from these two equations—the linguistic equation, Puruṣa = Manu, and the mythological equation, Puruṣa = Yama—was to closely associate Yama and Manu. We have already pointed out the similarity between the myths of Yama and Puruṣa. There is thus considerable intermixture of mythical motifs and names in the whole Yama-Puruṣa-Manu-mythology. It may be assumed that the original nature and functions of Yama, which were tendentiously put into the background as the result of Vedic conventionalism, did persist, albeit in a modified form, through Puruṣa and Manu.

Before Yama was completely superseded by Manu in the progenitorship

24. Manu assumes a rôle similar to that of Adam as well as Noah. In the Yima-mythology there is a confused combination of the Manu-legend and the Yama-legend. Yima's *vara* is security against flood as also simply surrounds the good.

of the human race, the two myths existed side by side and the necessity was felt to adjust them somehow or other. The efforts in this direction, which are quite obvious in the Vedic mythology, themselves form an evidence in support of Yama's rôle as the progenitor of mankind. In the Vedic mythology Yama and Manu came to be regarded as brothers—both sons of Vivasvat. That is how Vivasvat was introduced—artificially and superficially—in the Yama-mythology as the father of Yama. Vivasvat, we are told in RV (X. 17. 1 ff), married Saraṇyu, the daughter of Tvaṣṭā. They were the parents of Yama. The gods later concealed the immortal bride, Saraṇyu, from the mortals, and, making another of like appearance, Savarṇā, they gave her to Vivasvat. Vivasvat and Savarṇā gave birth to Manu.[25] An attempt is thus made to point out that Yama and Manu were not identical; Yama was of divine birth, while Manu was not. It need hardly be added that all this is obviously an afterthought.

In spite of all this, the Yama-mythology was not completely effaced from Vedic literature. Quite an unexpected feature of Yama's original character came to be prominently emphasised and was interpreted in an altogether different light. Yama, as we have seen, offered himself for immolation in the primeval sacrifice, for the sake of gods and progeny. Out of the three conceptions included in this cosmogonic myth, namely, that of the hermaphrodite primeval god-man, that of the creation of the universe and the human race and that of the self-immolation, it was the last that now came to be stressed. Yama immolated himself at the beginning of existence, that is to say, in other words, Yama was the first being to die. The adjustment between the Manu-myth and the Yama-myth was thus considerably simplified. Manu was the 'first born', Yama was the 'first to die.' The further evolution of the Yama-mythology is clearly traceable from Vedic references. Yama dies first and attains to heaven before every one else. Leaving the kingdom of earthly paradise, he assumes the sovereignty of the heavenly paradise. He is the forerunner of all the departed souls and becomes their guide and pathfinder. There he rules over the blessed ones, as the benevolent father of 'fathers', and is worshipped, with the *pitṛs*, as the first witness of an immortality, to be enjoyed by the fathers, similar to the immortality enjoyed by the gods themselves. One point should be clearly borne in mind in this connection, and it is that, though Yama is closely associated with the spirits of the dead, he never assumes the horrific rôle of the demon of death.[26] It is this stage in the evolution of the Yama-mythology, that is primarily represented in RV. A significant feature of the primitive cult about the dead and their ruler,

25. This legend is narrated in detail in the *Nirukta* (XII. 10 ff) and in the *Bṛhaddevatā*.

26. Rudra is, properly speaking, the demon of death in the Veda.

namely, the conception of the two dogs guarding the region of the dead, is now transplanted upon the Yama-mythology.[27]

It was at this stage that the Rudra-mythology seems to have significantly reacted on the Yama-mythology. Consequently Yama's association with 'death' as such began to figure rather prominently. Death is said to be Yama's path (I. 38. 5). Yama is mentioned side by side with Mṛtyu and Antaka, and is even identified with Mṛtyu (I. 165. 4 ; MS. II. 5. 6 ; AV. VI. 28. 31 ; 93. 1.). The benevolent ruler of the blessed souls, the helpful father of 'fathers', who had originally nothing to do with 'death' as such, and whose proper function, even as represented in a later stage commenced after 'death,' now came to be identified with death. The dogs of death, the inauspicious messengers, *ulūka* and *kapota*, the *paḍbīśa*, which was now regarded as the instrument of punishment,—all these traits helped to make Yama an object of terror. The conception of Yama's rôle as the fearful and 'restraining' god of death must have been facilitated also by the popular derivation of the word Yama from the root *yam* (= to restrain), which, though normally possible, is not acceptable, in this case, on account of the difficulties of Vedic accentuation which it would create. But it is this aspect of Yama's personality, which has been preserved prominently in the later Hindu mythology.

27. The dogs are, as indicated elsewhere, obviously the outcome of a common primitive folk-belief. The dog *Śabala* is often identified with *Kerberos*.

DID PUSYAMITRA ŚUNGA PERSECUTE THE BUDDHISTS ?

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I raise this question in order to find an answer to it. The question arises because of the opinions of some eminent scholars, Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, for example, who holds or seems to hold the view that Puṣyamitra Śuṅga was not a persecutor of Buddhism. Dr. Raychaudhuri in controverting the opinion of the late Haraprasād Sāstri about the alienation of the Brāhmaṇas by Aśoka's edicts against the Brāhmanical faith and the militant Brāhmanic revolution under Puṣyamitra Śuṅga says : "But the Buddhist remains at Bharhut erected 'during the supremacy of the Śuṅgas' do not bear out the theory which represent Puṣyamitra and his descendants as the leaders of militant Brahmanism."[1] In another place, he says : "late Buddhist writers are alleged to represent Puṣyamitra as a cruel persecutor of the religion of Śākyamuni. But the Buddhist monuments at Bharhut erected 'during the sovereignty of the Śuṅgas' do not bear out the theory that the Śuṅgas were leaders of a militant Brāhmaṇism. Though staunch adherents of orthodox Hinduism, the Śuṅgas do not appear to have been so intolerant as some writers represent them to be."[2] Following Dr. Raychaudhuri, Dr. R. S. Tripathi under a subhead 'Puṣyamitra's Persecutions' in his newly published book 'History of Ancient India'[3] refers to the evidence of the Divyāvadāna and Tāranātha regarding Puṣyamitra's persecution of the Buddhists, and evidently rejects them, for he remarks : "Puṣyamitra was no doubt a zealous champion of Brāhmaṇism, but the Buddhist stūpas and railings at Bharhut 'during the sovereignty of the Śuṅgas' would hardly corroborate the literary evidence regarding his ebullitions of sectarian rancour."[4] Having had doubt himself as to the cogency of his own views he qualified the above statement by the concluding lines in the same paragraph thus : 'of course, this conclusion will have to be modified, if the above expression is not taken to refer to the time of Puṣyamitra.'[5] It is unfortunate that Dr. Tripathi should have left himself in doubt and not pursued further to clear this important point in his work, the latest product of a text-book for higher studies in Ancient Indian History.

With many of Dr. Raychaudhuri's objections against the late Mahāmaho-

1. P. H. A. I, 3rd. Ed., p. 248. 2. *Ibid*, p. 268.
3. H. A. I., p. 187. 4. *Ibid*. 5. *Ibid*.

pādhyāya Paṇḍit Harprasada Śāstri's interpretation of some of the evidences in his article.[6] I whole-heartedly agree. For instance the late Paṇḍit's attempt to prove Aśoka's persecution of the Brāhamaṇas by interpreting a passage in the minor rock edict has been rightly objected to by Dr. Raychaudhuri; taking the word 'amisa' to mean 'amriṣa' in Sanskrit, as Senart had done, the Paṇḍit Śāstri concluded that by another edict Aśoka boasted that those regarded as gods on earth have been reduced by him into false gods. If it means anything it means that the Brāhmaṇas who were regarded as *Bhudevas* or gods on earth had been sown by him." The word ***amisā*** in the edict means ***amiśra***, unmixed, and, therefore, the rendering of the passage:

इमाय कालाय जंबुदिपसि अमिसा देवा हुसु तेदानि मिसिमूता ।

"The gods who during that time (i.e. before) had been unmingled with men in India have now been (by me) associated (with men)"[7] There is no question, as Dr. Raychaudhuri has pointed out, of 'showing up any-body.' As a matter of fact Aśoka never deliberately persecuted any section of his subjects. On the other hand a number of his edicts enjoined an equal respect, liberality and solicitude being shown to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas.[8] So far I agree with Dr Raychaudhuri and disagree with the late Paṇḍit Śāstri. But what I beg to differ from the learned Doctor is on his attempt at minimising the great event of the Brāhmaṇic revolution, and the part that Puṣyamitra played as its leader, both before and after his accession to the throne on the ground that the Buddhist monuments at Bharhut were erected 'in the time of Śuṅga Kings.' His views regarding this point are as clear as daylight as can be seen from the quotations I have given at the beginning of this paper. Of course, I hold with the eminent scholar the opinion that the causes of the downfall of the Maurya empire are many, and that the militant Brāhmaṇic reaction is not the only one, as the late Paṇḍit Śāstri has sought to convey. But that the discontent of the Brāhmaṇas provided a fertile ground for the ambition of the last Maurya King Brihadratha's *senāpati* to bear fruit admits of no doubt. What is then the cause of this discontent of the Brāhmaṇas? Although Aśoka did not consciously persecute the Brāhmaṇas, some of his edicts which he issued with the object of reforming the habits of his subjects alienated the Brāhmaṇas, for they affected their interests and according to their light the religion to which they belonged. In spite of the fact that Aśoka paid equal veneration to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, his reforming zeal could not but hurt the interests and feelings of those people whose customs he sought to reform by edicts, and like all reformers, well-intentioned and actuated by true love for their people, Aśoka had his share of hatred and resentment from the Brāh-

6. Causes of the dismemberment of the Mauryan Empire in J. A. S. B., 1910.
7. Cf. Maski Rock Inscription.
8. Cf. R. E. III? IV, V, VIII, IX, X, XII.

maṇas. By the RE. I. Aśoka stopped animal sacrifices and Samāja, the old religious and social customs of the Brāhmaṇas. By RE. V. he appointed a special class of officers called *Dhamma Mahāmatras* to look after the *Dhamma* of his people, which was an encroachment on the special jurisdiction of the Brāhmaṇas, and even set them to look after the dharma of the Brāhmaṇas themselves.[9] In PE. IV Aśoka enjoins on the equality in judicial proceedings and punishments. This has been rightly pointed out by Paṇḍit Śāstri to be an encroachment on a time honoured privileges of the Brāhmaṇas. Dr. Raychaudhuri does not accept the interpretation put upon it, and says that 'the order regarding the Vyavahāra Samatā and Daṇḍa Samatā is to be understood in connection with the general policy of ***decentralisation*** (italics mine) which the emperor introduced.[10] Why should this interpretation be put to the words of Aśoka instead of the most natural interpretation which they yield namely that the emperor wanted his Rājukas to administer justice to his people with equality and impartiality. Let us quote the relevant portion of the edict with the context as Dr. Raychaudhuri wanted:

येन अमीता अस्वथ संत अविमना कंमानि पवतयेवुति, एतेन लजुकानं अमिहाले व दंडे वा अतपतिये कटे । इछितविये हि एसा किंति वियोहालसम्मता च सिय दंडसमता चा ।

"In order that they may perform their duties fearlessly, calmly, unperturbed, and in peace of mind, I have put the Rājukas in sole control of reward and punishment. But it is my desire that there should be equality in judicial proceedings and equality in punishment.[11] The natural interpretation of the passage according to the syntax, as well as in view of the background of Aśoka's administrative policy, especially in the matter of justice, should be that Aśoka having given his Rājukhas sufficient power in the matter of judicial administration, encouraged them to act fearlessly—especially because they would have to encounter the opposition of the privileged classes while administrating law equally to all. Aśoka's administrative policy was never characterised by decentralisation. On the other hand the process of centralisation begun in the time of his grand-father, under his able chancellor Kauṭilya, the Richelieu of India, was completed in his time. The viceroys of the distant provinces and the governors of the home provinces were appointed by him from the centre with definite instructions which were renewed from time to time by new edicts. Even the subordinate officials like the Pradestris, Rājukas, and Ayuktas, even though working under the viceroys and governors, received instructions from the emperor directly. He insisted on his officials, both central and provincial, that if they desired to *please* him, they must follow his instructions to the letter, so that they might discharge their duties to him and he to his subjects[12] and to see that there is no miscarriage of justice in the country. In the Kaliṅga Rock Edict I Aśoka clearly enunciates his

9. Cf. *P. E.* VII.
10. *P. H. A. I.*, 3rd. Ed., p. 244.
11. *P. E.* IV.
12. *Kalinga Edict* II.

judicial policy. Kaliṅga was a province placed under a viceroy with head-quarters at Tosali. Even then Aśoka addressed the judicial officers of Tosali (तोसलियं महामात नगलवियोहालका) directly with the definite addition to the instructions to the Mahāmātras, Aśoka proposed to depute every five years a Mahāmātra of higher grade to inspect the administration of justice by these ordinary judicial officers. He further ordered that his viceroys at Ujjain and Taxila would do the same.[13] There is thus no questioned 'de-centralisation' regarding the application of law and punishment (*vyavahara-samatā* and *daṇḍa-samatā*). On the other hand, as the above evidences point, it was one of complete centralisation.

It is an undisputed fact that the Brāhmaṇas enjoyed many privileges in law in the times previous to Aśoka's reign. The Brahmaṇic and Dharma-sūtra literatures provide evidence for this fact. It is also a fact that Aśoka who was inspired with the Buddhist ideals of democracy and equality could not tolerate those privileges and customs which militated against the ideals of the Buddhist law of life. Dr. Raychaudhuri seems to doubt that Brāhmaṇas enjoyed certain immunities in criminal punishments and has quoted certain illustrations from the Brahmaṇic literature, one from Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra and one from the Mahābhārata in favour of his opinion. But those illustrations prove the exceptions to the general rule. The evidences in favour of the privileged position of the Brāhmaṇas in society and law found in the Brāhmaṇic and Dharmasūtra literatures are overwhelming. Even during Vedic period Brahmaṇas had come to be highly eulogised as if they were gods. (Tai Br. III. 7. 3.) The Brāhmaṇa is Agni-Vaiśvanara. The Viṣnu Dh. S. (19. 20. 22) says that the gods are invisible deities, but Brāhmaṇas are visible deities; the worlds are supported by Brāhmaṇas; the gods stay in heaven by the favour of the Brāhmaṇas. The Tai Br. says that the Brāhmaṇa is indeed the supervisor over the people. The Ait. Br. (37. 5) says that where the Kṣatriyas are under the control of the Brāhmaṇas, that Kingdom becomes prosperous, that Kingdom is full of heroes:

(तदत्र वै ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रं वशमेति तद्राष्टं समृदयं तद्वरिवदाहास्मि वीरो जायते).

According to Gautama (XI. I) the King is the ruler of all, except Brahmanas:

(राजा सर्वस्येष्टे ब्राह्मण वर्जम्)

Both the early Dharma-Sūtrakāras, Gautama and Baudhayana, were against any kind of corporal punishment being given to the Brāhmaṇas. Baudh. Dh. S. (I. 10. 18-19) prescribes only branding and banishment to a Brāhmaṇa even for murder of a Brāhmaṇa (ब्राह्मणहत्या) Gant. (12. 93) says that no corporal punishment should be given to Brāhmaṇas (न शरीर ब्राह्मणदण्ड). Instances of many other privileges in law in the matter of punishments, taxes etc. may be cited from the Brāhmaṇic and Dharmasūtra literatures.

13. *P. E.* IV.

With these overwhelming evidences how can one say that there was equality in law and that the Brāhmaṇas did not enjoy certain privileges which went against the principle of vyavahāra-samatā and daṇḍa-samatā existing in the time of Aśoka? That being the case, the edict on vyavahāra-samatā and daṇḍa-samatā by Aśoka certainly offended the Brāhmaṇas who had been enjoying the privileges in law. Therefore, it is difficult to accept Dr. Ray-chaudhuri's view that 'the samatā which he (Aśoka) enforced did not necessarily infringe on the alleged immunity of the Brāhmaṇas from capital punishment, and that it 'should be understood in connection with the general policy of decentralisation.'

I shall now deal with the first event of the Brāhmaṇic revolt which is intimately connected with the fact of Puṣyamitra's oppression of the Buddhists I have already said that Aśoka was not an oppressor of other faiths. He was a tolerant Bhuddhist ruler, showing equal respect to all faiths and enjoining on his subjects to do the same.[14]

But that he was a sincere reformist, wishing well of his subjects whom he regarded, and openly said so, as his own children, is clear from many of his edicts. It is in his zeal to guide his subjects in the right path that he unconsciously and without any intention mortally offended the Brāhmaṇas. I have already referred to some of his edicts in this connection. Let me elucidate them in more detail. RE. I proclaimed Aśoka's principle of *ahimsā* and stopped not only killing of animals for the royal kitchen, but also prohibited animals being 'offered as sacrifice,' and discouraged samājas of the kind observed before, in both of which the Brāhmaṇas played an important part. The appointment of the Dharmmamāhamātras (RE. V) deprived the Brāhmaṇas of their long-enjoyed right of guiding the religion of the people. The smriti literature, as I have shown above, placed the Brāhmaṇas in the position of the *Gurus*. RE. IX shows Aśoka as a reformer *par excellence*. In it Aśoka condemned many semi-religious ceremonies which were and still are observed in the homes of the people of the Brāhmaṇic faith. The essence of the edict is that religion does not depend on rituals, but on practical conduct in life, on cultivation of proper relations in the home, on character. But he regreted that society in his time was given to too much petty (छुदं) and worthless (निरथं) ceremonies. The substance of religion is hidden under mere forms. The women-folk (महिडायो) are specially guilty in this respect. People perform various other ceremonies on all possible occasions in life to avert mishaps (अत्रधेसु), at the time of sons' and daughters' marriage, (आवाहविवाहेसु) of births (पुत्रलाभेसु) and journey (प्रवासंम्हि). Rites should undoubtedly be performed, but rites and ceremonies of this kind bear little fruit. (अपफलं) It is the moral life that counts. Then he recounts the conditions of real good moral life as distinguished from mere meaningless ceremonies in the name of

14. Cf. *RE* XII.

religion. These reforms, dictated by an honest and sincere desire for the well-being of his subjects and not imbued with a fanatical spirit of hurting anybody's feelings did in effect, and were bound to, offend the Brāhmaṇas and the people of the Brāhmaṇic faith who honestly found in these reforms a blow to their cherished faith and religious rites. Further, the substitution of call to wars (भेरिघोसो) for the policy of propagation of the Dharma (धमघोसो) in RE. IV, in other words, the abandonment of militarism for pacifism as the policy of state, a policy that was pursued consistently by Asoka's successors encouraged not only the border-provinces to assert their independence, but encouraged foreigners, with their outlandish practices, particularly the Bactrian Greeks, to invade India. The political independence of India and with it her time-honoured culture were threatened with danger. This was the signal for the revolution for which the material was prepared by the internal and external policy of the Maurya rulers—from Aśoka downwards. The discontentment of the Brāhmaṇas who were the leaders of the society found a fitting weapon in the Senāpati Puṣyamitra Śuṅga, himself a Brāhmaṇa. This revolution, the *coup d'etat* which ended the Mauryan rule was a Brāhmaṇic reaction, *par excellence*, whose object was to restore the Brāhmaṇa supremacy and Brahmaṇic faith in society which was being threatened from within and without. Its immediate effect was the assumption of the power of the state by Puṣyamitra Śuṅga, the Brāhmaṇa, and the principal instrument of the reaction. Puṣyamitra had to justify his position as head of the Brahmaṇic reaction by persecuting the Buddhists and destroying Buddhist monasteries on the one hand and restoring the sacrificial ceremonies of the Brāhmaṇic faith on the other, for which his principal helpers were Patañjali and also perhaps Manu, the author of the *Manusmriti*, who was also his contemporary according to some scholars; and for the one we have the testimony of the Divyāvadāna and Tāranatha; for the other Patañjali's *Mahābhaṣya*, Kalidasa's *Malavikagnimitram*, and the Ajodhya inscription[15] provide the necessary evidence. A passage in the Divyavadhana states: यो मे श्रमणशीरो दास्यति तस्याह दीनार शतं दास्यामि[16]. who ever who will present me with the head of a śramana will get a reward of hundred dinars from me." Tārānātha, the Tibetan historian, also testifies to the killing of śramaṇas and burning of Buddhist monasteries by Puṣyamitra. What reason is there to reject these testimonies? Should they be so lightly dismissed as mere uncorroborative writings of late authors like the compiler of the Divyāvadāna and Tārānātha[17], as Dr. Raychaudhuri holds or as 'ebullitions of sectarian rancour,' as Dr. Tripaṭhi points out[18]?

The persecution of the Buddhists by Puṣyamitra, as I had discussed above, was a logical sequence of the Brāhmaṇic reaction and the political

15. *Ep. Ind.*, XX, pp. 54-58.
16. Ed. Cowell and Neil, p. 433.
17. *P. H. A. I.*, 3rd. Ed., p. 246.
18. *P. H. A. I.*, p. 187.

coup d'état. The traditions of the persecution were current when the Divyāvadāna was composed and even in the time of Tāranatha when he wrote his history. Many events of ancient India have been thus preserved by traditional writings. Dr. Raychaudhuri who dismisses this particular reference in the Divyāvadāna gladly accepts the testimony of the same book in connection with another event. Regarding the revolt at Taxila during Aśoka's reign due to ministerial oppression Dr. Raychaudhuri says: "The divyāvadāna is no doubt a late work, but the reality of ministerial oppression which it refers is affirmed by Aśoka himself in the Kaliṅga edicts."[19] I do not, however, hold that whatever is written in the divyāvadāna is to be taken as a fact without any sound judgment. But should all traditions be dismissed as mere myth if no epigraphic evidence be found to check them? Inscription is no doubt the most satisfactory check of traditional accounts. But should a traditional account be dismissed even though there is a reasonal historical background to accept them as true? And what is the most positive ground which the previous writers have stood on to reject the tradition of Puṣyamitra's persecution of the Buddhists? Both the writers, referred to above, reject it on the ground that '*the Buddhist monuments were erected* ' *during the supremacy of the Śuṅgas* ' (italics are mine). The inscription on the left pillar of the eastern gate-way at Barhut bears an inscription which contains the above inscription. The inscription is as follows:

> "Suganaṁ raje rañe Gāgīputasa visadevasa poteṇa Gāgīputasa Āgarajusa putena Vāciptena Dhanabhūtina kāritaṁ toraṇam silakanimamto ca upamaṇa (no)."

"During the reign of the Śuṅgas, the gate-way has been caused to be made together with the stone-carving by Vātsiputra Dhanabhuti, son of Gotiputra Ajaraju and grandson (पोतेन) of king Gārgiputra Viśvadeva."

Now (सुगनं रजे) does not necessarily include the reign of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga. It means 'during the reign of the Śuṅgas.' It does not preclude the idea that Puṣyamitra Śuṅga is not included in the term, and the gate-way was constructed during the reign of his successors who were more tolerant to Buddhism than the founder of the dynasty and leader of the Brāhmaṇic reaction. The Buddhist church was certainly an ally of the Mauryas; the Brāhmaṇic reaction which destroyed Maurya rule necessarily launched a crusade against the Buddhist church as a precedent condition of the revival of Brāhmaṇism. That Puṣyamitra greatly patronised this revival we have ample evidence both literary and epigraphic. We find in the contemporary account of Patañjali's Mahabhāṣya,[20] in the reference in Kalidāsa's Māla-

19. *P. H. A. I.*, p. 299.
20. The passage in the Mahābhāṣya which proves the contemporaneity of Patañjali with Puṣyamitra is: *iha Puṣyamitraṁ yājamāḥ*.

vikāgmimitram that the horse-sacrifice, which was in abeyance in the Mauryan period, was revived by him. The Ajodyha inscription definitely refers to the two horse sacrifices performed by Puṣyamitra : कोसलाधिपेन द्विरश्व-मेधयाजिन सेनापतेः पुष्यमित्रस्य[21]. The Kośalādhipa was perhaps Puṣyamitra's viceroy and his sixth son or brother, for the inscription describes him as पुष्यमित्रस्य षष्ठेन i.e. the sixth of Puṣyamitra.

This feverish activity towards the revival of Brāhmanism ill fits with a tolerant policy towards Buddhism which he has been credited by the writers. He could ill afford to do so, even if he liked, and keep his reactionary allies attached to his rule. But passion must have quieted down, and political conditions settled during the time of Puṣyamitra's successors who felt less obliged to yield to the reactionary elements in the state and consequently pursued a less militant and more tolerant policy towards the Buddhists to allow them to decorate the Buddhist stūpas in Barhut. That the gate-ways were erected long after the time of Puṣyamitra is also the opinion of eminent archæologists. The late Mr. N. G. Mazumdar, for example, writes : "the Śuṅgas referred to in this inscription formed a dynasty which was founded by the general (senāpati) Puṣyamitra, succeeding the Mauryas about 180 B.C. The gate-ways, however, appear to have been set up *about a century later, towards the close of the śunga period.*"[22] (italics are mine). In another place he says : "The gateways appear to have been added to the stupa at least half a century after the construction of the original Railing, which may be dated about 125 B.C." In the face of these evidences how can we say that the expression *suganam raje* includes the reign of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga also, and use it as an argument to reject clear literary evidences that Puṣyamitra Śuṅga persecuted the Buddhists?

21. *Ep. Ind.* XX, pp. 54-58.
22. *A guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, p. 14.
23. *Ibid.*

DVĀRAKĀ

By

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Dvārakā, also known as Dvārikā, Dvārāvatī or Kuśasthalī, is one of the seven sacred places reputed to confer final emancipation.[1] It is also one of the four dhāmans in India, situated to the West, presided over by Śrīkṛṣṇa, the Lord of Dvārakā (Dvārakādhīśa), the other three being respectively Kedāranātha, Jagannātha and Rāmeśvara situated to the North, East and South. The *Mahāmāyūrī* also refers to Viṣṇu (Śrīkṛṣṇa) as the principal deity of Dvārakā.[2] The name Dvārakā does not occur in early Vedic literature, but is found in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*. The *Jātakas* and Buddhist works also refer to Dvārāvatī or Dvārakā in connection with Kṛṣṇa and the Andhaka-Vṛṣṇis.[3] Dr. RHYS DAVIDS mentions Dvārakā as the capital of Kāmboja in the early Buddhist period; it was, however, not a city of Kāmboja, but a trade-route connected the Kāmboja country with Dwārakā.[4] Baraké of Arrian has been taken to refer to Dvārakā.[5] According to the *Śiva Purāṇa*, Dvārakā contains the temple of one of the twelve *jyotirliṅgas* of Śiva known as Nāgeśa.[6] There is also a monastery of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya at Dvārakā. Modern Dwarka is situated in Okhamandal in Kathiawad to the extreme western promontory. There is, however, a difference of opinion among scholars as to the location of ancient Dvārakā, and Mūladvārakā, Girinagara (modern Junagadh), and sites near Madhupur and Kodinar on the coast line between Porbunder and Miyani, are variously identified with the old Dvārakā.[7] Location of Dvārakā will be considered towards the end of this paper.

The *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* state that Dvārakā has been erected

1. अयोध्या मथुरा माया काशी काञ्ची ह्यवन्तिका ।
पुरी द्वारावती चैव सप्तैता मोक्षदायिकाः ॥
2. *Journ. U. P. Hist. Soc.*, XV, pp. 27, 31-2.
3. Cf. B. C. LAW, *India as described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, pp. 85, 102, 239.
4. Cf. RAY CHAUDHURY, *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 4th Ed. p. 127; LAW, *op. cit.*, p. 85.
5. ALTEKAR, *Ancient Towns and Cities in Gujarat and Kathiawad*, p. 25.
6. *Śiva Purāṇa*, IV, 1.23; cf. DEY, *Geogr. Dict.*, 2nd Ed., p. 59.
7. Full references are given later on.

on the site of Kuśasthalī, which was the capital of Ānarta,[8] ancient name for Gujarat. According to the *Purāṇas*, the descendants of Śaryāti, son of Manu, are credited with the foundation of what is now known as Gujarat. It received its ancient name from Ānarta, son of Śaryāti. Rocamāna, Reva and Raivata Kakudmin followed, and the dynasty reigned at Kuśasthalī, whose foundation is variously ascribed to Ānarta or Revata.[9] The Śaryātas, however, did not last long, and Kuśasthalī, their capital, was captured and destroyed by Puṇyajana Rākṣasas.[10] The remnants of the Śaryātas fled to different countries, and afterwards became a tribe among the Haihayas.[11] After the destruction of the Haihaya power by king Sagara of Ayodhyā, the Śaryātas probably became merged with the hill tribes. Revata, the founder of Kuśasthalī, has been confused with a later descendant in some Puranic accounts, which state that Balarāma, the Yādava, elder brother of Śrīkṛṣṇa, was carried to Revatī, the daughter of Revata.[12] In all probability, this latter was a distant descendant of the founder of Kuśasthalī.

After its destruction by Puṇyajana Rākṣasas, Kuśasthalī appears to have been deserted till the time of Śrīkṛṣṇa, the Yādava hero, the friend and counsellor of the Pāṇḍavas, who made it his capital. The Yādavas and Bhojas, Andhakas, Vṛṣṇis, originally belonged to Mathurā; but on account of the incessant invasions of the powerful king Jarāsandha of Magadha and the threatened siege by Kālayavana, the Yavana chief, the Yādavas with their families migrated in a body southwards to Gujarat, and established themselves at Dvārakā. Kṛṣṇa is said to have founded Dvārakā at the site of ancient Kuśasthalī. The life of Kṛṣṇa is well known.[13] The Yādavas were all ruin-

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8. *Agni*, 273. 12-15: *Brahmāṇḍa*, II. 61.19-23; *Vāyu*, 86.24-27; *Mbh.* II. 14.50, 67; *Brahma*. 14.56; *Hari*, 1967:

विहाय मथुरां रम्यां मानयन्तः पिनाकिनम् ।
कुशस्थलीं द्वारवतीं निवेशयितुमीप्सवः ॥ ब्रह्म, १४,५६.

9. Cf. references in note 8 above. This Kuśasthalī is different from the Kuśasthalī on the Vindhyas founded by Kuśa, son of Rāma.—PARGITER, *Anc. Ind. Hist. Trad.*, p. 279.

10. *Brahmāṇḍa*, II. 63.1; *Vāyu*, 88.1; *Brahma*, 7.37-8; *Hari*, I. 11.4:

ककुद्मिनस्तु तं लोकं रैवतस्य गतस्य ह ।
हता पुण्यजनैस्तात राक्षसैः सा कुशस्थली ॥

11. *Brahmāṇḍa*, II. 69.52-3; *Brahma*. 13.203-4; *Matsya*, 43.48-9; *Vāyu*, 94.51-2; *Hari*, I. 33.51-2. Cf. also, PARGITER, *Anc. Ind. Hist. Trad.*, pp. 98, 265.

तेषां पञ्च कुलाः ख्याता हैहयानां महात्मनाम् ।
वीतिहोत्राश्च शार्याता भोजाश्चावन्तयस्तथा ॥
कुण्डिकेराश्च विक्रान्तास्तालजङ्घास्तथैव च ॥

12. Cf. the continuation of passages in note 8 above.

13. I have dealt at some length with the historicity of Kṛṣṇa and his life in

ed in a fratricidal strife near Prabhāsakṣetra after the Bhārata war. After Kṛṣṇa's death, remnants of the Yādavas abandoned Dvārakā with their women and children under the leadership of Arjuna, the Pāṇḍava, and retreated northwards; but they were attacked by the Ābhīras and hill tribes. Arjuna was able to save but a few of these people whom he brought to Indraprastha and anointed Vajra, the grandson of Kṛṣṇa, as their king. Dvārakā is said to have been submerged under the sea after Kṛṣṇa's ascent to the heavens, immediately after the Yādavas left.[14]

A different story of the foundation of Dvārakā is given in the *Dvārakāmāhātmya*.[15] Ānarta, son of Śaryāti, being expelled by his father, on his praising Kṛṣṇa as being the Lord and master of all, went to the sea-shore, and practised penance. Śrīkṛṣṇa was pleased and founded a new region for Ānarta by placing on the ocean a piece of land brought from the heavens. This region was later known as Dvārakā. There is, however, much historical inconsistency in this account, as it makes Kṛṣṇa, who was ages subsequent to Ānarta, a predecessor and contemporary of the latter.[16]

We do not get any particulars about Dvārakā after the time of Kṛṣṇa after the sea encroached on it. Being recently founded by Kṛṣṇa and having been submerged soon after Kṛṣṇa's time, Dvārakā naturally was not regarded as a holy place at the time of the Pāṇḍavas and the Bhārata war. That it was not a sacred place of pilgrimage at the time of the Bhārata war, would also seem to follow from the fact that the Pāṇḍavas are not said to have visited the site in their pilgrimage. The Pāṇḍavas are stated to have gone from Śūrpāraka to Prabhāsa, (which is on the southern coast of Kathiawad far from Dvārakā), where Kṛṣṇa and the Yādavas had come to meet them.[17] The site of Dvārakā rose into prominence as a sacred place during the interval between the Bhārata war and the composition of the *Mahābhārata* (c. 2nd cent. B.C.), as it occupies a premier place among the *tīrthas* mentioned by Nārada.[18] Somehow we do not get any reference to the site either in literary works or in copper-plates or inscriptions till after the end of the first millennium of the Christian era. The description in the *Śiśupālavadha* is simply poetic fancy. The *Ullāsarāghava* of Someśvaradeva refers to Dvārakā as a sacred site of Śrīkṛṣṇa.[19] Caitanya and Mirabai in medieval times went on pilgrimage to Dvārakā which had become famous as a *tīrtha* by their time.

There are references to the tribal form of government of the Yādavas at

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a chapter contributed to the *Glory that was Gūrjaradeśa* (Ed. K. M. MUNSHI, Bombay, 1943, Section III, Chapter II).

14. *Mbh.* XVI, 7.32-72; XVII. 1.8, 9.

15. *Gargasaṁhitāntargata Dvārakāmāhātmya*, Chap. 1.

16. Cf. PARGITER, *Anc. Ind. Hist. Trad.*, p. 98.

17. *Mbh.*, Cr. Ed., III, 118.15-23; 119.

18. *Mbh.*, Cr. Ed., III, 80.82-84.

19. Cf. Durgashanker SHASTRI, *Aitihāsik Saṁśodhan* (in Gujarati), p. 602.

Dvārakā, and we shall describe it in brief. The Andhaka-Vṛṣṇis (and the different tribes of the Yādavas) had an Assembly Hall in Dvārakā, known as Sudharma where they gathered on important occasions and deliberated on the course of action to be followed.[20] The Sabhāpāla was probably the Secretary of the Council who convened its meeting on suitable occasions. There were a number of tribal chiefs or elders (*gaṇa-mukhya*), and Kṛṣṇa, Akrūra, Āhuka, Sātyaki, etc. are spoken of as leaders.[21] Akrūra was the Commander-in-Chief of the Yādava forces.[22] There were often parties, and contests for power and authority. In the assembly every one was at liberty to express his opinion; but the tact and wisdom of the President generally carried the day. The policy of the Government was decided by the tribal chiefs (*gaṇa-mukhya*) in Council.[23] It appears that in these Gaṇas there was a regular system of administration according to the Śāstras, and there were departments of Secret Service, Finance, Foreign Policy, etc. The administrative discipline was strictly observed, and disobedience to Government officials (*yuktas*) was severely dealt with.[24] Dr. SINHA rightly concludes that the whole description presents on the whole a picture of tribal oligarchy.[25]

The *Dvārakāmāhātmya* in the Prabhāsakhaṇḍa of the *Skanda Purāṇa* deals exhaustively in great detail with the *tīrtha-vidhi*, the *yātrā-vidhi* and the *kṣetra-māhātmya*.[26] Beginning with Gomatīmāhātmya and the story of Kṛṣṇa and Durvāsas, there follow the descriptions and glorifications of, and numerous episodes connected with, the Cakratīrtha, Rukmiṇīhrada, Nṛgatīrtha, Viṣṇupadatīrtha, various *tīrthas* and *saras-tīrthas*, etc.; there are also descriptions of various *vratas*. The *Dvārakāmāhātmya* in the *Garga-saṁhitā*[27] speaks of the principal *tīrthas*, Cakratīrtha, Śaṅkhoddhāra, Gomatī, Raivataka, Piṇḍāraka, etc. Modern Dwarka, as already stated, lies to the extreme west of the Kathiawad peninsula, which can be approached either by train or by steamer. It is towards the right side of Gomatī-tīrtha. The celebrated temple of Dvārakādhīśa here is reputed to have been built by Vajranābha, grandson of Kṛṣṇa. Śrīkṛṣṇa is worshipped here as Raṇachoḍarāya on account of his flight from Mathurā through the terror of king Jarāsandha.[28] There is also a temple of Kuśeśvara Mahādeva; to its south is the Śāradā Maṭha of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya. Most of the sacred *tīrthas* mentioned in the *Purāṇas* and *Māhātmyas* are found here including the Cakratīrtha, Ratneśvara Mahādeva, Siddhanātha Mahādeva, Jñānakuṇḍa, Piṇḍāraka, etc. At a distance of 20 miles from Dvārakā and two miles from the sea-shore in the gulf is a small island, known

20. *Mbh.*, Cr. Ed., I, 212.10 ff.
21. Cf. *Mbh.* Cr. Ed., p. 960, lines 170-1.
22. *Mbh.*, Cr. Ed., I. 213.31.
23. *Mbh.*, XII, 107.23, 25.
24. *Mbh.*, XII. 107.
25. *Sovereignty in Ancient Indian Polity*, p. 255.
26. *Skanda Purāṇa*, VII. 4.
27. Published by Venkateshwar Press, Bombay, Samvat 1994.
28. Cf. DEY, *Geogr. Dict.*, 2nd Ed. p. 232.

as Śaṅkhoddhārabeṭa, the main shrines there being the Raṇachoḍaji temple and the Śaṅkhoddhāratīrtha.[29]

Finally, we come to the consideration of the location of Dvārakā, the capital of the Yādavas, about which, as already stated, there is much difference of opinion among scholars. The legend about the original site of Dvārakā being engulfed in an oceanic inundation seems to be true as has been pointed by Dr. ALTEKAR, as literary evidence supports it; as such oceanic changes are of common occurrence in Kathiawad, and as doubt exists as to the location of the original site which is possible only when the original city has disappeared.[30] At present, there is a port to the westernmost part of Kathiawad known as Dwarka, which is a place of pilgrimage and is regarded as the site of the ancient capital. Mūladvārakā is an island in the sea about 22 miles east of Prabhāsapaṭṭaṇa.[31] Modern Junagadh at the foot of the Girnar hills (which some identify with Mt. Raivataka) has also been located as the site of ancient Dvārakā.[32] Besides these, Dvārakā has been variously placed on the coast between Porbander and Miyana, or near Madhupur or three miles south-west from Kodinar.[33]

The *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* are unanimous in stating that the Yādavas established their capital on the site of the ruins of Kuśasthalī, the ancient capital of Ānarta.[34] Kuśasthalī and Dvārakā or Dvārāvatī appear as synonyms. All these authorities further agree in stating that Dvārakā was near Mt. Raivataka. Basing their conclusion on the identification of Raivataka with Mt. Girnar, some scholars have decided in favour of Girinagara (modern Junagadh) as being the site of ancient Dvārakā.[35] Junagadh is, no doubt, an ancient town, as contended by these scholars; but it was never known as Dvārakā. It is, again, more than 60 miles from the sea-shore, whereas there is an ancient persistent tradition maintaining that Dvārakā was near the coast line, which cannot be easily overlooked or lightly discarded. This tradition of the proximity of Dvārakā to the sea is not confined only to later *Purāṇas* as is stated by the supporters of the claims of Junagadh. The *Mahābhārata* references in the Mausalaparvan clearly mention Dvārakā to be on the coast line; besides the references in the *Harivaṁśa* to the foundation of Dvārakā near the sea, other *Purāṇas* also state that the ocean was in

29. Cf. Durgashanker SHASTRI, *op. cit.*, pp. 599-613.
30. *Ancient Towns and Cities in Gujarat and Kathiawad*, p. 25.
31. Hathibhai SHASTRI, *Proc. Oriental Conf.*, VII, pp. 1171-3; *Nāgari Pracāriṇī Patrikā*, XII, pp. 97-100.
32. BHATTASALI, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, X, pp. 541-50; Durgashanker SHASTRI, *op. cit.*, pp. 377-386.
33. Cf. BURGESS, *Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kachh*, London. 1876, p. 13.
34. See note 2 above.
35. See note 32.

close proximity of the city.[36] The references in the Ādi- and Sabhā-parvans of the *Mahābhārata* indicate that Dvārakā was in the vicinity of Mt. Raivataka;[37] but nothing is stated about its distance from the sea-shore. Attention, again, may be drawn, in this connection, to a statement in the *Ghata Jātaka*, which clearly shows that Dvārakā "stood on the sea and had a hill by its side",[38] proving thereby the antiquity of the tradition of Dvārakā having both the sea and a hill in its vicinity. Hence, Junagadh being more than 60 miles from the sea-shore cannot be regarded as the site of ancient Dvārakā, which was near the sea. It is, no doubt, near Mt. Girnar; but the identity of the latter with Mt. Raivataka mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* has not been established beyond doubt. There is, again, complete absence of any sacred shrines associated with Dvārakā in the neighbourhood of Junagadh.

Next, we consider Mūladvārakā on the sea, about 22 miles east of Prabhāsapaṭṭaṇa. Being at a distance of about 60 miles south of the Girnar hills (which some identify with Mt. Raivataka), it cannot be said to be by the side of the hill. However, it appears that late traditions consistently bring in Mūladvārakā, as would appear from the references in the *Skanda Purāṇa*.[39] The description in the *Śiśupālavadha* has no evidentiary value, being merely based on flights of poetic fancy. But the Piṇḍārakatīrtha mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* is not located in Mūladvārakā. This, coupled with its distance from the hills, goes against its identifications with the site of old Dvārakā. Other sites on the coast line also are at some distance from the hills; and hence do not appear to be the sites of ancient Dvārakā.

Next, we come to modern Dwarka on the extreme western coast line. The main argument against this site is that it is about 110 miles from Mt. Girnar (identified with Mt. Raivataka by some). It is true, there is no mountain close to modern Dwarka; but, as suggested by Mr. PARGITER, the Barada hills in Halar are not far from the site, and they can be identified with Mt. Raivataka.[40] As already indicated, Dvārakā gained position as a sacred site after the period of the Bhārata war. In the enumeration and description of the *tīrthas* by Nārada, Dvārakā is dealt with at some length. It

36. Cf. *Hari*. II. 56.26-7; *Brahma*. 17.33; *Brahmāṇḍa*. II. 71.91; *Vāyu*, 96.90:

सागरानिलसंवीतं सागराम्बुनिषेवितम् ।
विषयं सिन्धुराजस्य शोभितं पुरलक्षणैः ॥
तत्र रैवतको नाम पर्वतो नातिदूरतः ।
कक्षे (v. l. कुक्षौ) जलनिधेस्ततः ॥ वायु, ब्रह्म, ब्रह्माण्ड ॥

Trikāṇḍaśeṣa (p. 32) calls Dvārāvatī, an "*Abdhinagarī*".

37. *Mbh.*, Cr. Ed., I. 212. 6-7; II. 14.50, 67.
38. Cf. LAW, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
39. Cf. Hathibhai SHASTRI, *Proc. Oriental Conf.*, VII, pp. 1171-2.
40. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Eng. Trans., p. 289 note.

is stated that in the Piṇḍārakatīrtha are found coins or seals with the marks of *padma*, and lotuses with the triśūla marks of Śaṅkara indicating the presence of Śaṅkara also.[41] Piṇḍārakatīrtha is still to be found at modern Dwarka. It may, therefore, be said that the antiquity of the present site of Dwarka goes back to over 2,000 years. The *Mahābhārata* expressly states that ancient seals or coins were found at the site; if excavations are carried at the sites which lay claims to having been the ancient Dvārakā, it is possible, we may come across seals or coins to which the *Mahābhārata* refers and to which attention was drawn by Dr. JAYASWAL.[42] This will, indeed, decisively settle the question of the identification of Dvārakā.

It is true, we get no epigraphic records or copper-plates about the site of the modern Dwarka, which indicates that it was not known in the historic period. The copper-plates and inscriptions brought forth in connection with Junagadh, refer to it as Girinagara, and never as Dvārakā; besides, it is far from the sea. Thus, there are objections to the identification of Dvārakā either with Junagadh or with modern Dwarka, and we cannot establish the identification with absolute certainty; but the objections and difficulties in the latter case are not so weighty as they are in the case of Junagadh. Besides, taking into consideration the facts that successive sacred shrines arise on the same ancient spot and that the 2,000 year old tradition must have got some basis in reality, I am inclined to look for the old capital of Śrīkṛṣṇa at the site of modern Dwarka.

41. *Mbh.*, Cr. Ed., III. 80.82-4:

ततो द्वारवतीं गच्छेन्नियतो नियताशनः ।
पिण्डारके नरः स्नात्वा लभेद्बहुसुवर्णकम् ॥
तस्मिंस्तीर्थे महाभाग पद्मलक्षणलक्षिताः ।
अद्यापि मुद्रा दृश्यन्ते तदद्भुतमरिंदम ॥
त्रिशूलाङ्कानि पद्मानि दृश्यन्ते कुरुनन्दन ।
महादेवस्य सांनिध्यं तत्रैव भरतर्षभ ॥

42. *Proc. Oriental Con.*, VII, p. lxiii.

TWO DECADES OF MADURA (1734-1754).

By

T. V. MAHALINGA SASTRI, M.A., D.LITT.

Madura, the Athens of South India and the radiating centre of an ancient culture, a city known from the earliest beginnings of South Indian history for power, plenty and prosperity, a city that was the capital of many dynasties of rulers beginning from the pre-Christian period passed through calamitous vicissitudes of fortune on the disruption of the Nāyak rule in the region. After the extinction of the Sulṭanate of Madura about 1378 as a result of the military activities of Kumāra Kampaṇa, the son of Bukka I of Vijayanagar, Madura was included in the Vijayanagar Empire. In the sixteenth century, in order to provide for the efficient administration of the Madura country, Madura was constituted as a Nāyakship and one Viśvanātha Nāyaka was appointed for the place. The Nāyak period was a very bright one in the history of Madura, when great encouragement was given to the promotion of arts and letters, big irrigation works were undertaken, and everything great in the Hindu civilisation was patronised. "A Government whose wealth and whose tastes are manifested by its temples and statues and whose readiness to employ all its resources for the benefit of its people, as proved by the number and nature of the irrigation works it completed, implies a contented and a prosperous people; while a high state of the arts and knowledge is abundantly testified by the exquisite design and workmanship discoverable in many of the temples and statues as well as by the grasp and mastery of the principles of irrigation—a complicated and difficult branch of the Engineering Art—displayed in their irrigation systems".[1] Among the great rulers of this dynasty were Viśvanātha Nāyaka, Tirumalai Nāyaka and Rāṇi Mangammāḷ.

Vijayaranga Cokkanātha Nāyaka (1706-1732) who had no male issue, was on his death succeeded by his wife Mīnākṣi and she ruled for five years till 1736, being supported by her brother Venkaṭa Perumāl. Her short reign was a period of great internal strife. Queen Mīnākṣi adopted Vijaya Kumāra Muttu Tirumalai Nāyakkar, the son of one Vangāru Tirumalai, a member of a collateral branch of the royal family. But Vangāru Tirumala attempted to depose Mīnākṣi and usurp the royal authority. The Nawwāb of Arcot during that time was Dōst 'Alī (1732-1740), the nephew of Sāadat-'Ullāh Khān (1710-1732) who inaugurated the Nawwābi. He sent his son Safdar 'Alī and son-in-law Chandā Ṣāḥib to the Tanjore and Trichinopoly

1. A. J. Stuart : *Manual of Tinnevelly*, p. 69.

area to bring the region under his control if it failed to pay tribute. Vangāru Tirumala took advantage of the presence of the Muslim army near by and sought the help of Safdar 'Alī against Mīnākṣi. Safdar 'Alī offered to arbitrate on behalf of the two, decided in favour of Vangāru Tirumala and left the area leaving instructions with Chandā Ṣāḥib to give effect to the same. But Queen Mīnākṣi managed to bribe Chandā Ṣāḥib for a crore of rupees, and he promised on the *Koran* that he would stand by her. But soon the differences between Vangāru Tirumala and Mīnākṣi were patched up, and therefore Chandā Ṣāḥib returned home, being frustrated in his plans. In 1736 he again came down to Madura with a view to reduce it, taking advantage of the political confusion there. He offered to subdue her enemies, and sent a large force which took possession of Dindigul. The place was stormed and Vangāru Tirumala, who was in charge of the Dindigul area organised resistance at Ammayanāyakkanūr against the Muslim invader but was defeated by him.[2] Vangāru fled from the battlefield and took refuge in the fort of Veḷḷikuricchi under the protection of the Rāja of Śivaganga. Chandā Ṣāḥib who became the master practically of the whole of Madura, took Queen Mīnākṣi prisoner quite in violation of his promise to her on the *Koran*. The Queen who could not brook her fate committed suicide in the same year by taking poison.

Chandā Ṣāḥib, during the period of his administration in the south strengthened the fortifications of Trichinopoly and appointed his two brothers as the Governors respectively of Dindigul and Madura. But his rule was very unpopular, and aroused the great resentment and hatred of the Hindus.

Vijaya Kumāra Muttu Tirumalai Nāyakkar, son of Vangāru Tirumalai Nāyakar, and Veḷḷaiyaṉ Śervaikkāraṉ, the *vāśal daḷavāy* of the Sētupati left the area. The managers and attendants of the temples of Mīnākṣi Sundareśvara and Kūḍal Aḷagar at Madura took with them the Gods of the above two temples to Vānaravīrarmadurai (Manamadura) and stayed there for two years (1739-41). The Sētupati made necessary provision for the *puja* and daily offering of the Gods as also food and drink for the servants of the temples, and thus kept them under his protection.[3]

Vangāru Tirumala and Pratāp Singh, the Rāja of Tanjore, (1739-63) sought the help of the Mahrattas who were extending their power in the south. Rāja Sahu sent Raghuji Bhonsle on an expedition against the Carnatic. He defeated and killed Dōst 'Alī, the Nawwāb of the Carnatic, at the battle at Damalcheruvu Pass (North Arcot District) in 1740. Later, probably at the instigation of Safdar 'Alī he marched against Chandā Ṣāḥib, sacking on the way Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and Porto Novo and plundering the places.

2. Taylor : *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*, II, p. 234.
3. See pp. 6-7 of the *Maduraittalavaralāru* in the *Tiruppaṇimālai*, Sen Tamil publication, No. 27.

The total estimate of the value of the plunder was about 150,000 *pagodas*. The Mahrattas first deceived Chandā Ṣāḥib by taking their forces beyond Trichinopoly, but when they found that he had sold the grains with him and was not prepared for an engagement, they besieged Trichinopoly in 1741. Bade Ṣāḥib, the brother of Chandā Ṣāḥib, marched to the relief of Trichinopoly with large provisions, horsemen and foot. But he was intercepted by the Mahrattas with a body of 2000 cavalry near Dindigul from which place he went forth and defeated them. However Raghuji Bhonsle marched to the scene with 10,000 horse and attacked the camp of Bade Ṣāḥib at Maṇalpārai and killed both him and his sister's son-in-law Sadiq Ṣāḥib. Later the corpse of Bade Ṣāḥib was richly dressed and sent to his brother Chandā Ṣāḥib at Trichinopoly, so that he might be warned of the impending downfall of his hopes. Raghuji Bhonsle then attacked Trichinopoly with the help of the Pindaris, Kaḷḷars and Poligars of the area and Chandā Ṣāḥib offered him stiff resistance. But his ammunitions and stores failed him and therefore he surrendered himself to Raghuji on 25th March, 1741. He was disarmed, taken prisoner and sent over to Satara where he remained within prison for seven years. The fort of Trichinopoly was taken by the Mahrattas and Murari Rao Ghorpade of Gooty was appointed the Governor of Trichinopoly and the area depending on it, assisted by 14,000 of the best troops of the Mahrattas.[4]

The Mahratta occupation and rule of the South seems to have been congenial to the betterment of the condition of the Hindus. Murari Rao appointed one Appāji Nāyaka to administer Madura on his behalf and sent him to the place along with 2,000 horses. The latter did not like to stay in a city where there was no God, and hence he visited Vānaravīrarmadurai, worshipped the Gods at the place, and with the consent of the Sētupati, took back the idols of Mīnākṣi Sundarēśvara and Kūḍal-Alagar to Madura in July 1741 and reconsecrated them in their respective temples. He also performed purificatory ceremonies in the temples and made large provisions for the daily worship and services of the Gods in the old manner.[5]

But the rule of Madura by the Hindus was not destined to last long. The fortunes of the city were soon affected by domestic and political revolutions in the Carnatic. The course of the revolutions was as follows: Safdar 'Alī Khān who succeeded Dōst 'Alī as the Nawwāb of the Carnatic on the death of his father in 1740 was assassinated in his bed by his cousin Murtaza 'Alī Khān on the night of 13th October 1742 by order of one Ghulām Murtaza 'Alī Khān the Governor of Vellore, and his own Diwān Mīr Asad was imprisoned. But the position of Ghulām Murtaza 'Alī was not strong. Murari Rao

4. See Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, *Anandaranga Pillai*, pp. 16-18; Also C. A. Kincaid and D. B. Parasnis, *A History of the Maratha People*, pp. 276-7.

5. See *Maduraittalavaralāru* in *Tiruppaṇimālai*, p. 7; Also R. Satyanatha Ayyar, *The Nayaks of Madura*, p. 379.

of Trichinopoly refused to recognise him and the army also mutinied. Therefore Murtaza 'Alī escaped to Vellore; and Sayyid Muḥammad Khān the young son of Safdar 'Alī was declared the Nawwāb of the Carnatic. Niẓāmu'l-Mulk the Subedar of the Deccan who was anxious to restore order in the south marched to Arcot with a large army of horse and foot which seemed "as though the sea was rising and flooding the land." He subdued the Carnatic and appointed Khwājā Abdullā Khān, one of his own important officers to administer the Carnatic and keep as his ward Sayyid Muḥammad Khān. Then he marched towards Trichinopoly which was ruled by Murari Rao. The Mahratta chieftain trembled within his shoes at the approach of Niẓām'ul-Mulk, and therefore evacuated his headquarters on 29th August, 1743 and went north. Thus by the mere strength of his arm, without waging one battle, the Niẓām got possession of the Carnatic including the far south. So the Mahratta rule of Trichinopoly and Madura was put an end to in 1743. The attempt of Murari Rao to revive the power of the Mahrattas in the south soon after failed. The Niẓām returned home along with Nawwāb Khwājā Abdullā and confirmed him in his office. But on the night of the same day the Nawāb of the Carnatic was found dead in his bed, having been killed by an unknown hand. Therefore one Anwar-'uddīn Khān who was in charge of the administration of the Northern Circars was appointed Nawwāb of the Carnatic, and the young son of Safdar 'Alī was sent along with him to be taken care of. The young boy was killed by a body of Tahiran soldiers in June 1744 apparently at the instigation of Gulām Murtaza 'Alī of Vellore. Hence Anwar-'ud-dīn was confirmed in the Nawwābship of the Carnatic in 1744.[6]

Anwar-'ud-dīn Khān appointed his son Muḥammad 'Alī to be in charge of the general administration of the Carnatic and Mahfūz Khān to be in charge of the administration of the Trichinopoly country, and from this time for more than ten years the Madura area was under the rule of Muslims. Mahfūz Khān attacked Pratāp Singh, the Mahratta Rāja of Tanjore and extracted from him a bond for the payment of an annual tribute. During this period an attempt was planned with a view to recover the Trichinopoly fort from the Muslims and establish the rule of the son of Kāṭṭu Rāja (the Zamindar of Uḍaiyārpāḷaiyam) when it was arranged that the Mahrattas must invade the country being helped by the people of Tanjore and Mysore, the Toṇḍaimāṉ Rāja of Pudukkōṭṭai and the Sētupati of Ramnad (Maravan). But such grand schemes and designs did not fructify.[7]

Matters went on for about four years, till 1748, when certain incidents of momentous significance took place in the Deccan and the Carnatic. In that year Niẓām-'ul-Mulk died leaving behind him six sons, Ghazi'uddin, Nāṣir Jung, Salabat Jung, Niẓām 'Alī, Muḥammad Shariff, and Mīr Moghal.

6. *Tuzak-i-Walajahi*, trans. by Dr. Muhammad Husayn Nainar, (Madras University), I, pp. 82-4 and 106-08.

7. See C. S. Srinivasachari, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-14 and p. 114 *fn.* 17.

He had also a grandson Muzaffar Jung by name, by his daughter. Ghazi-'ud-din was at Delhi, engaged in imperial politics. Hence Nasir Jung, the second son of Niẓām-'ul-Mulk succeeded to the *Nizamat* on the death of his father. Muzaffar Jung was anxious to succeed to the position of his grand-father. A common cause was made between Muzaffar Jung and Chandā Ṣāḥib (the latter anxious to become the Nawwāb of the Carnatic) and Rāzā Ṣāhib the son of Chandā Ṣāḥib sought the help of Duplix the Governor of French possessions in India. It was learnt that the Mahrattas would be willing to release Chandā Ṣāḥib if they were paid a ransom of seven lakhs of rupees. The money was paid, Chandā Ṣāḥib got his release and the confederates marched towards Arcot. The French and their allies effected a junction with them, met Anwar-'ud-dīn at Āmbūr, where the latter was killed on 3rd August, 1749, owing to the treachery of one of his own commanders, Husain Khān Taḥir, the Jagirdar of Amburgadh who persuaded Nawwāb Anwar-'ud-din to fix his camp before his fort having treacherous designs.[8]

It was this political condition in the Deccan and the Carnatic where there were rivals for the *Nizāmi* and the *Nawwābi* that rendered the recall of Muḥammad 'Alī and Mahfūz Khān from the south necessary and inevitable. Under such circumstances they left the south for the Arcot region in 1748 placing Madura under the charge of one Mayana, apparently a Muslim. It is not known how long he was in charge of his post but within a few years he appears to have been supplanted by one 'Abdul 'Aḥmad Khān who captured the fort of Madura and ruled from that place. This was followed by another revolution at the place. One 'Alam 'Alī Khān, probably a brother-in-law of Mayana, took possession of the city from 'Abdul 'Aḥmad Khān. According to Orme, he was a soldier of fortune originally in the service of Chandā Ṣāḥib and the Rāja of Tanjore.[9] Taking advantage of the course of events and the political confusion in the Carnatic he proclaimed himself as an adherent of Chandā Ṣāḥib. He brought under his control Tinnevelly, Madura and other places and subdued the *Pāḷaiyagārs* of the parts as far as the territory of the Toṇḍaimāṉ Rāja of Pudukkōṭṭai. This meant that Muḥammad 'Ali the rightful successor of Anwar-'ud-dīn Khān had lost a good slice of territory in the Carnatic and the hands of his adversary had become strengthened. Therefore, the Nawwāb of the Carnatic, Muḥammad 'Alī, sought the help of the English for retaking Madura. Consequently a contingent of force was despatched to Madura under Captain James Cope who was in command at Trichinopoly assisted by 'Abdul Wahhāb Khān, the brother of Muḥammad 'Alī. One 'Abdul Rahim, an officer who was in charge of the Tinnevelly area, also helped Captain James Cope in his operations against Madura. 'Alam Khān was a great military general, and successfully resisted the attack of Madura. Captain Cope was foiled in his attempt to take the

8. *Tuzak-i-Walajahi*, I, pp. 144-47. 9. *Tuzak-i-Walajahi*, I. pp. 169 ff.

fort and hence was forced to withdraw to Trichinopoly. 'Abdul Wahhāb Khān's troops betrayed their master and went over to the side of 'Alam Khān.

Saunders the Governor of Madras thought that he could effect the reduction of Madura by diplomacy and therefore on the 22nd of July 1751 he wrote a letter to 'Alam 'Alī Khān as follows :

"I have heard of your courage in the defence of Madura, which though against my own people I cannot but highly commend. Merit ought highly to be rewarded, instead of which I hear you are to be divested of your Government and the French to take possession of the fort. This I think is but a bad return for much bravery. You are a soldier and your sword may make your fortune. If you will espouse the cause of Muḥammad 'Alī and assist his affairs I promise you shall have a Government under him which will afford you wealth and a great name and support you and your family in affluence."[10]

'Alam Khān however refused to accept the suggestion. In the next year a battle was fought by the British and Muḥammad 'Alī against Chandā Ṣāḥib and the French at Trichinopoly. 'Alam Khān went to Trichinopoly, sided with Chandā Ṣāḥib and fought against the British. In the course of the battle he was killed.[11] When he left Madura for Trichinopoly he left the former under the charge of his brother-in-law, Mayana. It appears that the latter was not able to maintain control over the region and therefore he sold the city to Kūku Ṣāḥib, a Mysore general who was moving about the Dindigul area, of which the Mysoreans were in possession at that time.[12] The city of Madura suffered very much during this period, and the sentiments of the people were defiled by him. Cows were killed and eaten and cocoanut trees were cut and destroyed.

The Hindus became disgusted with this rule and organised a revolution. Hence Veḷḷaiyaṉ Śērvaikkāraṉ commander of the Setupati's guard and Tāṇḍavarāya Piḷḷai, the *Pradhāni* of the guard of Udayā Tevar (Zamindar of Śiva ganga) took up the cause of the Hindus and laid siege to the fort of Madura for about a month, at the end of which, as a result of an arbitration made between the Hindu invaders and Kūku Ṣāḥib, the latter left the city under the charge of the Sētupati and retired towards Dindigul. Having defeated the Mysore general, both Veḷḷaiyaṉ Śērvaikkāraṉ and Tāṇḍavarāya Piḷḷai entered Madura and restored order in the city. Since Madura had been under Mus-

10. Country correspondence, 1757, No. 97, quoted by S. C. Hill, *Yusuf Khan the Rebel Commandant*, p. 30.

11. See Orme, Vol. I, pp. 200 ff.

12. Nelson thinks that this Kūku Ṣāḥib was the same as General Cope, who was in command at Trichinopoly. (Nelson, *The Madura country*, III, pp. 270-71). This is due to the author's taking that the two persons were one. While General Cope died on Feb. 3, 1752 fighting at Krishnavaran, Kūku Ṣāḥib lived for some years more and is "mentioned by Colonel Heron in a letter to Council dated 29th October, 1754 as causing trouble in Madura with some Mysore horse and sepoys." See S. C. Hill, *Yusuf Khan the Rebel Commandant*, p. 31.

lim rule for about ten years the temples and religious practices in the city had suffered much. Hence both of them performed purificatory ceremonies, threw open the temples that had been kept closed, restored services in them and made provision for the renewal of worship in them. They also restored Hindu rule over Madura by taking Vijaya Kumāra Muttu Tirumalai Nāyaka, son of Vangāru Tirumala from Veḷḷikuricchi and crowning him as the ruler of Madura in the sanctum of the Goddess Mīnākṣi.[13]

But the revival of the Hindu power in Madura was not to last long. According to certain local accounts, Vijaya Kumāra Muttu Tirumalai Nāyaka ruled only for sixteen months and was dethroned on 29th November, 1752, by the combined efforts of three Muslims, Mianah (Mahomed Barkey), Modemiah (Mahomed Mainach) and Nabi Khān who were the subordinates of Muḥammad 'Alī. This is indicated by a signed document in which they recognised the authority of the Nawwāb over Madura and Tinnevely.[14] Madura again appears to have suffered under Muslim yoke. Temple lands were confiscated. The gardens and wells were destroyed and the trade of the merchants was paralysed. Therefore Veḷḷaiyaṉ Śērvaikkāraṉ seems to have sought the help of Kūku Ṣāḥib the Mysore general. Both of them marched towards Madura encamped at a place called Paṉaiyūr Anuppalāḍi near the city and besieged the fort of Madura for six months.

But the forces of Mayana were successful, in the battle and killed both Veḷḷaiyaṉ Śērvaikkāraṉ and Kūku Śāḥib. Thus the Muslim chieftain was able to maintain himself as the Governor of Madura from 1753. Mayana however was not loyal to Muḥammad 'Alī and was not regular in the payment of the annual tribute to him, to which he was legally entitled as the Nawwāb of the Carnatic which included Madura and Tinnevelly also. Hence Muḥammad 'Alī appealed to the English to help him in the restoration of his authority in the far south. The Governor of Madras sent Colonel Heron and Yusuf Khān (the latter a Hindu convert to Islam who had distinguished himself in the siege of Trichinopoly (1752-54) and had won great praise from General Lawrence as a "born soldier". Heron reached Madura early in March 1755 to find that Mayana had fled away from the place to Kōyilkuḍi and taken refuge in the strongly built temple at Tirumbur, and took possession of the city. He also concluded a treaty on his own responsibility with the Sētupati of Ramnad. Then he marched to Tirumbur, stormed the temple, set fire to its gates and allowed his soldiers to plunder the temple and carry off a large number of idols from it. But Mayana had made good his escape from that place also. Later Colonel Heron marched into the Tinnevelly country and reduced it to submission after attacking Kāṭṭabommu Nāyaka and other chieftains in that region. Mahfūz Khān was appointed as the renter of Madura and was required to pay an annual rent of Rs. 15,00,000.

13. See *Maduraittalavaralāru* in the *Tiruppaṇimālai*, p. 8.
14. S. C. Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

QULI QUTB SHAH, A POET-KING OF GOLCONDA
(1543 A.D.—1550 A.D.)

By

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Jamshed Quli Qutb, the son of Subhan Quli Qutb, the founder of the Qutb Shahi dynasty of Golconda—ascended the throne with the title of Quli Qutb Shah. He was the second king of the house to which he belonged. Though a parricide, the historians like Ferishta, Rafi-ud-din Shirazi and others call him as such, he was in the words of the author of Hadiqat-ul Alam, a sovereign perfect and excellent, and one who had gained eminence among contemporary rulers. In addition to his abilities as a ruler, he possessed a fine taste for literature. In fact, he has been credited with having composed fine pieces of poetry, noted alike for high thoughts and fine diction.

The Sultan's literary compositions have now totally disappeared but a few specimen of his writings have been preserved by the author of Hadiqat-ul-Alam, for which all our thanks go to him. The few remains of the poems composed by Quli Qutb Shah belong to the particular types of Persian poetry, called *qasidahs* and *ghazals*. The former, it need be explained, are "purpose-poems" or better panegyrics, that commemorate some memorable event in the career of the poets' patron or are written in praise of the Prophet or his descendants. The *ghazals*, on the other hand, literally mean "talking with women about love," and they represent or reproduce the joys and sorrows of love, divine and human. Being a Shia'ite in religion, the Sultan has bestowed unstinted praise on 'Ali, the grandson of the Prophet, as will be evidenced from the single piece of *qasidah* quoted below.

من القصاید

ای بتو ختم ملکِ زیبائی کارِ عشق از تو یافت بالائی
کاکل و چین زلف و خال ابت هر یکی در کمال رعنائی
در رهِ عشق هر که پا نهاد آخر او سر کشد بر سوائی
شده شرمنده از رخت خورشید مبرود زین سپهر مینائی
چشم شوخ تو دل ربود از من عقل و هوش و دگر شکیبائی
جمله شاهان نشسته در کویت منتظر تا تو رخ بر آرائی
آفتاب از رخ تو شرمنده ابر کرده است پرده آرائی
من بدیوانگی شدم مشهور تو بخوبی و عالم آرائی

تو همان آفتاب بی همتا   من همان عاشق تماشائی
چند کردم بگرد کویت من   نظري کن به بی سروپائی
چند باشم ز دست تو خاقان   شهده بودن چنین شیدائی
نظری کن کمال من ورنه   داد خواهم ز دن بدانائی
پیش شاهی که در جهان هرگز   کس بدو خود نکرده همتائي
شاه هر دو سرا علی ولي   بندهٔ اوست چرخ خضرائی
من غلام توام شما از جان   کار من زان گرفته بالائی
آنشمی تو زکه خضر از دل و جان   میکنند بر در تو سقائی
خاکپای ترا من مسکین   سرمه سازم بعین بینائی

TRANSLATION

(*one of his qasidhs*)

Oh thou ! with thee the country's beauty is at an end,
By thee the affairs of love have attained fame :
(Oh thou !) whose hairy locks, their folds and the mole on thy lips
Each perfect in its beauty !
He who has put his feet on the road of thy love
Has at length knocked his head in despair :
The Sun is put to shame at the beauty of thy face
(And) makes his exit from the azure vault :
(Oh thou !) thy playful looks have made me thy captive
Have carried away my wit, intelligence and all my patience.
All the sovereigns lie waiting at thy door
In anxious expectation of thy presence :
Ashamed is the Sun at thy beauty
(It) has caused the clouds to veil its discomfitures :
For madness have I attained notoriety,
For excellence and beautifying the world hast thou gained renown :
Thou art the very same sun that has no rival,
(And) I the very same person—an object of mercy :
How long must I wait in thy expectation,
Take pity on me who is all helpless !
How long shall I be tempted by thee,
(Oh how long) shall I be looked upon as one insane !
Lookest thou at the condition of mine, if not,
I shall clamour for justice near the Wise ;
And near the King, who has in this world
Hardly ever been challenged by any one :
'Ali is the King of the two worlds,
This comely universe is under his bidding :

Oh King, thy most devoted servant am I,
My service to thee has made me prominent :
Thou art a King at the entrance of whose court
Faithfully serves Khizr as a water-bearer[1] :
I, who am destitute, have made the dust of thy feet
A collyrium for mine eyes !

من الغذليات

می لب لعل بنان باده حرامست مرا   لب میگون بنما چون سر جام است مرا
با سر زلف تو سودای سیاهی دارم   اینچه سوداست که بازلف چوشام است مرا
بر سر کاکل تو مرغ دلم بنده شده است   خال تو دانه و آن زلف چو دامست مرا
هر زمان از پي دیدار تو آیم بدرت   بر سر کوی ملای تو مقام است مرا
ترك این کار نخواهم من بیدل کردن   من که جمشیدم و این کار تمام است مرا
کوکب بخت منست اینکه بدون میاید   این نه اشکست که از دیده روانست مرا

TRANSLATION.

A specimen of ghazal.

To me the wine is forbidden without the vermillion-lips of the beloved,
Show me the ruby-coloured lips when I hold the wine-cup :
Mad am I in love after thy dark ringlets
Oh ! what an attachment is this that brings ill-luck :
In the locks of thy hair my heart like a bird is ensnared
The mole (on thy face) is to me an object of attraction and thy locks
a snare :
In every moment have I approached thee to catch thy glimpse
And have (thus) made my habitation at the place of danger !
Disappointed though, I wish not to give up my attempt
A Jamshed,[2] am I, who leaves nothing incomplete !
All that happen appear to me as stars of fortune,
It is not tears that come out of my eyes !

1. Reference here is to Khizr who discovered and drank the water of life (آب حیوان or آب حیات) whereby he became immortal. Khizr, signifying green, is spoken of as the Green Old Man of the sea or the forest, who puts those to the right track who lose their way in the wilderness.

2. Jamshed was a legendary King of Persia who reigned for 700 years. He had in his possession a talismanic cup جام گیتی نما "world-reflecting goblet" that could foretell events and reflect everything that was going on in any part of the world. Jamshed is said to have discovered wine.

ولە

اشکم از دیده به بینید که چون میآید   قاصدی هست که ازشهر جنون میآید
چند درعشق بتان شهره شوي اي جمشید   گر کند غیر تو نیکار زبون میآید

TRANSLATION.

Another piece.

The tears that thou dost see coming out of the eyes
Are but agents from the city of the insanes !
Oh Jamshed ! how long shoulds't thou be frantic for the love of the
beloved ?
This act of thine if done by others might bring them shame !

لهٔ - نور مرقدهٔ

آن پریروی ببینید چسان میآید   دل زمن برده کنون از پی جان میآید
جان بسودای تو دادیم که سود ببریم   اینچه سود است که دایم بذبان میآید
زان سبب آرزی سوختن شمعم شد   که چون من شعلهٔ آهش بذیان میآید
چو ببینند بتان از سر نازم گویند   عاشق دل شد جمشید جهان میآید

TRANSLATION.

Another piece.

'May the light of God be on him.'

Behold, how does the fair-faced come
She has taken the heart out of me—now she comes for my life :
My heart I have pledged to you, so that I may secure profit,
Oh, what a return ! —a misery everlasting :
It's for this I desire the candle of my ownself to the consumed
And words of lamentation come out of me !
When the beloved looks at me, she speaks out in proud disdain
Lo, here the ruler of the world comes out of attachment for me !

ولە

ای برخ نورده دیدهٔ صاحب نظران   خونشد ازمحنت هجرت دل خونین جگران
عمرها رفت که رفتی و براه تو هنوز   همچنان چشم ترم ماند بحیرت نگران
زندگی بی تو حرامست نیخواهم عمر   گر چنین میگذرد باقی عمر گذران
همچنان مهر تو درسینهٔ ماهست که بود   ما بدانیم که بودیم باش بد آن
خبر از درد ندارند بتان ایجمشید   آه ازین بیخزان آه ازین بیخزان

TRANSLATION.

Another piece.

Oh, thou ! thy face illuminating the vision of the clear-sighted
It is thy separation that has bled the heart of thy lover :
Ages have passed, and thy lover is expectant till now
My eyes are wet out of steady gaze fixed at thee :
Life is not worth anything without thee, nor do I wish to live (in thy
separation)
If the years pass like this and there's repetition of it in the years to
come !
As in the past, thy beauty is still stamped on my heart
I am what I was, may you be what you were !
Oh, Jamshed cares not the beloved for the lover's anguish
Pity for this neglect of thine, oh, what pity !

ولهٔ

سربلندی من از بالاي رعنای تو شد   این پریشانیم از زلف سمن ساي تو شد

TRANSLATION.

Another piece.

My glory lies in my attachment to thy beauty,
My disappointments are due to my love for thy silky ringlets !

ولهٔ

سرو روان خویش را بدم درون دیده جا
تا بپرورش یابد دیگر آن سرو زات چشم ما

TRANSLATION.

Another piece.

I have put the cypress[3] of my heart within the eyes
So that it may get nourishment from the tear-drops !

ولهٔ

بارِ جفاي جز تو نگاري نمیکشم   غیر از جفا و جور تو یاري نمیکشم

TRANSLATION.

Another piece.

I cannot bear the burden of oppression but thine,
I hardly need anything else than thy tyranny.

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3. In Persian literature سرو (sarv), the cypress tree, stands for a sweet heart.

THE SOUTHERN POLIGARS AND THEIR PLACE IN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

By

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I. *Their Origin and Character*

From about the middle of the 17th century, the poligar system was in active swing in the southern districts of the present Madras Presidency. The poligars of the Trichinopoly and Madura country were a prominent element of administration and well-known to the Pondichery Diarist, Ananda Ranga Pillai, who, writing in 1751, has furnished us with the names of 34 poligars belonging to the Trichinopoly country and 38 as belonging to Madura and Tinnevelly. According to the *Fifth Report* (1812) the poligars were military chieftains of different degrees of power and consequence and their origin could be traced to a number of factors. Thus those whose pálayams were situated in the jungly and frontier parts of the country were represented to have been, for the most part, leaders of banditti or free-booters; while others had been entrusted either expressly by the indigenous rulers with the charge of the police, or had been suffered to take upon themselves, that kind of service. Some of them traced their descent from the ancient rulers of the land or from their chiefs and officers; and their ancestors had received certain villages in *inām* either as personal holdings for the support of their rank, or as rewards for their services. Their tenure was mostly based on the feudal principle of supporting "a body of horse and foot, which were to be at the call of the sovereign, whenever they might be required." Other poligars had been renters of taxes, or revenue officers who had contrived to become hereditary and had succeeded in usurping the lands which had been originally given for the support of their offices. These had consolidated their position and come to constitute a subordinate, but very potent, class of rulers by themselves. Further "even potails of villages had by these means, attained the footing of poligar chieftains, though on a smaller scale. In some districts, which were favoured by the natural strength of the country, it appears that this description of people had generally assumed the character and name of poligars; and though in some cases, their incomes did not exceed a few hundred pagodas, yet they kept up their military retainers, and their nominal officers of state, and were regularly installed with all the forms and ceremonies of a prince of an extensive territory; assuming and exercising, in this contracted sphere, many of the essential powers of sovereignty."

The poligar considered his territory as a *pálayam* or encampment, and the Nayak rulers of the Madura country (*cir.* 1550-1736 A.D.) and their successors (the Nawabs of the Carnatic) did not attempt to exercise, or even to claim the right of exercising, civil or criminal jurisdiction in the limits of the poligars' dominions. If the ruler's tributes were paid and his feudatories sent him assistance in his wars, his demands were satisfied. A very considerable portion of the country south of Trichinopoly had thus passed into the hands of the poligars. Hardly anything remained in the hands of the sovereign in the Madura and Dindigul regions; while all the country north of the Tamraparani river was in the hands of poligars. The palaiyam organisation likewise spread into the Carnatic and Mysore regions as well.

Discussing the origin and nature of institution of the palayam system, the following information has been gathered from authoritative treatises. The term, Poligar, is peculiar to the Madras Presidency; and "the persons so called were properly subordinate feudal chiefs occupying tracts more or less wild, and generally of predatory habits in former days; they are now much the same as zamindars in the highest use of the term. The word is Tamil *Pálaiyakáran*, the holder of a Pálaiyam or feulal estate; Tel. *Palegadu*; and *thence*, Mahr. *Pálégár*; the English form being no doubt taken from one of the two latter." [Yule and Burnell—*Hobson-Jobson*—New edition by W. Crooke (1903) p. 718]. In Tamil the word Pálaiyam means the country or district of a feudal chieftain—camp or town, or village surrounded with stones; and *pāḷaiyapattu* means a town or village governed by a poligar or his estate.[1]

Poligar according to Wilson [*A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms of British India*, (1855) p.. 391] means a petty chieftain in the south of India, especially in Karnataka, occupying chiefly tracts of hill and forest, subject to pay tribute and service to the paramount state, but seldom paying either, and more or less independent, subsisting in a great measure by plunder.

The poligars founded by the dynasty of the Madura Nayaks are known by the name of Southern Poligars; many of them are of the Tótier caste and preserve the Telugu language of their ancestors as distinct from that of the Tamils.[2]

Bishop Caldwell gives the literal meaning of *pāḷaiyakára*, as the holder of a camp and secondly as the holder of a barony on military tenure. The English seem to have taken their favourite name, Poligar, not from the Tamil Pāḷaiyakára, but from the Telugu Pálegádu, or the Canarese Pálegára,

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1. M. WINSLOW: "A Comprehensive Tamil and English Dictionary of High and Low Tamil" 1862, p. 766.

2. Vide MARK WILKS: Historical Sketches of the South of India in an attempt to trace the History of Mysoor; 2nd Edn. Vol. I, p. 34, note.

the meaning of which is the same. Similarly the Anglo-Indian word, Pollam, (Poligar's holding) is derived rather from the Telugu, Pálemu, than from the Tamil Pāḷayam.[3]

There is a tradition that under Vijayanagara rule, each pāḷayam was normally composed of 33 villages; but there is no trace of this prevailing among the fiefs of the Tamil country. In the Kannada country, the Poligar was originally deemed to be an Udayár (Wodeyar—*lit.* proprietor). The Tamil term, Udayár, was frequently used by the Tamil country chiefs and is found occasionally among the titles of ancient rulers in inscriptions. The Zamindari of Udayárpalayam is an illustration of the use of the term Udayar in the sense of proprietor, and feudal chief. The far-famed fort of Palamcottah (in Tinnevelly) is held to be derived from Pāḷaiyan (a chief, meaning a Poligar) and Kottain (fort).

The Madura country, as organised by Visvanatha Nayak, the son of Nagma Nayak, and the founder of the Nayak rule of that region (*cir.* 1529-1564 A.D.) stretched from Cape Comorin to Válikandapuram on the north and from Coimbatore, Erode, and the Western Ghats to Rameswaram and the sea on the east, according to the *Mṛtyuñjaya Manuscripts*, translated by W. Taylor. Visvanatha and his chief co-adjutor, Ariyanátha (or Ariyanāyaga) Mudali, who combined in himself the double offices of commander-in-chief and prime-minister (*Daḷaváy* and *Pradháni*) were very efficient administrators and restored order in the country by the institution of the Pāḷayam system of administration as the most practical and organised solution of the many difficulties confronting the settlement of the country. Visvanatha was trained in the administrative system of the Vijayanagara Empire and "made his mark in applying its principles in a systematic manner." The chronicles of the time attribute a larger share of constructive work to Ariyanatha than even to Visvanatha, in the matter of the establishment of the Pāḷaiyakara (*Poligar*) system.

The number of poligars in Tinnevelly and Madura is considerable even to-day; and the title is held, by one writer, to have been given by the Vijayanagara kings to the chiefs of the Telugu colonies planted in the neighbouring provinces for the purpose of overawing the original inhabitants. Visvanatha Nayak had brought with him to Madura a large number of his own dependents and adherents whom he had to reward; besides these there were the old hereditary Tamil chieftains and the Telugu and Canarese adventurers who had previously settled in the land in Hoysala and early Vijayanagara days and whose good-will it was necessary for him to secure; and above all, there were the impoverished and discontented adherents of the ancient Pandyas and their clansmen whom he had practically abolished; as well as "the old and turbulent Canarese and Telugu adventurers who had seized with a

3. History of Tinnevelly, p. 58.

strong grip the northern and western divisions of the country." The poligar system was the solution of Visvanatha and Ariyanatha of the difficult problem of reconciling the conflicting interests of all these classes; its object was to enrich and ennoble the most powerful of each class, and at the same time to secure their and their descendants' allegiance.

The scheme was possibly the best that was devisable under the circumstances; but it contained elements of danger and seeds of decay and contributed, in a large measure, to the decay and subversion of the dynasty. The turbulent adventurers had to be conciliated and rendered loyal to the dynasty; and they knew only too well how to profit from anarchy and misrule. As has been remarked, there are two opinions on the merits of the Poligar system expressed however only by those who had intimate knowledge only of the decadent phase of their rule. One view is that the evils of the system would apply with equal force to feudal institutions in Europe in the middle ages, and the system served the purpose in the epoch in which it actually flourished and it secured "protection from foreign foes and internal order and progress, though frequently accompanied by oppression and misrule........to an extent which would have been otherwise impossible."[4] On the other side, Dr. Caldwell, while admitting the appropriateness of the parallel drawn, would not admit that the system could have been productive of any marked internal order and progress; he laid disproportionate stress on the part these poligars played in the devastating internal wars of the 18th century and on the evidence furnished by Orme, Welsh, Fullarton and other contemporary writers on the devastating anarchy of that century that marked the evening, and not the midday, of poligar rule.

II. *The Powers of The Poligars*

Every considerable town and village in the Madura kingdom was fortified and garrisoned with regular troops, artillery, trained elephants and horses; and a *daḷakartan* was in charge of the defence of each town and responsible for its safety. Madura was also under a *daḷakartan* who commanded the garrison and the police of the capital and who had become a most powerful official by the commencement of the 18th century. The poligars were all to perform their military duties effectually and were to keep in perpetual readiness a mind of military properly equipped for service and ready to take the field at a moment's notice. "This militia was exceedingly numerous, in fact nearly all the able-bodied ryots resident in the Poligar's dominions were militia men and liable to be called out, whenever there was danger of invasion or a prospect of foreign service." Some of the feudatory nobles supplying troopers were placed in authority over others and they were made answerable for the good conduct of their subordinates. Thus the Sethupathi of

4. STUART: *Tinnevelly Manual.*

Ramnad was the head of a section of them ; the Poligar of Dindigal was the chief of the 18 poligars of that district and "occupied a most distinguished position in the time of Tirumala." Whenever troops were required by the Nayak for military operations, the *Dalaváy* (*Dalakartan*) of Madura sent requisitions to the poligars concerned and directed them to furnish the required number of armed men within a certain time; the poligars immediately sent round orders to the *dalakartans* and headmen of the towns and villages in their respective jurisdictions, and on the appointed day the levies were expected to be ready for service at the headquarters and in marching order. In times of pressing necessity every great leader of these levies throughout the kingdom would be called to arms, and large bodies of troopers would hurry to the Nayak's assistance from every quarter. The soldiers of the poligars were mostly ryots supporting themselves by tax-free lands granted to them on condition of their rendering military service, and received only batta when they were marching or fighting, while the expense of maintaining them in military efficiency was very trifling.

The defects of such an organisation have been well pointed out by Nelson. "Apart from the lack of training and discipline characteristic of such troops, they were kept in order only so long as their leaders continued to be animated by a common hope of plunder and personal advancement, or restrained by a common fear of the enemy, or of the king's vengeance. A jealous quarrel among the leading chiefs or the retirement from the scene of action of one or two Poligars, who fancied themselves slighted or ill-used, would be amply sufficient to break up a force in the presence of the enemy or even in the very hour of success. Consequently, however numerous might be the King's battalions, however brave his generals and officers, he could never for a single moment feel absolutely safe or regard even the slightest indications of disaffection with indifference. This was a fatal obstacle in the way of Madura becoming a first-rate Hindu power and ultimately as we shall see, contributed not a little to the bringing about her downfall."[5]

The poligars' *peons* exercised police duties not only in their own villages, but presumed to protect the property of the inhabitants and travellers in the adjoining sarkar villages and roads. This extension of authority was wholly based on encroachment and easily converted into a pretext, "for the most severe oppressions of the people in the form of fees and ready money collections." The power exercised by the Poligars of the Carnatic (the dominions of Nawab Muhammad Ali) in regard to police and the manner in which it was exercised either to raise revenue or to augment their influence is described in the report of Mr. Lushington, the Collector of the Poligar *Peshcush* in the Southern Districts, dated 20th August, 1799. The poligars collected two sorts of fees, as district-watchers, and village-watchers.

5. *The Madura Country, A Manual*, Part III, p. 158.

The village fees known as *Tallum* (*Stalam*) or *Kudi Kával* were of a much older creation than the poligar's influence and authority, "being coeval with the establishment of villages and constituting the fee for the support of the *talliars* or officers of police." The poligars had so encroached upon and assumed these rights that more than four-fifths of the villages in Tinnevelly had come under their influence and their peons had superseded the *talliars* or retained them on condition of receiving from them a share of their perquisites. The *Dêsha* (properly *Disai*) *Kával* or district watching fees originated either from a grant of the ruler or from the voluntary action of the villagers, who, being unable to protect themselves, submitted to such contributions. The former was generally known as the village fee and the latter was the district watch-fee. In later times these were levied by the poligars from defenceless villagers as the price of forbearing to plunder them.

The claim of *kaval* was the most usual method employed by the poligars for the purpose of extending their power. Every village from time immemorial had its *Kával-karas* (spelt usually Cauwalgars) or watchmen; and they had been remunerated for their services by a small fee usually in the form of a rent-free holding. The right of exercising this function of collecting this fee and of levying a still heavier fee for protection from abnormal danger like war was in time claimed by the poligars and their dependents, and this claim had been so generally submitted to, that Mr. Lushington found in 1799 that out of 2,113 villages in Tinnevelly the *kaval* of 1,635 was in the hands of the poligars and their men. Another step of encroachment was taken when the poligars, wherever they found they could not appoint their own followers to the *kaval* of a village, rigorously levied an annual contribution on the *kaval-karas* who were appointed by other agencies, like the indigenous village corporation. The *diśai* (direction) watch, called usually *dēsa kaval* was the additional fee imposed on all the inhabitants of the area concerned for the exercise of a wider guardianship, especially over roads and wastes, than the village watchmen were capable of. Probably, the amounts claimed in both cases were originally insignificant and were paid willingly. They were violently and arbitrarily increased probably in the years 1740-6; and by 1799, they had risen tenfold of their original level. These contributions were levied by the poligars from the defenceless villagers as the price of their forbearing to plunder them, and were confirmed by the strength of the poligars and the inability of the Nawab's government to enforce a due authority over them. Mr. Lushington adds that "when this contribution is not quietly submitted to, torture and the whip are applied, whole people of the village put into confinement, every occupation interdicted, the cattle pounded, the inhabitants taken captive to, and not unfrequently murdered in, the pollams (the Poligar's own domains), and in short every outrage of violence and cruelty is committed until their purposes are obtained."

The poligar received a contribution from the area around his fort in consideration of protection afforded against armed invasion. His servants and retainers received fees and sometimes rent-free land for undertaking to protect the property of the villagers against theft and to restore an equivalent in value for anything lost. "These contributions comprehended payments of money, grain, plough cattle, and various other articles, and were made by armed peons detached from the fort of the Poligar for that purpose; they were not regulated by any fixed principle; but the amount depended upon the conscience of the Poligar. The fees and collections thus made on account of the police, were exclusive of other assessments to which the inhabitants of the neighbouring *circar* villages were subject equally with those in the pollams, under various pretences such as hunting, batta, marriage expenses and presents."[6]

They also claimed rights over lands in the sarkar villages which they presumed to hold rent-free. This was partially caused by the fact that the palayam lands were indiscriminately intermixed in many places with the circar villages and to some extent caused by the poligars being allowed by the Nawab's government to farm the lands in those villages. They frequently ejected the ryots from the lands of which they themselves held the *inam* rights and acquired a permanent interest in the *kâval* villages.

The details of the traditional account of the institution, rather reorganisation of the poligars, by the founder of Nayak rule in Madura as given in the Mackenzie Ms. Chronicles are thus condensed by Nelson. There were 72 bastions to the fort of Madura and each one of them was now formally placed in charge of a particular chief who was bound for himself and his heirs to keep ready at his post at all times and under all circumstances. He had to pay a fixed annual tribute to the *Karta* (Nayak) and to supply him besides with a quota of cavalry troops and lancemen and maintain peace over the particular tract of country entrusted to him. In return he was given charge of a number of villages proportioned to the size of his contingent and his rank as well as the title of *Pâḷaiyakâran* (Poligar), besides other

6. Besides the Poligars also levied in all possible cases taxes on ploughs, looms, shops and labourers. They confused by their encroachments the distinction between palayam lands and sarkar lands. They had usurped, in a large number of the *sārkār* villages, the power of appointing and controlling the *Stala Kāvalkārs* and receiving from them *russooms* or fees. They also levied hunting batta, contributions to marriage parties and a number of other payments, either fixed in a lump on the whole village, or levied on ploughs, looms, shops and labourers. They also received allotments of lands in the *sarkar* villages on which they received the government share or assessment and claimed the right of *madisum* (*madyastam*) on behalf of the *sarkar* ryots as against the latter's revenue collectors; and thus discontented *sarkar* ryots would be settled in palayam villages. Their right of arbitration was recognised, the *sarkar* renter's power was diminished and the *dêsākāval* of the poligars fortified.

valuable gifts and privileges. The sources of Nelson's information stand now somewhat discounted in their historical value. "All that can be regarded as probable is that the existence of the Poligars as a class dates from the period of the commencement of the rule of the Nayaks. Very few of the Zamindars (the principal exception is the Sethupathi of Ramnad) can claim that their estates or chiefships were conferred upon them, prior to the Nayak period by the old Pandya Kings."

III. *Their classification*

Some of the chronicles of the Madura poligars who owe their origin to Visvanatha Nayak claim a much higher antiquity for themselves. A list of the names of the chiefs actually appointed by Visvanatha and Ariyanatha can be made out from the materials contained in Ward's *Survey* and in the two lists published in Taylor's *Oriental Historical Manuscripts* (Vol. II, pp. 160-68) as well as from an unpublished Mackenzie Manuscript. Many of these chiefs are called Nayakkars[7]; one is a Reddiar, another is a Tondaimânâr and

7. The Tottiyars are, according to H. A. STUART, writing in the *Madras Census Report* of 1891, a caste of Telugu cultivators settled in the districts of Madura, Tinnevelly, Coimbatore and Salem; and they are probably the descendants of poligars and soldiers of the Nayakkan kings of Vijayanagar who conquered the Madura country about the beginning of the 16th century. The traditional story of their migration to the Madura district is given in several of the Mackenzie Manuscripts. They are also called Kambalattars, and they reverence the Pongu Tree (Pongamia Glabra) and believe themselves to have originally lived north of the Tungabhadra river from where they migrated and took service under the kings of Vijayanagar. There were two sections of them, cultivators and petty zamindars and those who wandered about begging and doing menial work. They are divided into endogamous sects, and their most important sub-divisions correspond to the Telugu Gollas and Yerragollas. (Thurston and Rangachari: *Castes and Tribes of South India*, 1909, Vol. VII, pp. 183-197.)

Besides the first section comprising these, the second section contains the *pālaiyams* of Ariyalur (Malava Rāyar or Nainār) Turaiyur (Reddiar) Illuppaiyur, Kulattur, and Kattalur-Perambur. Attached to the Manappar taluk were Marungapuri, Nattam, and Ramagiri. Attached to the Dindigul area were Palani, Virupakshi, Ayakudi, Māmpārai, Idayakōttai, Ayyalūr, Marumuttu, Emakalāpuram, Tavasipadai, Amartaru, Periyakulam, Cambam-Gudalur.

Attached to the Madura country were Kavandankottai, Velliyakundam, Sirupālai and Kachaikatti. Attached to the Tinnevelly country were Eḷāyiram Paṇṇai, Ettayapuram, Pānjālankurichi, Sivagiri, Seitur, Kōlārapapatti, Nāgalápuram, Ūttumalai, Kurukkavetti, Alaga devi Maniyachi, Chokkanpatti, Surandai, Naduvukurichi, Talaivankottai, Kollapatti, Singampatti, Neykattānsevval, Ūrkadu, Kadambur, Kadalgudi, Kulattur, Memandai, Māvilodai, Arankolam, Sennal-kudi, Pāvāli, Mannārkottai-Attankarai, Alagakudi etc.

Attached to Coimbatore, Tāliyethu.

Attached to Salem, Taramangalam. Others were Mannimaipālayapattu, Kuruvikkulam, Yelambaram, Rajanpalayam.

Forts on the boundary at Dindigul, Dhárápuram, Coimbatore, Satyamangalam,

others are Kaunder, Sévai, Tévar and Náyanár. The actual number must have frequently fluctuated. Taylor's list divides the fiefs into nine sections, beginning with the kingdom of Malayalam (Travancore) and the principalities of Ramnad, Sivaganga, and Pudukottai, which were "like adopted children of the Madura Government." Ramnad was founded in the year 1605 by Muthukrishnappa, rather restored to the ancient line of the Sethupathis—guardians of the Isthmus of Rameswara, (according to the manuscript *History of the Carnataka Governors*, and the other accounts of the Sethupathis, translated by Taylor and the historical memorandum furnished to Nelson by Ponnuswami Thevan, the then manager of the Ramnad Zamindari). The ancient line of the Sethupathis had always been dependent on the Pandya kingdom and had been in existence for centuries before Sadeika Thévan Udaiyán Séthupathi was crowned as Sethupathi by the Nayak; and Sivaganga was an off-shoot from Ramnad; and it dates as a Zamindari only from about 1730 A.D.; from which time Ramnad came to be known as the Great Marava, and Sivaganga as the Lesser Marava or Nálukóttai. The Tondaimans of Pudukottai got first into prominence on account of their services to the Nayaks; and Pudukottai was given the same rank as Travancore, Ramnad, and Sivaganga—these four being called the "adopted sons of the Kings of Madura," while the other chieftains were called Palaiyakara servants.

Ananda Ranga Pillai, the famous Diarist of Pondicherry, writing under date May 1751, under instruction of Dupleix, to the Rajahs of Tanjore and Mysore and to the 72 Poligars of Trichinopoly and the South Country whose names he enumerates divides them into two general categories, the 34 poligars belonging to Trichinopoly and 38 as belonging to the South, asking that the poligars should not help Muhammad Ali on pain of losing their fiefs but should help Chanda Sahib who had the support of Muzaffar Jang the Nizam. W. Taylor gives from the Mackenzie MSS. a list of the 72 palayarms established to guard the bastions of the Pandyan capital as they were in the time of Tirumala Nayak, including Travancore, Ramnad, Sivaganga and Pudukottai [the three last being like the adopted children of the Madura Government] and Ayalur, Turaiyur, Iluppur, Marungapuri, Nattam etc.

Andiyur, Erode, Kángayam, Vijayamangalam, Karūr, Nāmakal, Sēndamandalam, Periya Salem, Sēmalur, Sangcigiri, Kurichi Sambali, Kávéripuram, Āttur, Anantagiri, Bramatti, Mohanur, Arava kurichi. (W. TAYLOR: *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*, Vol. II 1835, pp. 161-167).

The list should have been subject to perpetual fluctuations, being "increased or diminished with the absence or existence of any one preponderating power among them. (WILSON'S *Historical Sketch of the kingdom of Pandya*. English-Tamil Edn. p. 43).

This list is based on the traditional account of the 72 pālaiyams appointed to guard the bastions of Madura fort in the time of Tirumala Nayak and also on a sort of synopsis of the chiefs and their towns. (Vide the *Mackenzie MSS.*).

The following table, comparing Taylor's list with Ranga Pillai's enumeration may be useful. Where it has not been possible to equate names in the Diarist's list with those of Taylor, a blank space has been indicated.

	TAYLOR	ANANDA RANGA PILLAI.
1.	The Ramnad Sethupathi	Sethupati (Sella Tevar, *alias* Vijayaraghavanatha (1748-60).
2.	Udaiya Tévar of Sivaganga	Udaiya Tévan
3.	The Reddi of Turaiyur	The Reddi of Turaiyur, Basava Reddi (1742-62).
4.	Púchi Nayak of Marungapuri	Púchi Nayakan.
5.	Leckiya Nayakkan	Lakkaya Nayakan (of Kumaravádi)
6.	Víramalaipálayam; Káma Nayakkan	Kamaya Nayakan (of Valayapatti in the Dindigul taluk).
7.	Iluppaiyur; Kámákshi Nayakan	Kámákshi Nayakan.
8.	Nattam; Lingama Nayakan	Lingama Nayakan.
9.	Pillai-Muzhungi; Muttaya Nayakan	Muttayya Nayakan (of Kadavur in the Madura taluk).
10.	Ideiya-kottai, Ayalur; Valakondama Nayakan also Maduvur; Valikondama Nayakan.	Vallakondama Nayakan.
11.	Ramagiri; Sami Nayakan	Samaya Nayakan
12.	Maruluttu; Amiya Nayakan	Ammayya Nayakkan (of Ammaya náyakanur).
13.	Yemacalāpuram; Kulappan Nayakan.	Kulappa Nayakan (either of Nilakottai or Sandaiyur).
14.	Kannivādi; Appayya Nayakan	Appaya Nayakan.
15.	Palni: Chennama Nayakan	Sennava Nayakan (of Palnipalayam).
16.	Periakulam; Ramabhadra Nayakan	Ramabhadra Nayakan (of Virupakshi, resumed in 1802).
17-25.		The nine Gounders and Poligars of Kangayam.
26-32.		The seven Hill Poligars living in Kambam and Gudalur, west of Dindigul, east of Uttamapalayam and north of Nagamalai range.
33.	Malayalam; Nanjinattu Raja	Nanjanadu.
34.	Ayalur; Nayanar	Malavarayan (of Ariyalur)
		North-east of Trichinopoly (he made himself master of Udaiyarpalayam and assisted Basava Reddi).

The Poligars of the South.

	TAYLOR	ANANDA RANGA PILLAI.
1.		(Chinnananja) Sinnananja Tevan (probably of bhokkampatti).
2.	Sivagiri ; Varagunaráma Vanniyar	Sivagiri Vanniyan.
3.	Alakāpuri Rettai-kudi (Rettai-kōttai) Vanniyanar.	Irattaikkudi Vanniyan.
4.	Alakápuri Rettai-kuddi (Rettai-kōttai) Vanniyanar.	Alagapuri Vaniyan.
5.	Seitur Tiruvannata Tevar	Seitur Turuvana Tevan.
6.	Kollang-konda	Vanda Tevan Kollangondan (west of Palamcottah).
7.	Ettaiyapuram ; Ettappa Nayakar	Ettappa Nayakan.
8.		Annichi Nayakan (of Kolattur west of Palamcottah).
9.	Dumbichi Nayakan	Tumbinji Nayakan (of Peraiyur in Madura district), chief of all the Tottiyars.
10.		Kama Nayakan (of Saptur).
11.	Kollārpatti ; Kalanka Nayakar	Kalanga Nayakan (of Kolarappettai north-west of Palamcottah).
12.		Kandama Nayakan
13.	Eramadai	Elumadai Nayakan (Elumalai).
14.	Chokkanpatti	Chokkathalavan (of Maniyachi).
15.		Thadiyathalavan (Kadambur).
16.	Pānchālankurichi ; Kattabomma Nayakan	Kattappa Nayakan.
17.	Ūttumalai Mauthappa Tēvan	Marudappa Thevan.
18.		Tali Veli (title assumed by Irattaikudi Vanniyan).
19.		Naduvakurichi Sutalai Tevan of (poligar of Nalurcudy north-west of Palamcottah).
20.		Saluva Tevan of Soumden. (Sandaiyur ?)
21.	Urkad ; Servaikaran	Seturayan of Urkad.
22.		Nallakutti (possibly Nellakottai Poligar of Singampatti).
23.		Nambi Thalaivan (poligar of Tirukurungudi, south of Palamcottah).
24.		Ananja Thalaivan.
25.		Ramabhadra Reddi.
26.		Ramaswami Reddi.
27.		Ramaraswami Reddi.
28.		Venkatachala Reddi.
29.		Sankaranarayana Reddi (Paṇṇaiyārs of Mulaikaraipatti in Nanguneri).
30.		Kechalappa Nayakan (of Gollapatti)
31.		Pethana Nayakan (of Āttankarai).
32.		Kadalkudi Nayakan
33.	Nagalapuram ; Irayappa Nayakan	Nāgalāpuram (north-west of Palamcottah).
34.	Mēlmāndai Nayakan	Sirumalai Nayakan (of Melamandai north-west of Palamcottah).
35.		Indra Thalavan (of Talavankottai).
36.		Kumara Thalavan
37.		Eravappa Nayakan (of Nagalapuram).

(*Only 37 poligars are enumerated by the District*).

A number of palayams mentioned by Taylor are not found in the list of the Diarist which includes several later creations. The chiefs of Perambabur and Kattalur who were Tevans by caste were among the poligars of Tirumala Nayak's time ; and Marungapuri of the Puchi Nayak family threw off an offshoot which formed a separate palayam (of Karisalpattu-Varappur) of the Boma Nayaks.

Mr. Dodwell's notes to the Diarist's list (pp. 6-9 Vol. VIII of the *Diary* footnotes) identify the then fief-holders of Ariyalur, Turaiyur, Kollankondan, and Kolarapettai ; he fixes also the fiefs of several of the poligars mentioned by the Diarist ; but the places mentioned by him are not in all cases the same as those of Taylor and can be explained by the assumption that the original palayams might have been shifted. Light's Report (Military Consultations) of 1781 has been thoroughly utilised by him in locating these.

A list of palayams with the amounts of their tributes or *peshkash* is given as they stood in the 5th article of the Treaty of 12th July 1792, concluded by the British with the Nawab of the Carnatic (22nd Zulkada 1206 A.H.)

PESHKASH AMOUNTS

		Pagodas	Fanams
1.	Lingama Nayak of Nattam	8,598	12
2.	Sangama Nayak of Comavady (Kannivadi ?)	10,483	12

PESHKASH AMOUNTS

		Pagodas	Fanams
3.	Sami Nayak of Ramagiri	11,731	4
4.	Muthia Nayak of Pillai Muzhungi	9,556	4
5.	Kamayya Nayak of Viramapalayam	6,400	0
6.	Ramanathapuram	62,857	14
7.	Sivaganga	50,000	0
8.	Poligars of the Madura District	3,751	0
9.	Sivagiri	11,176	0
10.	Ettayapuram	11,176	0
11.	Uttumalai	8,128	0
12.	Naduvakurichi	1,574	8
13.	Talaivankottai	609	6
14.	Surandai	508	0
15.	Kadambur	1,016	0
16.	Ūrkad	304	8
17.	Singampatti	314	0
18.	Maniyáchi	1,016	0
19.	Pánjálam Kurichi	11,176	0
20.	Ḗláyiram Pannai	6,096	0
21.	Mélmándai	1,016	0
22.	Nágalápuram	6,604	0
23.	Kadalgudi	1,320	8
24.	Áttankarai	1,727	2
25.	Mannárkkóttai	2,540	0
26.	Páváli	1,168	4
27.	Alakápuri	108	7
28.	Gettaputty (?)	1,163	5
29.	Kollápatti	6,604	0
30.	Saptur	5,791	0
31.	Chokkampatti	6,604	0
32.	Landioor (?)	1,930	0
33.	Zelmuny (?)	1,016	0
34.	Śennalgudi	1,696	5
35.	Kulattur	1,016	0
36.	Parvar	3,332	5
37.	Seītur	5,080	0
38.	Kollankondan	365	0
39.	Avudayápuram (Nelkattánsevval)	1,224	0

Besides *peshkash* was due from the great northern Carnatic palayams of

Venkatagiri, Kalastri, Saidapur (Madras) and Arne and from Bonnavasse.

IV—*The Chief Fiefs*

Sivaganga was an offshoot from Ramnad ; and its existence as a separate fief dates only from about 1730, as noted already ; it was then ruled by Periya Udaya Tevar, the son of its founder Sasivarna Periya Udaya Tevar. The Tondaimans of Pudukottai, not mentioned separately by the Diarist, and evidently included by him in the divisions of the Kallars, came into prominence on account of their services to the Nayaks, about the close of the 17th century. They rose from one of the Kaḷḷar tribes settled near Anbil, in the land east of Trichinopoly, south of Tanjore and north of Ramnad, which were originally known as *Arasu*. Vijaya Raghunatha Tondaiman was the ruler at the time and took a very prominent part in the operations round Trichinopoly that followed.

The main sub-divisions of the Kaḷḷars which were returned in the greatest numbers at the Census of 1891 was Isanganadu (Visanganadu), Kungiliya, Mēnādu, Nāttu, Pirānmalainādu, and Sirakudi. The Kallars of Madura are however divided into 10 endogamous sections which are territorial in origin. Mr. T. Turnbull, writing in 1817, says that the Kallars appropriated to themselves various *nads* (regions) in different parts of the southern districts ; and in each of these territories they had a chief among them whose order and directions they must all obey.[8] The Visinganāttu Kallar, the Pirānmalai Kallar and the Tannarasunāttu Kallar seem to have been tribes living in the Pudukotta territory.[9] The filiations of the Kallars are hard to fix ; but they have got, according to tradition some close connection with the Maravars and the Agambadiyans.[10]

In the time of the famous Tirumala Nayak (1623-59) of Madura, the greater part of the lands constituting the several territories under his rule were held as military fiefs by the poligars ; the Sethupathi of Ramnad (the Great Marava of Anglo-Indian historians) rendered him homage, but paid no tribute ; and the ruler of Tiruvadi (a portion of Travancore) paid tribute only when compelled ; and the others were held under a fairly firm grip.

Studying the result of the organisation of poligars by the Nayak rulers of Madura, it can hardly be said that the idea of governing the country by means of an order of rule, rapacious feudal nobles, such as the Poligars generally were turned out to be a happy one, for down to the period of their final subjection and submission to British authority in 1801, whenever

8. Thurston and Rangachari : *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. III, p. 53.

9. *A Manual of the Pudukottai State*, (2nd Edn. 1938) ; pp. 106-12 ; and S. Radhakrishna Iyer's A General History of the Pudukottai State, p. 67.

10. Sir Athelstane Baines : *Indian Ethnography* (*Encyclopaedia of Indo-Aryan Research*), pp. 81 and 47-48.

they were not at war with the central authority, they were at war with one another, and it was rarely possible to collect from them the tribute or revenue due to the central authority without a display of military force, which added greatly both the unpopularity and the expense of the collection.

V. *The Poligars in the 18th century.*

A pāḷaiyam or pollam, as the English wrote it, was not merely a jaghir or zamindary. It was a district conferred by the sovereign on a chief, the holder of which, the palaiyakaran or poligar, was bound not only to pay his lord annually peishcush or tribute, but also to help his lord in his wars. Palaiyam literally means a camp, Pāḷaiyakāran means the chief of a camp. It may therefore, be concluded that originally the poligar was the leader of a body of armed men, who placed his services at the disposal of his sovereign, and who held the district he received in return for his services by a military tenure. He was always to consider his territory not as a *nadu*, a country but as a palaiyam, an encampment. Hence, though the sovereign might have exercised civil and criminal rights in the portion of country that remained in his own direct possession, he did not seem to have attempted to exercise, or even to have claimed the right of exercising any civil or criminal jurisdiction whatever, within the limits of his poligars' domains. If his tributes were paid and his feudatory sent him assistance in his wars his demands were satisfied.

The events that happened between 1741 and 1801 are remarkable for "nothing but a wearisome state of anarchy and confusion, the monotony of which was but slightly varied at intervals by various fortresses changing hands after more or less bloodshed and treachery." The *Srītala* Chronicle of Madura and other manuscript sources may be used to supplement the accounts of Orme and the Madras records, recording the activities of the Muhammadan governors of Madura from the time of Chanda Sahib (1736) and Murari Rao's deputy, Appaji Rao (1741) onwards. Yusuf Khan's period of rule was vigorous, but distracted by the claims of the renters appointed by Nawab Muhammad Ali at the instance of the English Presidency. The encroachments of Haidar Ali into the Dindigul district were another complicating factor.

The poligars were bound to attend the camp of the Nawab, whenever summoned, with troops proportioned to their power and territory. They were often truculent and disobedient to him and retaliated their spite upon his officers and representatives like Mahfuz Khan, Muhammad Yusuf Khan, Barkatullah and others. As early as 1756, *i.e.*, soon after Muhammad Ali was firmly established in the Nawabship, the English resolved to take more decisive action with regard to the political settlement of Madura and Tinnevelly country. Orme describes, in a detailed and admirable manner, the desultory warfare that had to be waged by the Company's officers, Caillaud and Yusuf Khan, who, according to Malcolm, was "the bravest and ablest of the native soldiers that ever served the English in India"—against the Poligars and their tools, the Mussalman adventurers from the Nawab's Court. In 1760 Hyder Ali[11] having made a secret alliance with the French at their last gasp in Pondicherry, where they were besieged, fought with some Poligars whose estates lay between Dindigul (already in the possession of Mysore) and Trichinopoly. Yusuf Khan made himself very powerful in Madura, subdued most of the Poligars, over-ran the Sivaganga and Ramnad countries and even exacted payments from the Rajah of Travancore for his territories east of the ghats. The capture of Pondicherry by the English in January 1761 and the departure of Mahfuz Khan, the rebellious brother of the Nawab, from the Tinnevelly country where he was so long giving trouble, had damped the rebellious ardour of very many poligars. The subsequent rebellion of Yusuf Khan, his besiegement in Madura by an army of English soldiers

11. About 1742 Dindigul passed into the hands of the Mysoreans and its history *The Dindigul Polayams* for the next four decades consist largely of the alternate resumption and restoration of the pāḷaiyams included in it. Madur was first sequestrated for arrears in 1748. Haidar's memorable incursion in 1756 resulted in the plunder of the poligars of Palni, Kannivadi, Eriyodu, Chokkampatti, Bodinayakanur and Uttamapalayam. When he entered the Dindigul country only two of the palaiyams were under resumption. By the time he left he had resumed all the palayams except five, *viz.* Ammayyanayakkanur, Idaiyankottai, Kombai, Nilakkotai, and Mambarai. In 1772 the Dindigul country was granted on military tenure to Mir Sahib, a brother-in-law of Haidar: and he resumed several more palaiyams, only a few having been restored in the meantime. When Dindigul surrendered to the English in the Second Mysore War in May 1783, all the dispossessed poligars were reinstated. But when the Province was restored to Tipu Sultan by the treaty of Mangalore, it was granted to Sayyad Sahib, a nephew of Mir Sahib on much the same conditions. Sayyad Sahib resumed five of the palaiyams and in 1788 Tipu Sultan himself came to Dindigul and resumed fourteen others for arrears, leaving only three palaiyams not under attachment, *viz.* Idaiyankottai Kōmbai and Mambarai.

In 1790, the English took the Dindigul fort and district and all the dispossessed poligars were reinstated by them. The Dindigul Poligars were then 26, spread over the present Dindigul, Palni and Periyakulam taluks. At that time the Poligari example was so infectious that even Government land was annually leased either in blocks for fixed sums to renters or village by village to the headman. By 1803, when Mr. Hurdis wrote his monumental report on the settlement of the Madura district, 12 of these palaiyams had come under Government management, *viz.* Eriyodu, Palni and Virupakshi forfeited for rebellion, Devadanapatti, Madur and Rettiambadi for want of heirs and six others including Idaiyankottai, Nilakkottai, Sandaiyur and Chokkampatti resumed for arrears. These 12 sequestrated palaiyams along with government lands in the Dindigul country were carved up into 40 zamindaris and sold to sundry purchasers or previous owners. On the surviving palaiyams which were left in the hands of their owners, a charge peshkash of 70 per cent. of their value was made.

Mr. Hurdis was able to deal with the turbulent Poligars of the Dindigul country one by one since they acted isolatedly in the disorders of 1797 and 1798.

and Maravas, and his subsequent execution which at this distance of time seems all but inexcusable, should not blind us to the fact that it was for the first time during his governorship of Madura, the tributes from the poligars were regularly collected, the property of individuals was secured from the depredations of the Kallars (the Colleries of Orme) and the public revenue was greatly augmented.[12]

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12. *The more southerly palayams*—Yusuf Khan's suppression of the Poligar troubles is very noteworthy. In 1756, as an assistant to Mahfuz Khan, Yusuf posted a strong garrison in Srivilliputtur to threaten the Western Poligars who were mostly Maravas and whose leader was the redoubtable Pūli Tévan of Nelkattansevval. The Nawab's renter turned against Yusuf, but was defeated. Mahfuz Khan proclaimed himself to be the renter of the Nawab and allied himself with the Pūli Tevan and his allies. Muhammad Yūsuf tried to break this combination which was worsened by the Travancore troops in possession of Kalakkad. When Yūsuf Khan was recalled to Madras to help against the French besiegers towards the end of 1758, Pūli Tevan effected an alliance with the eastern Poligars of the Koilpatti country, prominent among whom were those of Pānjālankurichi and Ettaiyapram and the powerful Kattabomma Nayak now declared himself against the English and Yusūf. When the latter returned to the Tinnevelly country in the summer of 1759, he tried his best to break this alliance between the eastern and the western chiefs. He captured Kollankondan near Srivilliputtur from Pūli Tevan and the fort of Surandai from the Poligar of Uttumalai and Vadagarai from the Poligar of Chokkampatti near Shencottah. Yusuf Khan got the alliance of the Travancore ruler and made an attack on Vāsudevanallur,—a strong mud fort of Pūli Tevan, but had to retire. The Dutch who had several factories on the Tinnevelly coast were now invited by the rebellious poligars and sent some of their troops (1760) but they withdrew them as soon as Yūsuf appeared with a formidable force before them.

In 1761, Yūsuf claimed that he had reduced the entire district to submission. After his miserable end (October 1764) Major Campbell secured the surrender of Palamcottah; and after some negotiations an agreement was concluded with Travancore in 1766.

In 1797, the Western Poligars again rose in revolt and in February an English force was repulsed in an attempt to storm the fort of Pānjālankurichi. But the forts of Seitur and Sivagiri were levelled to the ground, Vāsudevanallur was captured and garrisoned and a cantonment was established at Sankaranainarkoil. An attempt was made to cease hostilities against the poligars. But a new danger suddenly appeared. The Poligar of Sivagiri was in open revolt, had entered into a treaty with the Dutch at Colombo and had collected ammunition for the supply of the force that he expected from Ceylon. He was also negotiating with Haidar Ali, while the Nawab's renter was suspected of treachery. On the other hand, the Dutch at Tuticorin were then actually professing friendship with the English as against Haidar Ali and the Governor-General was engaged in negotiating with them an agreement by which in return for a force of 1,000 European infantry, 200 European artillery men and 1,000 Malays, the whole district of Tinnevelly was to be given over to them, of course under the nominal sovereignty of the Nawab. It was in 1782 that open hostilities with the Dutch broke out. Tuticorin was captured and the negotiations came to a dead stop.

In the latter part of 1781, the Nawab assigned by treaty to the Company the

The subsequent administration of the Madura country under the Nawab continued to be as greatly troubled as before while the situation grew worse after Haidar's celebrated invasion of the Carnatic in 1780. The campaign of Col. Fullarton in 1783, into the country south of Trichinopoly, following on the Assignment Treaty of 1781 produced some quiet as was reflected in his report of 1785 on the state of the country.

VI. *Fullarton's Account of them.*

Col. Fullarton, writing in 1783, thus describes the Poligars of Tinnevelly :— "Adverse to industry they suffer their own posessions to remain waste while they invade each other and plunder their industrious neighbours. Such is the dread of these ravagers that every district in the province has been forced to purchase their forbearance by enormous contribution." His account of the whole south country is very interesting and accurately des-

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management and control of the revenues of the districts of the Carnatic ; and superintendents were appointed to the districts for revenue collection. But the country was still in confusion. In 1782 a poligar erected a fort near Tirukurugudi and plundered the neighbourhood. Finally Col. Fullarton who commanded the army of the south, had to march into the Tinnevelly country and attacked Pānjālankurichi, which he took with an enormous quantity of guns of ammunitions and in which he found the original of a treaty, above noted, between Kattabomma and the Government at Colombo. Fullarton next proceeded to Sivagiri and defeated its forces.

The assignment was surrendered to the English in 1785 ; but later, since the Nawab was unable to pay his share of the Company's expenses, Government assumed by proclamation the management of the country and established a Board of Assigned Revenues and appointed a Collector of Tinnevelly and the dependent Poligars. In July 1792, by virtue of a definitive treaty with the Nawab, Government undertook to collect the whole of the peshkash or dues of the Poligars and to allow the Nawab credit for the amount collected as against the contribution due by them and in the same year an English Collector was appointed for the collection of the Zamindar and Poligar peshkash in the Tinnevelly, Madura, Trichinopoly, Ramanathapuram and Sivaganga districts.

The poligar troubles however did not end. While the Collector proceeded to make a settlement with the poligars, numerous acts of violence and anarchy continued to be perpetrated by the chiefs of Sivagiri and of Pānjālankurichi. There was great confusion in Sivagiri and Settur. The Nawab's ultimate sovereignty continued to be recognized over the poligars and by virtue of their *kaval* rights the Poligars exercised control over sarkar villages (See Directors' Despatch dated 10th June 1795). The system showed itself to be clearly unworkable and the poligars readily took advantage of the opportunities which the divided control between the Nawab and the English gave them. The chief centre of disaffection was the Poligar of Pānjālankurichi the leader of the Eastern Poligars, who joined the great rebellion of the Ramnad country in 1797. He was supported by the poligars of Nagalapuram, Kadalgudi, Melmandai, Kulattur and Elāyirampannai. The situation reached a climax in 1797 with his murder of Lieutenant Clarke at Ramnad where he was summoned by the Collector of Poligar peshkash and from which he escaped. Kattabommu was acquitted in the trial that followed. The Collector was recalled and an impetus was given to the Nayak's depredations and lawlessness.

criptive of the situation caused by the turbulence of the Poligars, there being at that time over one hundred thousand "Colleries" and Poligars in arms, being "naturally brave and habitually impatient of all regular government." Fullarton was astonished that the Company should have ever planned to offer the rich Province of Tinnevelly to the Dutch "for less than a trifle, for the use of one thousand Dutch mercenaries" and to sacrifice for this mean return a land yielding an annual revenue of a quarter million sterling.[13]

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13. FULLARTON. *A View of the English Interests in India* (1787). Letter II, a sort of *compte rendu* to the Select Committee of Fort St. George, which contains an accurate, though harrowing picture of the condition of the land. Pp. 86—87, *et seq.*

The country of the *Colleries* including the territories of the Tondaiman, Melur and Nattam extending from the sea coast to the confines of Madura in a range of 60 miles by 65 was in a bad condition. The *Colleries* could put forth 30 to 40 thousand men in arms under different chiefs. The Tondaiman "is less uncultivated than his neighbours and has at all times proved himself the most faithful adherent of the Nabob and the Company. The father of the present Chief, by his firmness and attachment in the days of General Lawrence, supplied the force at Trichinopoly with provisions, at a time when their cause seemed desperate and the Nabob, sensible of the obligation, ever afterwards exempted him from tribute."

The territory of Sivaganga or the Little Marava stretched from the sea-coast to Melur and Madura on the west and from the country of the Tondaiman and Nattam on the North to the territories of the Great Marava on the south, being 50 miles in length and 40 in breadth. The land was over-grown with thorn and bushes and the woods of Kalayarkoil which served as a refuge were inhabited by men who could bring 12,000 fighters into the field armed with swords, pikes, spears and firelocks. They were less barbarous than the Colleries and the land yielded five lakhs of rupees to the Rajah who paid about Rs. 175,000 to the Nawab.

General Joseph Smith reduced Sivaganga in 1783 and brought it under effective subjection to the Nawab; but the woods and barriers were allowed to remain and the disaffection of the subjects continued. The Great Marava or the Rajah of Ramnad was the chief of a country, 50 miles by 30 miles, extending from the boundaries of Melur and Sivaganga on the north to the sea upon the east and the south and to the confines of Tinnevelly upon the west. Art and industry were better and the sea coast was skirted with a track of open woodland. The revenue was about five lakhs and the tribute to the Nawab Rs. 1,75,000. The Chief was reduced by Col. Smith in 1773 and a garrison of the Nawab's troops stationed at the Capital.

The Madura district was bounded by Melur on the east, by the Nattam Colleries on the north, by Dindigul belonging then to Mysore on the east and by Tinnevelly on the south, being 45 miles in length and 35 in breadth and the annual revenue had diminished to £34,000.

The Tinnevelly country lay further south, being separated from the mountains on the north by the wild valleys of Watrap and Uttamapalayam. The Poligar Chiefs could bring 30,000 men into the field. The productions that enrich the neighbouring island of Ceylon would flourish here, and might render us the rivals of the Dutch in the cinnamon trade: but the particular tenure under which Tinnevelly has been held, the convulsions it has endured from the first intrusions of

VII. *Their Final Pacification by the English.*

When the poligars of the Carnatic including the Southern Districts were transferred to the control of the Company in 1792 by a treaty concluded with the Nawab, the Company regarded them as usurpers of authority, but subject to the Nawab whose camp they were bound to attend whenever they were summoned with a military force proportioned to their power and territory. They had been a perpetual source of violence and distraction to the weak government of the Nawab upon whose officers they frequently retained.

After the Company took up the management of the Carnatic, the Court of Directors issued a despatch in 1795 in which they entered into a very full discussion of the principles underlying the treaty of 1792 and of the rights acquired by the Madras Government to reform the administration of the poligars' possessions. An interesting report was submitted by the Board of Revenue on this subject in 1797 and a minute was afterwards recorded by Lord Hobart in which he pointed out to the Court of Directors the means by which the Poligars might be rendered useful subjects and obedient tributaries of the British Government. The Directors expressed their agreement with the views of Lord Hobart, and in their despatch of 5th June 1799 in-

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the Mussulmen in the course of this century, and the depravity of its rulers, have counteracted the benefits of nature. Even when a native Rajah governed this province, the flat and open country only was reduced, and was let for specific sums to great renters, who were invested with despotic powers, and harassed the peaceful subjects; while various leaders, possessing considerable territory, maintained armed force, and withheld their stipulated tribute on the first appearance of disturbance.

It was in 1782 that the English Presidency began to tackle the situation. The Ramnad country was then infested by a host of rebels under Māppillai Tevar, a relation of the ruling family, who overran the country and invested for many months the garrison of Ramnad. Sivaganga was controlled by the Murdu brothers, who frequently ravaged the territories of the Company and the Nawab. Madura, Melur and other neighbouring districts were harassed by the Colleries. All the Poligars of Tinnevelly were in rebellion and in close communication with the Dutch Government at Colombo, from which attempts were planned in conjunction with their own forces and with Māppillai Tevar to reduce both the Tinnevelly and Marava dominions. Nearly a hundred thousand Poligars and Colleries were in arms throughout the southern Provinces. The situation was worsened by the oppressions of the renters and the revenue officials. The campaigns of Col. Fullarton are detailed in this above letter and included the reduction of the Poligars of Melur and Sivaganga, a march into Tinnevelley, an attack on Pānjālankurichi and on Sivagiri. Finally peace was concluded with the poligars on their paying or giving a bond for 15,000 pagodas each and agreeing to the demolition of the defences of Pānjālankurichi. Col. Fullarton's dealings with the poligars were marked by a combination of severity and clemency. He released most of the Poligar prisoners held in detention in Palamcottah and expected that the poligars of Pānjālankurichi and Sivagiri who had been singled out for punishment would be punctual in their payments and the rest of the poligars would also be equally punctual.

sisted on "the absolute suppression of the military power of the Poligars and on the substitution of a pecuniary tribute, more in proportion than the ordinary *peshkash* to the revenues of their pollams, and more adequate to the public demands for defraying the expenses of general protection and government."

The Collectors of the Southern and Western Poligar Countries were ordered to report fully on the military establishments of the poligars and the mode of their maintenance as well as on the revenue and other resources of each Poligar, and on the nature of the various oppressions to which the inhabitants were subjected. The events preceding Major Bannerman's expedition on the so-called Bannerman-Poligar War which centred round the conduct of Kattaboma Nayak, the poligar of Pāñjālam-kurichi, convinced Government that the time had come to fully and finally vindicate their authority and quell the rebellious spirit that was beginning to spread; but they temporised a little till Seringapatam was taken and their anxieties had vanished. Major Bannerman restored peace in some measure; but within two years there had to be waged another Poligar War which had been well described in the Military Reminiscences of General Welsh who was staff officer to the commander throughout the campaign. After the final suppression of this rebellion [14] Government in a proclamation, dated 1st December

14. *The Poligar Wars of 1799-1801*—The recrudescence of anarchy which culminated in the murder of Lieutenant Clarke at Ramnad in 1798, led to the undertaking of strong measures by the British. Kattabomma Nayak was now entirely alienated from all the Marava Poligars of the West. The Vanniyan of Sivagiri suffered from the depredations of the Poligars of Kolarpatti who was looting his country. A dangerous confederacy of the Eastern Poligars was concentrating on Eḷāyirampannai with the plan of attacking all the palayams of the west. Thus, west was closely united against the east and even the Pulli Thevan had seceded from the ranks of the rebels. But the Chief of Ettaipuram did not join his brother poligars of the east and proved himself strictly loyal to the Company. Mr. S. R. Lushington, who was the new Collector of Poligar *Peshkash*, could not try persuasive measures with Kattabomma Nayak. In September 1799, Major Bannerman proceeded against Pāñjālankurichi and attempted to storm the fort. After some struggle the Poligar and his followers evacuated the fort. At Kollarpatti, Kattabomma Nayak was engaged in a battle and his troops were disbursed; but he himself escaped. His minister, Subramania Pillai was captured and hanged. Bannerman got the surrender of Nagalapuram and its Poligar and executed the latter's younger brother, who was a more dangerous rebel. After some time, Kattabomma was secured from his refuge in Pudukottai and was condemned to death in the presence of all poligars. He was hanged at Kayattar and the memory of that event is even now kept alive and all passers-by throw handfuls of small stones by the side of the site for repose of the soul of the victim and for the freedom of the traveller from the torment of his visitations; and offerings of sheep, rice and fruits and chaplets are made for the cure of diseases and for the remedy of blight on land. Various legends and some ballad literature have grown round Kattabomma.

Pāñjālankurichi was confiscated and also the estates of the five Poligars who

1801, suppressed the use of all weapons of defence and promised besides a general amnesty a permanent assessment to the Poligars on the principles of Zamindari Tenure. According to Bishop Caldwell, writing in 1881, the most remarkable of the changes brought about is that of the Poligar himself. "The Poligar has become a Zamindar and has changed his nature as well as his name. One can scarcely believe it possible that the peaceful Nayaka and Marava Zamindars of the present day are the lineal descendants of those turbulent and apparently untameable chiefs of whose deeds of violence and daring the history of the last century is so full. One asks: can it be really true that the peaceful Nayaka ryots of the present day are the lineal descendants of those fierce retainers of the Poligars? The change brought amongst the poorer classes of the Maravas is not perhaps quite so complete, but many of them have merged their traditional occupation of watchmen in the safer and more reputable occupation of husbandmen; and it may be fairly said of the majority of the members of this caste, that though once the terror of the country, they are now as amenable to law and reason as any other class."

The proclamation of Lord Clive, dated 1st December 1801, was made soon after the assumption of the Carnatic by the British consequent upon the new treaty of July 1801 entered into with the nephew and successor of Nawab Umdatu'l-Umara. It insisted on the surrender by all inhabitants of the provinces of Dindigul, Tinnevelly, Ramnad, Sivaganga and Madura of all arms consisting of muskets, matchlocks, pikes, *gingauls* and *sarabogoi* into the hands of the British military officers: It gave amnesty to all the

had joined in the rebellion, *viz.* Eḷāiram Pannai, Nagalapuram, Kolarpatti, Kadalgudi and Kulattur. It was ordered that all the forts should be destroyed and every firelock, matchlock, pike or spear, should be surrendered on pain of death. The other rebel Poligars were sent as prisoners including two brothers of Kattabomma and garrisons were stationed at Sankaranainarkoil, Kayattar and Palamcottah.

After over a little more than a year of peace, trouble broke out again. The imprisoned poligars escaped from Palamcottah to Pāñjālankurichi (February 1801), where the walls were defended against the attack of British troops. One by one the forts fell again into the hands of the Poligars and it was not till reinforcements arrived from Trichinopoly that Pāñjālankurichi was again attached and reduced. The fugitives including the dumb brother of Kattabomma escaped to Sivaganga and joined in the rebellion of the Marudus there, who had to be suppressed after a most difficult campaign ending with the capture of Kaliarkoil (October 1801). The brothers of Kottabomma were brought to Pāñjālankurichi and hanged. The Marudu brothers were hanged at Tirupattur. The Pāñjālankurichi fort was razed to the ground; the site was ploughed over and sown with castor seed and the very name was expunged from the records. Lushington hunted down gangs of rebels that were still at large. The Dalavay Pillai, one of the chief supporters of Pāñjālankurichi fled to the Maravas of Naiguneri, where a little rebellion was enacted and had to be suppressed by troops. (*vide* Caldwell's *History of Tinnevelly*—Tullivan's *Tracts upon India* (1795).

Poligars and Servaikaras except Virapandya Nayaka and Mookkat Nayaka of Pānjālankurichi, (the brothers of Kattabomma) Mulapen of Ramnad and the persons under restraint and it assured a permanent assessment of revenue on the lords of the palaiyams upon the principles of zamindari tenure.

Thus the real dawn of a new peaceful and prosperous era began for the southern countries with this Proclamation. It was like the emergence of light after the darkest hour of predawn, when the situation had reached the Nadir of anarchy. As Dr. Caldwell remarks : " Things were worse under the Nayakas than under the Pandyas, worse still under the rule of the Nawab, and worst of all—as the night is at its darkest just before the dawn—during that deplorable period immediately before the interference of the English—when the Nawab's power had become merely nominal and the real power that survived was that of fierce Poligars and avaricious 'renters.' "

THE MORAL RÔLE OF INDIAN ART

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Integration of Personal Emotions and Attitudes into Social Universals.

The more significant the art work, the more universal and impersonal is its appeal. It is a paradox that the artist selects and presents his subject-matter for interpretation through the mediation of a specific pictorial pattern; but the success of his artistic expression lies in that pattern embodying some universal quality or relation. Artistic genius consists in the expression of universals from concrete relations and situations. For man is so constituted that his profound satisfaction can come only from a conscious or unconscious identification of himself with other-than-self. A lyrical poet, a musician, a painter, or a sculptor may so express the individual passions and sentiments of love, grief and exaltation that these become abstract, typical, and universal as embodied in all actual or possible relations and situations.

When personal emotions, attitudes and experiences are thus intellectualised or organised into the abstract, the impersonal and the generic æsthetic pattern, there is change in quality and intensity, breadth and distance associated with a sense of competence and insight. These are lifted to another plane and aid in social adaptation and integration. We may call these æsthetic expressions 'social universals.' Their appeal unlike that of the 'sensuous universals' in art work is not of the widest range, bound up as they are in some measure with the mental and social characteristics of a particular civilisation. But within a particular civilisation they are the chief instruments of the good, and working through the desires and emotions of man disclose human relations not to be found in axioms and admonitions, precepts and codes.

The social universals are products of a complex process of creative imagination in which idealisation, synthesis, selection, and variation of individual features and attributes and evaluation are involved, so that personal moods and eccentricities are eliminated, on the one hand, and the type does not become too abstract or insipid but elicits a large variety of human reactions on the other. Thus the social type, symbol or universal in art is created, and it may be created in such form as by its power and imaginative unity acquires far greater strength and preeminence than a living example, the experience of single individuals. Art thus becomes the incomparable implement of education not directly but through appeal to man's imaginative ex-

perience, through the creation of the social universal that raises him above the narrow range of personal moods and emotions, and envisages new human relations and possibilities that are as yet unrealised, and that insinuate themselves into his consciousness and purpose. Art has been the means of clarification and strengthening of man's aims and goals of life that transcend moralities and social conventions, the moral precepts of scriptures or the injunctions of the state. Tradition and custom, myth and religion come to reinforce the expression of the social universals that an individual artist presents out of the crucible of his own experience. These also create the so-called archetypes that the artist adopts, beautifies and strengthens capturing the imagination of a people and eliciting their devotions and sacrifices. Much of the material of artistic vision is in fact supplied by the religion and poetic heritage of a community.

The moral function of art lies in the artist's individual gifts of selection and interpretation of such human relations and experiences as may induce social universals i.e. generic social attitudes, values and aspirations and bring about the integration of self and society. But the artist is guided in this by the experience of his race, community or epoch that creates and re-creates ideals and archetypes and the less conscious purposes and faiths—the powerful and cherished products of the collective mind comprising the pervasive moral and artistic environment without which neither morality nor art can be kept alive. Their massed constant influence shapes culture and the desires and purposes of the individual in a manner that anything directly taught by word and axiom can never aspire to. In Europe however, this encompassing moral and artistic environment has been largely disintegrated since the Renaissance, and the artist, left to his own resources, fluctuates between an extreme form of subjectivism and a pale and futile reproduction of past ideology and emotional unity. In a well integrated society or epoch the problem of art for art's sake would not arise. All art work is moral vision. The archetypes of the community do not permit the separation of art, morals and ordinary life and bring about on the plane of meanings and values the fusion between man's emotions, imagination and achievement.

Art and Social Control.

Art induces the range of human emotions and experiences by opening up new vistas of man's one-ness with fellow man, and with the entire realm of Becoming. The power of art consists in the presentation of the universal and the symbolical in the individual.

What is presented with great charm and attraction as the social, the unpersonal and the typical thus determines and regulates the thoughts, feelings and faiths of large bodies of men in all epochs and religions. All great art has created archetypes and symbols of social universals that have contributed towards the cohesion of society and solidarity of the race and effective and

sure guidance for the individual in selecting the values of life. Art has been the chief and easy means by which man's collective consciousness or the insight of individual artists into the finer things and relations and profounder truths and values of life has aided him in facing the trials and tribulations of the world. Both the genius of single individuals and the creations of the people or race have enriched the heritage of expression of social universals in art.

Art and Social Tradition.

The greatest of the world's art forms have not been the work of single individuals. Myths, parables, stories and doctrines have given the world the finest and the noblest ideals, types and symbols. What more beautiful and truer products of imagination can be conceived than the majesty and detachment of the sphinx in Egyptian art, the fortitude and enterprise of Hercules and the physical charm and alertness of Hermes in Greek art, the severity and poise of Siva who has conquered life and conquered death and the compassion of Bodhisattva who has tendered his life as sacrifice for all sentient creatures in Indian art and the suffering and faith of Jesus on the cross or the immaculate purity and universal maternity of the Virgin in the Gothic Cathedrals of France? All these gods of religion and living faith differ from those of metaphysics. They have been loved and adored as ideals of their own hearts by men, and art forms, Hindu, Buddhist and Christian, have been the spontaneous embodiments of this passionate love and adoration. Thus the materials of metaphysics, faith, history and tradition are melted and refashioned by the pious imagination of sculptors and painters into the glorious figures of Siva, Buddha, Christ and the Virgin in art that command the loyalties, penances and charities of men through the centuries. On the other hand, art spreads and conquers territories and people by bearing its message of social universals and morals. A remarkable example in world's history is the establishment of Indian art in Central Asia, Pegu, Siam, Cambodia, Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, Bali and Borneo. Chinese art made little impression in these territories that came under the ambit of the influence of Chinese traders for long centuries, chiefly because it could not, unlike Indian art, present through imaginative vision such social and moral ideals with attraction and clarity among the indigenous peoples of these lands.

Art as an Escape from Society.

Though mankind's visions of truth, beauty and goodness is the same, in the context of the social system morality assumes different accents among different peoples. Society in the Orient has shown a sharp and rigid gradation of castes and classes that have thwarted individual initiatives and achievements. Thus both religion and art stress the supreme values of compassion, non-violence and self-sacrifice, while the doctrines of transmigration

of births, of Karma (deed) and its fruition and of God's immanence in every form, however fixed that may be, enter into their very substance. It is thus that art smoothes the acerbities and excesses of the social system, enabling the individual to accept his lowly status and position in society with greater complacence, and his adversity in a long sequence of births and deaths with greater fortitude. Art, therefore, is a most efficacious cultural instrument for expressing man's repressed and baffled emotions and sentiments, for securing his psychological and social adjustment. As a matter of fact the success of Oriental art in bringing about social equilibrium is illustrated by the stress of different levels of existence and the sequence of births and deaths and transmigration of souls in a vast panorama of life, where sorrow and joy, despair and promise intermingle, bridging the gulf between actual conditions and possibilities. The notes of frustration, sadness and pessimism are in fact drowned by the elegant display of the delights of the senses and the intoxication of enjoyment embodied in the array of surging and dancing figures, scenes of domestic life and love, sports of animals, and the blossoming of flowers and the ripening of fruits that one comes across at Ajanta, Borabodur and Angkor.

At the other extremity of the world of art, we find in Greece a kind of art that stressed the harmony of proportions in statuary, temple building, vase-making and composition of the tragedy that are in such utter and sad contrast with the political turmoil and moral chaos of the Hellenic world. If the social and political system could not assure sanity and serenity to the Greek citizens the harmony and the order were to be found in the magnificent art works of Hellas glorifying Gods and heroes rather than ordinary mortals, and depicting the ideal events of myths and legends rather than the affairs of the earth. But the Hellenic gods and heroes were imbued with all human desires and passions, acting and suffering like the mortals of the earth. Yet the sovereign power of Zeus, the heroic manly strength of Hercules, the womanly dignity of Hera and the noble wisdom of Pallas Athene, though largely conceived in human terms were the sources of consolation for the individual, though not of integrity of the Hellenic city states that pursued their sanguinary course of class struggles and internecine conflicts. Similarly the High Renaissance Painting of Italy, with its marvellous linear rhythms and colour harmonies and idealisations of the human situation was a counter-balance in the domain of art to the egoistic individualism and license of the aristocracy and the common people and the chronic turbulence and wickedness of the Italian towns. The immense vitality and terrific vigour of the art of Michael Angelo, who denied himself all the pleasures of companionship and good living and devoted himself to endless toil, had their counterpart in the grandeur, magnificence and brutality of Italian life. Similarly the touching humanism and mysticism of Fra Angelico revealed the faith and devotion of the ineffectual minority that were being smothered by the sensualism

and luxury as well as the storm and the stress of life. Art expressed the social universals that were challenged by the crass materialism, unashamed vice and extraordinary release of energies in the new social environment. Through the epochs, art provides a refuge and an escape to the individual when society appears to him as a system of chaos and disorder.

Art as Remaking Society.

Art by bringing about the unity and the order in the ideal plane, saves civilisation from disintegration and bears within its bosom the elements of its re-making. It is for this reason that one cannot call art, 'religious', or 'secular', or 'ethical' for art mobilises, all the truths of religion and metaphysics, and all the axioms of morality to give peace to the individual in his social regime. Art in fact combines metaphysics, philosophy, religion and ethics, and makes all these human and concrete in its task of bringing about the equilibrium between the individual and the society through an ideal collective representation that sometimes has an even greater power to mould humanity than the actual society and its institutions.

The Social and Ethical Significance of Early Buddhistic Art.

In the Orient what largely passes for religious content of art is social and ethical. In those early Buddhist sculptured decorations at Bharhut, Sanchi, Bodh Gaya and Amaravati we see illustrations of the birth legends of Buddha (Jatakas) with exquisite characterisation and loving attention to details, neither articulating a religious experience nor portraying a religious episode, but depicting a moral tale that for all time to come stands for the glorification of certain generic social virtues like self-sacrifice, tenderness, compassion, purity and truthfulness that have been accepted by the Oriental peoples. At Sanchi we find illustrated in several reliefs the generosity of Prince Vessantara who gave away all what he had, including his children and wife, thus exhibiting "the perfection of benevolence." Similarly there is the story depicted of the monkey-king who to save his suite of eighty thousand monkeys against archers who surrounded them cleared the river Ganges by a prodigious leap with a rope permitting the monkeys to cross safely. But a malevolent monkey who was no other than the traitor Devadatta in his past birth dropped on his back and broke his spine. Or, again, among the reliefs at Amaravati and the frescoes at Ajanta we find the touching episode of the royal elopement with six tusks (Chaddanta), sawing off with his own trunk his tusks in order to gratify the wish of the Queen of Benares, once his wife, who devoured with jealousy, due to the favour unconsciously shown by the elephant to another wife of his, sought her own death to wreak her revenge. Similarly, there is the story of the King of the Sibis portrayed in sculpture, who in order to save a dove that had sought refuge against a pursuing hawk in the king's lap gave his own flesh and ultimately his whole body as offering when the weighing balance showed

that his freshly killed flesh grew lighter and lighter in comparison with the dove's.

The Jataka Illustrations at Ajanta.

About the frescoes of Ajanta a whole book, may be written. We have here the entire procession of Indian life from love-making, dice playing, hunting, procession of horsemen and elephants and march of armies in foreign lands to the episodes in the birth, life and death of the Buddha, from the sports of monkeys and elephants, and cock and buffalo fights to the flowering palasa tree along the trunk of which a swarm of ants climbs up. Nothing is here left out. A strong sense of naturalism and a broad humanitarianism have mingled with an intense spirituality to animate the graceful men and women and their chaste gentle poses and gestures. Even lovers have a refinement in their reciprocal attitudes and gestures which make amorous approach something of a ritual. The drama of human life, of love and death, happiness and suffering, is dominated by the sense of the transience of existence, and a profound emotion of piety, with which the beholder becomes saturated as he devoutly wends his way from cave to cave in this sanctuary. In fact the idyllic scenes of Indian life, the rich panorama of the flowering jungle or the pomp and pleasures of the King's court merely form the setting of the enchanting figures of the holy beings of wisdom and compassion, the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, some of the loveliest and purest visions ever dreamt of and executed by artist. It is they who epitomise in their lovely slender bodies and meaningful, supernatural gestures the universal values that are dispersed among the variegated scenes of the pageant of Indian life at Ajanta. As an embodiment of the social ideals of Buddhism, Ajanta vies with Mathura, Sarnath and Borobodur, and influenced Central Asia, China and distant Japan.

The Borobodur Bible.

Not merely Buddhist legends but also legends from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata are depicted in bas reliefs and paintings in a thousand temples within the frontiers of India and in Java, Siam and Cambodia, where the Indian art traditions spread. In the great stupa at Borobodur in Java we have the procession galleries adorned by a series of some two thousand bas reliefs, illustrating the life of the Buddha according to the Lalita Vistara, the Divyavadana, the Karmavibhanga, the Gangavyuha and the Jatakamala as well as various other legends. Referring to these Coomaraswamy observed, "We have here a third great illustrated Bible, similar in range, but more extensive than the reliefs of Sanchi and the paintings of Ajanta. This is a supremely devout and spontaneous art, naturally lacking the austerity and the abstraction of the early Buddhist primitives, but marvellously gracious, decorative and sincere. The episodes represented are by no means so exclusively courtly as is the case at Ajanta, but cover

the whole circle of Indian life alike in city and village. The narrative element is more conspicuous than at Ajanta the craftsmen closely adhering to the book ;" while he portrays social life, bird and animals and vegetation of his own land ; the reliefs at Borobodur are so extensive that if laid end to end they would cover a space of about three miles. In these magnificent sculptured panels which have been seen by thousands of devoted pilgrims through the centuries, we see unfolded a poignant epic drama of human emotions in a cosmic setting where man reaps the fruits of good and evil deeds (karma) in previous births, where god, man and animal form links in a continuous chain of sequence of existences, inexorably working out the universal law of Karma, and where the profound lesson is to end the uninterrupted cycle of births and deaths through the absence of desires and the good deeds of love, compassion and sympathy for all. Nothing is discarded in the scenic representations, the pomp of wealth, the might of arms, the ardent passion and serene grace of women and the beauty of nature, but all is subdued by the sincere expression of the triumph of purity and wisdom as embodied in the story of Buddha's enlightenment. This triumph is expressed in every single gesture and mood of gods and angels, men and women, animals and birds in the vast panorama. Step by step, from gallery to gallery pilgrims are led through illustrations of the law of retribution of good and noble deeds, the story of the Buddha's preparation in the course of hundreds of past lives, the episodes in the life of the historical Buddha until they witness the search for the highest wisdom revealed by the Bodhisattvas of the Mahayana. "When at last," writes Vogel, "the pilgrim has reached the summit of the *Stupa* the phenomenal world vanishes from his sight and he is transported into the sphere of mere thought.[1]" The unity of the realm of Becoming has nowhere been more sincerely expressed in sculpture than here. Over the procession of human episodes which are linked together under a master-plan and in each of which every figure is absolutely unique and sincere in expression of face, gesture and pose of body, there broods the ineffable mystery of the oneness and harmony of life. Art here has immortalised itself by transforming small episodes and personal moods into the universals that help in the realisation of the oneness of life and of the divine wisdom which creates it.

The Intermingling of Gods and Men at Angkor Vat.

In Siam and Cambodia as well as in Java we similarly see the legends of the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the Srimadbhagavat, the Harivamsa and other tales connected with Vishnu and Siva illustrated in fine sculptures adorning the walls of the temples. The churning of the milky sea, the death of Bhishma, the banishment of Rama, the loss of Sita, the fight between Vali and Sugriva, the alliance of Ram and Sugriva, the meeting between Sita and

1. J. P. Vogel, *Buddhist Art*, p. 100.

Hanumana in the Asoka grove in Lanka, the fight between the armies of Rama and Ravana as well as the episodes of the life of Hari and of Krishna are all depicted in the famous temple at Angkor Vat. Here again art has truthfully portrayed social universals among peoples who did not know the legends, but who have absorbed them so sincerely and deeply that modern artists now draw frequently on them for their mural decorations in the pagodas of today. In the *sanctus sanctorum* Buddha, Vishnu and Siva are installed in their divine aloofness like stars that dwell apart. But on the paintings and bas-reliefs on the walls of the corridors leading up to the divinities are depicted the conjugal love and trials of Rama and Sita, the brotherly attachment of Lakshmana, the fidelity of Hanumana, the marriage of Siva and Parvati and the trials, sufferings and sacrifices of Bodhisattva in an all too human setting. The gods who are the apotheoses of the social virtues come down with their human desires and sufferings to the level of the common people, while the men and women in their devotion, thanksgiving and purity raise themselves to the level of the gods. Siva in order to save the gods and all living creatures undertakes the stupendous sacrifice of drinking the poison cast by the ocean or by the universe serpent, Vasuki. Vishnu, Ramchandra and Krishna go through their hundred adventures for the sake of the protection of heaven and earth, gods and men against the Asuras. Similarly Buddha prepares himself for the message of enlightenment for humanity through innumerable lives of sacrifice and compassion. Then they come down to the earth, and mingle with all life. What brooding pity and tenderness for all living creatures then radiate from them, and this is reciprocated by what trustful adoration of all ! The figures of nude female worshippers arranged in serene yet animated throngs with their infinitely sweet and chaste poses and gestures of adoration cannot but be an unfailing source of inspiration for the pilgrims. Even the foliage of the forest, the sheep, the elephants and the lambs, the nagas or the water-sprites and the ripple of the waters participate in the cosmic devotion not to speak of the homage of gods, angels and spirits of the upper air. Such is the picture the succession of mural paintings and sculptured panels unfolded before the throngs of observant pilgrims as they used to wend their way to the main shrine. Religions may change, kingdoms may perish, but the art which aids in elevating the moral tone of social life lives so long as society endures. It is the stress of the social universals that has brought about the merging with irresistible power of Beauty and Truth at Ajanta, Sanchi, Amaravati, Borobodur and Angkor Vat.

Biblical Scenes in European Christian Art.

The Javanese sculptured panels have been compared with Ghiberti's Doors of Paradise in Florence designed at the opening of the 15th Century. Ghiberti, Jacopo della Quercia, Donatello and the della Robbias presented many Christian scenes with marvellous verisimilitude and elegance of composition.

The creation of Adam and Eve, the Temptation and Expulsion, the story of Cain and Abel, Esau and Jacob, Christ before Pilate, the Crucifixion and the Resurrection were all pictured by Ghiberti in delightful natural backgrounds with superb illustrational effect. Like the Javanese scenes the various events from the old Testament and of the life of Christ and the Fathers of the Church formed the source of inspiration to generations of pilgrims who visited the Bapistry at Florence. Similarly, Donatello presented with tragical pathos the Scourging, the Crucifixion and the Deploration of Christ and with great dramatic vigour the scenes of Salome and St. John. A profound pity, tenderness and compassion as revealed in the poignant Christian drama were unfolded and the figures of Mary, Christ, Magdalene and the dancing angels and cherubims were especially depicted with great fervour and piety.

But the difference of treatment between Oriental and Renaissance art in Europe can hardly be missed. There is, in the first place, a tendency towards sentimentality marked in the Christian sculptors that found its apotheosis in the delicious bambini and sweet madonnas of the della Robbias and Raphael. This is far different from the chastity and restraint of movements and the serene rhythm of gestures of men and women in the Amaravati or Borobodur reliefs. Many of the angels, madonnas and cherubims in Christian art are similar, pictured it appears from local models. In the East there is no attempt at naturalism or realism, but at the same time a marvellous plastic beauty of nude figures has been reached, soft, smooth and chaste, that is enhanced by the rhythm of the poses and gestures, every one of which is of high plastic value. The beauty of the human body in Oriental sculpture is far different from the Grecian or the Renaissance conception. Such beauty, constituted by the harmony of limbs and movements and expressions of the face, is plastically transmuted into something more subtle and expressive of the deep and noble stirrings of the human soul, thus aiding in its attainment of wisdom and bliss.

The Notion of Super-sensual Perfection in Art.

Man's physical beauty appears in Indian art as the rapture of the soul; it suggests supernatural capacity transcending the limitations of physical well-being. It is far different from the form of physical perfection derived by classical Greek sculpture from the spectacle in the national games, and that became almost an obsession of Europe for several centuries. Mankind has also dreamt of other kinds of perfection, and so the norms and types of physical human beauty differ. The luminous beauty of Buddha, Bodhisattva, Vishnu or Siva is in subtle unison with the supernatural aims of the body as the receptacle of the soul. The glory and majesty of these gods in Indian sculpture represent the apotheosis of man's beauty. Woman's charm in India with the emphasis of full, rounded breasts and ample, slanting hips is the grace of motherhood that hides in the fair sex her supernatural possibilities.

For every woman the ideal of physical perfection is that of the primordial Mother of the Universe in the full radiance of her maternal glory.

The ideal of beauty of the human form in the West no doubt has been largely dominated by the inclinations and standards of classical Greece where friendship was preferred to love and the well-poised athletic form of the human male became the standard of human beauty. In the Orient the norms of the perfect male and the perfect female are different and woman's beauty is the flower and herald of motherhood. The Orient in its sense of beauty shows on the whole not merely a sounder biological judgment but also a sounder psychological judgment. In Western art, except in the Middle Ages with their Madonnas, Angels and Saints, woman's loveliness and charm rather than the serenity and beauty of her soul have been stressed. In Oriental art we have not only the Apsara's and the Nayika's captivating loveliness, like that of Aphrodite, but also the wisdom and tranquillity of Prajnaparamita, Tara and Parvati. Like the unique, serene and well-balanced figures of Buddha and Siva, Indian sculpture, stirred not merely by the physical charm but also by the tenderness, wisdom and mystery of womanhood, has produced new types of feminine beauty that only have a spiritual import.

Metaphysical Conceptions In Art.

In Indian metaphysics the feminine symbolises the mind in creation and movement, not in rest and withdrawal that are symbolised by the masculine. Indian art represents the female divinity in the state of profound meditation only in such Buddhist images of the goddess of wisdom as Prajnaparmita and Tara seated in the rigid padma and vajrasanas with the legs firmly locked in. In some Buddhist images of Tara and the Brahmanical images of Saraswati, Lakshmi, Kali and Parvati we find a relaxation of the rigid meditative pose by the adoption of sukhasana or lalitasana with the right leg hanging down and the foot resting on a lotus. Usually, however, the female divinities express movement, and are in the standing, gentle tribhanga or in alidha and pratylidha poses in vigorous action against the forces of evil.

The female divinity or Sakti in Indian religion and art symbolises form, energy or manifestation of the human spirit in all its rich and exuberant variety. Thus the images of female divinities are far more diverse than those of Vishnu, Siva or Bodhisattva. The icons of the mother deity range from the benignant brooding motherliness of Parvati, the serene dignity of Prajnaparamita and Saraswati or the nubile charm of Uma to the omnipotence and majesty of Durga slaying the demons and the weird vigour of the dancing and grinning Chamunda and Kali wearing the garland of skulls.

Religious doctrines in India lay down the injunction forbidding the sight of the nude female figure. But in India this injunction is got over by covering the female form with thin or transparent apparel or by representation

only of the upper part of the body as undraped. This has been due to the ancient and medieval Indian habit of clothing for women who did not cover the upper part of the body or used loose garments. Such, however, is the dominating sense of mystery and illusiveness in Indian iconography that the nude mingles freely and unconventionally with figures of religious or symbolical import.

The Significance of Poses and Gestures : Feminine.

Of the poses of the female form the most characteristic is the three-fold inflexion, tribhanga, that combines the fullness and straightness of the woman's torso with the soft and graceful slant of the right, or occasionally, the left hip, and that expresses a most delicate and harmonious blend of poise and charm, serenity and springiness. This characteristic flexion goes back to the images in Bharhut, Sanchi and Amaravati. The most elegant instances are afforded by the images of the Tree spirits (Yakshi or Salabhanjika) at Mathura, Konarakand and other places, of Parvati at the Elephanta cave, of the river goddesses—Jamuna and Saraswati—at Ellora, of Tara at Munshiganj, of Mahesvari at Bhuvaneswar and of the South Indian bronzes, Parvati with Subramanya in her arm, Parmeswari and Gouri. This pose is obviously derived from the Indian woman's natural movement as she carries in her arm her child or a pitcher of water that cannot but strike an Indian artist.

The exaggerated hip effect (atibhanga) produced by the mother bearing the child in her own arm is seen at its best in the image at Khajurah and the Tanjore bronze image of Parvati with Subramanya. On the other hand, the atibhanga flexion is also illustrated in the voluptuous forms of the couple on the railing post at Amaravati, of Rati (with Kamadeva) at the Kailasa temple in Ellora, of the apsaras in the temples of Bengal and Orissa, of the many maithuna couples at Khajuraho and Konarak and of the South Indian bronze Mohini.

The tribhanga pose is formed, as Stella Kramrisch remarks, as if brought about by a rotating movement, now circular, now flattened—a movement which proceeds from below upwards; like a chalice it raises the globular breasts almost to shoulder height. The dynamic movement proceeds beyond the physical reach of the figure and symbolises the urge within the perfect human feminine body to ascend towards its ultimate spiritual destiny i.e., towards salvation. It is noteworthy that the tribhanga pose is adopted for masculine divinities in Indian art whenever the softer qualities, such as love, compassion and benignity are sought to be stressed. Thus this pose is characteristic of the figure of Bodhisattva at Ajanta, of Buddha at Bagh, of Vajrapani at the Visvakarma cave, of Maitreya and Lokanatha in Bengal and Orissa, of the many figures of Krishna throughout Northern India and of the South Indian images of Siva as Gangadhara or Kalasamhara.

The balanced tribhanga flexion has been adopted in images in all Asiatic countries from Central Asia and China to Java and Cambodia wherever Indian art traditions have established themselves. Thus both man's and woman's body in Oriental art is, in the first place, so transmuted as it may attain something beyond the possibilities of physiology that confine the Grecian and Renaissance search for physical beauty; and, in the second place, the human body is so abstracted and rearranged in its essentials as to be useful in formal shape, proper to stone, metal or wood. The significance of Oriental art forms lies not merely in its rich symbolism and attempt to create super-sensual norms of beauty but even more in their abstract formal rhythms and movements.

No attempt is made here to imitate human anatomy, but the features of the body, especially the face, hands and feet are so represented as to make the supernatural aims of the body easily comprehensible. Thus in a sense the representation of Buddha, Vishnu and Siva is a symbol. It expresses the idea of Being or Becoming. Secondly, if it be a stone, bronze or wooden image, its abstract formal or geometrical quality transcends the naturalistic, for the copying of nature is the real enemy of symbolism. In different Oriental countries man's beauty or perfection is represented by art in different media in a blend of formal element and naturalism that has markedly differed in different epochs. But the emphasis is always twofold: first, towards the notion of extra-physical or supernatural perfection; secondly, towards the formal, highly simplified image, almost geometrically conceived, that can express the inner life where the conflicts and struggles are resolved into a profound tranquillity, competence and majesty.

The supernatural beauty of the male divinity, such as Buddha, Bodhisattva, Siva or Vishnu, is expressed in Indian sculpture by the smooth modelling of broad shoulders such as those of the bull or the elephant and of a slender waist such as that of the lion and by an elegant roundness and softness of the limbs such as those of the female body. All divinities are youthful and should look like sixteen years old, as enjoined in the Vishnudharmottara, should never show any muscles, veins or bones, and should bear a nimbus. The Vishnudharmottara adds that the face of the gods should be well-finished and benignant; large arches, triangles and other geometrical shapes should be avoided in representing gods. A smooth and rounded bodily frame in which anatomical details are largely eliminated easily suggests superhuman grace and power.

An elaborate variety of ornaments decks the undraped divine figures. The crown or tiara, the ear-ring, the chain and the girdle are especially carved with great artistic effect contributing towards the enchantment and illusiveness of the figures. An abstract, super-sensible form becomes the fit vehicle of ideal attributes of the deity that are further symbolised and supported by the addition of hands and heads so harmoniously balanced in the

whole plastic composition that they do not engender any suggestion of the abnormal or the grotesque but on the contrary logically and happily translate the underlying motive of the icon.

The Significance of Poses and Gestures: Masculine.

Most of the male divinities in Indian Sculpture are in rigid standing or sitting meditative poses. The heavy solidity of the lower part of the body and of the firmly placed legs (samapadsthanaka) that are not much articulated as well as the unshakeably straight vertical line from the crown to the feet express powerfully in stone or bronze the omnipotence and inflexibility of truth asserting themselves above the impermanence of life and the world. The same notion is also represented by the rigidity of the seated pose of meditation in baddha padmasana, with the legs firmly interlocked and the soles turned upward. Buddha, Vishnu or Surya that belong to the highest level of spiritual existence are usually depicted in the above poses. But Bodhisattva, Siva and above all Krishna show curvilinear movement (bhanga) and rhythm of the body symbolical of the grace and compassion to man that are stressed. Since the deity is not a human individual but the embodiment of a supernatural or metaphysical abstraction, there is also often a striking departure from the human form or symmetry in the multiplicity of heads, hands and feet so as to suit the cosmic vision. Oriental sculpture oversteps anthropomorphism, and seeks nothing more and nothing less than the expression of the Beyond, reached by cosmic meditation with none of the limitations set by measurable human goals and ideals. Thus what is a symmetrical from the standpoint of naturalism and realism becomes in sculpture the vehicle of the cosmic and the transcendental. It must, however, be remembered that in certain schools and epochs art retained its human anthropomorphic character, as instanced by Gupta art in India, Tang and Sung art in China and Nara art in Japan.

Finally, the play of fingers of the hands, mudra, as these hold some flowers or implements, the sway of the limbs as well as general movements are devised in Indian sculpture as suggestive of the deity and of His or Her divine actions (divyakriya) far remote from human gestures and movements. Yet these are invested with a remarkable tenderness and subtlety of expression of what are really superhuman and spiritual emotions and attitudes. On the other hand the practice of such movements, postures and gestures has been found in Oriental yogic experience to engender the spiritual atmosphere, attitudes and virtues associated with the particular deity. Thus the artist for his image-making must resort to spiritual and æsthetic contemplation (dhyana) and not the imitation of any human model that he has been strictly enjoined to eschew. Thus he works directly from his own mental image that represents some aspect or other of the cosmic essence. Even where the image of a horse is to be made from a horse actually seen,

the artist is required, as we read in the Sukraniti, to form a mental image in dhyana. Defect in portraiture is attributed in the Hindu canon of art not to lack of observation but to imperfect identification (sithila samadhi). Thus the practice of Hindu art is a discipline of meditation which eventuates in the skill of operation and technique (silpasthana-kausala). On the other hand those who look at earthen images "do not serve the clay as such but without regard thereof honour the deathless principles referred to in the earthen images."[2] It is serene perfect meditation that can beget the perfect bodily poise of Buddha, Bodhisattva, Siva and Vishnu.

But while the Orient has produced some of the world's most perfect, inevitable and inspiring male and female images and poses of the profound serenity and silence of Being, certain other spiritual moods that embody the processes of Becoming or divine actions (divyakriya) have also received magnificent and unique plastic expression. These have usually taken the plastic forms of the various forms of Saktis, Hindu and Buddhistic. Such mother goddesses are found both in their static as well as active poses. In their postures of repose, as in the images of Parvati, Prajnaparamita, Tara, Mahapratisara and Saraswati, they represent the very incarnation of youthful charm and energy. But sometimes they are also represented as engaged in strenuous struggle against the Asuras or powers of evil when their gestures and movements become wild and terrible although their faces depict unperturbed tranquillity. A profound detachment and absence of emotion in the movement or action are combined with an absolute sense of omnipotence devoid of any the least inkling of brutality or vulgar exhibition of physical force. The Asuras, again, seem to succumb without opposition or conflict as if pre-ordained according to the immutable cosmic law of the supremacy of truth and righteousness that the goddess symbolises. Or again, the goddess is represented in a single image symbolising the struggle within the human soul, the power of destruction of the flesh and the devil in the mind of the worshipper and the beholder. Such are the animated images of Durga, Kali, Chamunda, Tara or Paranasavari that yet exhibit a magnificent beauty and feeling-import contrasted with those implicit in the more serene and pleasant types of beauty as Parvati, Prajnaparamita, Uma or Gouri. Their sitting posture is also relaxed in sukhasana or lalitasana with the right leg pendent or placed on a lotus in soft self-conscious gesture of love and benediction to man. It is noteworthy that in Buddhist or Brahmanical art outside India the perfect pose and symmetry that the Indian sculptor could give to the various images in their various seats and gestures (asanas and mudras) following the Indian yogic traditions could not be achieved. Many of these poses were no doubt unfamiliar to the Buddhist

2. Divyāvadāna, Ch. XXXVI and Sukranitisara quoted by Coomaraswamy in The Part of Art in Indian Life, Culture Heritage of India, Vol. III, pp. 501-502.

and Brahmanical converts in China and Further India. Finally, when the divinity is represented in Indian sculpture in its wild destructive aspects, dwarf and pot-bellied bodies having none of the youth and elegance of Buddha, Vishnu, Siva and Parvati are figured. Heruka, a dancing Buddhist divinity terrible in his aspects, is a well known illustration from the sculpture of medieval Bengal.

The Terrible In Art.

In the art of very few countries has the universal mood of the terrible (bhayanaka) been expressed and that in such cosmic significance. Nara-Simha or the God-lion and the female deities such as Parnasavari, Durga, Chamunda, Kali and Ugra Tara symbolise the destructive aspects of the cosmic process. All that is terrible and repellent are combined in such images intended to detach the beholder or devotee from the life of the senses for reaching the truth, which is indeed assured by the grim dancing figures through the gesture of hope (abhaya) in one of her many swirling hands, the other hands usually holding skull, corpse, spear, kettle-drum or bone.

It is easy to understand that in the human mind spiritual truth or wisdom becomes fierce resentment or righteous indignation when it encounters wickedness, vice and ignorance and that love and compassion that encompass everybody enforce themselves upon those who deny its power of deliverance. It is this psychology that underlies the expression of the terrible in Oriental painting and sculpture. In Mahayana Buddhism and Tantrikism of Tibet and China and in Shingon Buddhism in Japan several representations of the terrible are met with. In Eastern India and Tibet the God of Death is a familiar figure. In Japan there are the formidable images of Dai-Itoku and Fudo. The former is a modification of the Brahmanic Yamantaka, the god of death, and the latter is a fierce manifestation of Maha Vairochana, representing the subjugating powers of Buddha over the human passions.[3] Often in oriental religious doctrine and art the serene and the fierce, the compassionate and the furious are contrasted phases of the supreme manifestation of the deity.

No such reconciliation of opposites, of grimness and hope, darkness and light, sacrifice and renewal of life will be found in the treatment of the terrible in Michael Angelo's 'Last Judgment,' Goya's 'Saturn' or Delacroix's Medea, three of the rare representations of the terrible in Western art, while in the representation of the Dance of Death by Holbin, Rethel or other master artists or in the recent treatment of the same theme by Albin Egger-Lienz in Germany we encounter a morbid consciousness of mortality, of the omnipresence of death that has not freed itself from the narrow, medieval spirit.

3. Anesaki : *Buddhistic Art*, pp. 37-44.

Impersonal Love and Beauty in Art.

Contrasted with the silent and the poised or the vigorous and the grim supernatural types of beauty in Indian art are the types of loveliness as represented by the Yakshis, Vrikshakas and Salabhanjikas in Sanchi and Mathura and the Apsaras and Nayikas (celestial nymphs) in Khajuraho and Orissa in the later centuries. The Apsara is the danseuse of heaven as the Nayika is of the earth. Each is free in her loves and wiles, unattached to the home and the family. In these figures Indian art expresses the delights and sports of sex, the incomparable charm of woman that lures men and gods. Such figures abound in the temples of gods and goddesses and embody the Indian ideal of feminine loveliness. About these Apsara figures Rothenstein observes : "Today we look at Sanchi, Badami and Ellora, or at the loveliest of all the medieval carvings at Konarak, Bhuvaneswar and Khajuraho,[4] and accept them gratefully with the dancing Greek nereids, the figures from Boticelli's Primavera or Venus rising from the sea as enchanting manifestations of man's delight in human beauty. The Apsara takes an equally important place in the Buddhist, Brahmanical and Jaina art. So racial a conception could not be changed with the form of religious dogma."[5]

The tree spirits, the nymphs and the heroines of love embody in plastic language all the similes that classical Sanskrit poetry has used to meticulously delicate the features of female charm. The norms of beauty and of expression of erotic and seductive attitudes are in this case also not derived from any human models. Thus the Apsaras and the Nayikas of the medieval temples of Central India, Bengal and Orissa do not suggest gross sex but the sport and delight of the primordial energy (Sakti) that underlies the causation of the universe and of every manifestation or appearance. Such images of female beauty have in fact contributed towards the sublimation and elevation of sex to a supersensible plane, following up the entire medieval Indian religious thought that found the sex motif as the symbol of the cosmic energy explaining the conception and creation of the universe.

Enchanting male forms of human beauty are represented by the figures of Krishna in the medieval temples. There are, for instance, the South Indian bronze images of dancing Krishna (15th Century) and the supremely elegant wooden image of Krishna Govinda of Southern India (17th Century). It was, however, Rajput painting that created the most graceful types of human loveliness in the figures of Krishna and Radha, the incarnations of eternal youth and beauty in Krishna legend. Nowhere in Oriental art has such bewitching loveliness of the human figures been limned with such lyrical intensity and tenderness. But even here the symbolism of the human soul

4. And also at Mayurbhanj. Vide the figure in R. D. Banerjee : *History of Orissa*, Volume 2, p. 420.

5. Codrington : *Ancient India*, Introduction, p. 3.

(Radha) forsaking the world to unite with the Divine, the eternal and universal bridegroom Krishna lends a profound mystery and other-worldliness to the treatment. Oriental art metamorphoses and exalts man's natural delight in human beauty and the associated eroticism into an abstract, intellectualised and universal sentiment that becomes the clue to profound knowledge, insight and striving. The incomparable figure of loveliness becomes also the social symbol or universal that effectively drains the unconscious of the individual, and prepares him, according to the state of his psychological development, for a generic and impersonal vision of love, goodness and beauty.

VEDIC GODS

By

Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. R. SHAMASASTRY, B.A., PH.D.

Who are the Vedic Gods is a question as old as Yāska, the author of the Nirukta. His attempt to answer the question has failed to satisfy not merely his contemporaries, but also modern scholars. The classification of Vedic gods as transparent and translucent has been of no help. It is however hoped that what has been stated in the "Drapsa," "Eclipse-cult" and in my papers published in Oriental Journals will be of some help in clearing the obscurity of Vedic gods and of the phenomena described in connection with them in the Vedas. The Vedic gods are no other than the seven planets, the twenty-seven asterisms, Agastya or Canopus, and Sunasira, the Dog-star Serius and a few other periodical stars. These are the Devas. The Asuras are the imaginary dark spirits of night. Thus Agni is Mars, Angirasa called also 'Go' meaning cow or bull is Jupiter. Dirghatamas is Mercury and Bhrigu or Kanya is Venus. Varuṇa with his Pasas is Saturn with his rings. Venus, Jupiter, Mars, and Mercury are also called Bandhu, Subandhu, Śrutabandhu, and Viprabandhu in order. The sun is Indra while fighting with eclipse-demon. He is Savitar while revealing the world during the clearance of eclipse. The moon in eclipse is Soma-juice under filter to be drunk by Indra and other gods. The sun is Mitra when he arrives at the equinoctial asterism. The old father and mother are the winter and summer solstices. The Devayāna is the portion of the ecliptic between equinox and summer solstice. The Pitiyāna is the path from summer solstice or winter solstice to equinox. The seven sages (Saptarshis, such as Atri, Bhrigu, Kutsa, Vaśiṣṭha, Gautama, Kāśyapa and Angiras, are also the same seven planets. Bhrigu is Venus; Vaśiṣṭha is Mars, Kāśyapa is the Sun, Kutsa is Saturn, Atri is Mercury, and Angirasa is Jupiter. These are quite different from the seven sages of the Great Bear, though some names are common to both the groups. These are known as Atri, Marichi, Vaśiṣṭha, Kāśyapa, Angirasa, Pulaha, Pulastya, and Kratu. The seven vāyus are the seven intercalary months functioning as wind. The seven lords of intercalary months, such as Dhata, Aryama, Mitra, Varuṇa, Amsa, and Bhaga, and Indra are also the same seven planets, with different names having different functions. Dhatar is the moon, Aryaman is Jupiter, Varuṇa is Saturn, Mitra is Equinoctial sun, Indra is the Sun, and Amsa and Bhaga are Mercury and Venus.

The Vedic poets such as Viśvāmitra, Vaśiṣṭha and others are not ordinary mortals; each poet is a representative of a particular planet speaking

of his own functions and merits. Thus Viṣvāmitra is the moon, a born Kshatriya. He becomes Brahman by adopting Gāyatrī, the sun's merit, reminding us of the necessity of combination of the sun and the moon. Vaśiṣṭhā is Agni, Mars. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (I. 28) says "Agniravi devānam Vaśiṣṭah." Venus and Jupiter are poets and priests. (See the Panchajanu, *Poona Orientalist* Vol. VII Nos. 1 & 2).

The following analysis of the functions and the natural phenomena through which these gods or planets pass, as depicted in the first Maṇḍala of the Rig Veda will show that the subject matter not only of the Rig Veda but also of the other Vedas is premeditated and preplanned by the learned among the Vedic people—

Agni is as important a Vedic deity as Indra. He is called the son of the earth (V. 61), Grahapathi or Vastospathi (Lord of the House-hold). He is also called Śruta-bandhu being one of the four brothers (X. 57-61). The period of his yearly revolution round the ecliptic or his own orbit consists of 687 days, being equal to two nodal years of 343 days each. If we add to it one more nodal year, it amounts to 1029 days which is equal to an eclipse cycle of 1000 days and an intercalary month. Seven such cycles make up 7000 days and seven intercalary months, and are equal to 19 luni-solar years, the so called Metonic cycle. This idea is referred to in the verse "Trimūrdhānam Saptarasmin" he has three heads and seven ropes (held in seven hands) in the last hymn of Rig Veda (I. 146)—his domination over both the minor and major eclipse cycles is very well described in oft-quoted enigmatic Vedic verse "Catvāri Śringā" (IV. 58, 3). This verse has been variously interpreted. No less an authority than the author of the Mahābhāshya takes it to be a description of grammatical parts of speech. Sāyaṇa's explanation is too well-known to need repetition here. The real meaning of the verse seems to be the description of Agni, Mars, as the lord of the three nodal years making up one of the seven chakras or cycles of 1000 days. The verse may be translated thus :—

Four are the horns, three the legs, two heads, seven hands, are there to Agni. Fastened or bound with three ropes he bellows like a bull. This great god known as Mahādevan has taken possession of the mortals.

Explanation :—

The two nodes are the two heads; as each of them is given two horns, the number of horns with which the bull assails his victims are four. Each of the three nodal years which make up the body of the bull has one leg. So the whole body has three legs. As each of the three legs is given a fastening, his fastenings are three. The seven hands seem to be the seven cycles of 1000 each presided over by Agni. As he is regarded as Eclipse-fire, he is said to have power over mortals. There may also be some reference to number 7, the cube of which makes a nodal year $7 \times 7 \times 7 = 343$. Three

such years 3 × 343—one thousand and twenty-nine days. Agni or Mars is believed to have three heads and seven ropes or rays (in I. 146) to have the power of burning eclipse-demons and thus help Indra in his fight with Vritra, Śambara and other demons in solar or lunar eclipses.

Agni Vaiśvanar (58-60) is Indra or Vāyu—(See Sāyaṇa's Commentary on I. 59). 1, 12, 21, 31, 36, 45, 58-60, 65-79 ; 93-99 ; 127-129, 143-150.[1] There are the numbers of the hymns in which Agni is praised in the first Maṇḍala.

Indra—He is identified with Sūrya ; he is Manu and Sūrya. He is called Sūrya (RV. X. 89). S. B. identifies Indra with the sun, Vritra being the moon. Veṅkaṭamādhava quotes Brāhmaṇa in Rv. I. 6, 4 in support of the identity of Indra with the sun. It follows therefore that the sun in his fight with Eclipse-demon or causing lunar eclipses is called Indra. In his fight he is sometimes accompanied by Vāyu or horse, the intercalary month in each cycle of 1000 days (three nodal, years) being regarded as the sun's horse. Seven Vāyu indicate seven intercalary months at the close of seven cycles or seven thousand days 19 luni-solar years. Rv. I. 2 is in praise of Indra-vāyu. He makes his appearance in solar eclipse as a conqueror and as a drinker of soma juice (the moon) in lunar—(4-11 ; 14-15 ; 17-18). In solar ecplises Minor planets become visible. They are called Charshinis, 19. The close of the major cycle of 19 years with an eclipse, Jupiter being visible : 21 years 23 close of a cycle. 24-25 eclipsed moon is called Sunahṣepa. 26-30 the same story of Sunahṣepa. 32 lunar ; 33 Navagras and Daśagras mentioned here are of the class of several cyclic jupiters. Jupiter's appearance for 9 or 10 months before becoming invisible when the sun comes near him for two or three months in each year is regarded as Jupiter's departure to heaven for two or three months after performing Satra sacrifice for 9 or 10 months. Once in 12 years when Jupiter happens to be in Leo he becomes occulted by the moon. This is considered Atirātrasatra (See Rv. 10, 57-62 and my papers on "Planets in the Vedas"). The Jupiter's recovery of brilliance after the sun's departure to Libra from Leo, is described here as recovery of Jupiter's cows from Panis or non-sacrificing merchants infesting Libra by Indra under the guidance of Sarmā dogs, or two groups of 4 stars in the Cani's major or minor. In verse 8 eclipse is also mentioned. In 10 recovery of sun's rays by Indra is described as Indra's milking the cows. 34 Asvinis here are Mercury and Venus who are regarded as the sons of dawn appearing during the solar eclipse. 35 Savitar is seen emerging out of solar eclipse, making the world visible. 37-40 seven vāyus or intercalary months are Dhatar, Mitra, Aryama, Varuṇa, Amsa, Bhaga and Indra. 41 Ādityas are Dhatar, Aryan. They are the lords of seven intercalary months.

1. These numbers refer to the hymns of the first Maṇḍala.

44 Lunar, 46-48 lunar, 50 Dawn, 51 Lunar, Mercury becomes visible (Read the story quoted by Sāyaṇa here). 52 solar, 53 lunar at the close, 1099 days or 1059 days. 54 solar at the close of 40 years which is equal to two cycles of 19 years each. Indra is said to have fought in 99 solar eclipses. 55 lunar, 55-56 lunar, 57 solar. 61 solar. 63 Indra's old exploits. 80-83 lunar. 84 Indra and Dadhyanh. The latter is moon who is reduced to skeleton in new moon and Indra's slaying Vritra with his bone means removal of the moon resulting in the destruction of Vritra or shadow in solar eclipse. 85-88 seven Maruts indicating 19 years cycle. 89-90 all gods. 91-92 lunar 100 solar, here Sāyaṇa says that five planets represent four varṇas with Nishadas as the fifth caste (See also Varāhamihira's Brihajjātaka on the castes of Planets). 101-104 lunar 108-109 Indra and Agni and Varuṇa in lunar. 121 solar 129 Indra's exploits, 130 Eclipse-demons ; 131-133 lunar ; 134-137 lunar. 33-34, 46-49, 92, 112-113 ; 115-120, 123 Aśvins or Mercury or Venus with or without Dawn in solar or lunar. If it is second Dawn then it is solar Eclipse.

20, 110-111 and Ribhus, called Prabhva, Vibhva and Vāja, three sons of king Sudhanva, divided the Chamasa cup i.e., the celestial sphere into 4 divisions of 90 degrees each, assigning three months to each. (2) Made one horse i.e., one lunar month into two horses for the sun's chariot. (3) They made Mercury and Venus the charioteers of the Sun, since they are fore-runners of the sun. (4) They made out of the hide of a cow two cows, or one cow and one calf, here the cow is pūrvaphālguni and its calf is Jupiter. (See Rv. X. 57-62 also my paper on Planets in the Vedas). 5. The renovation of father and mother i.e., the solstices so as to make them appear ever in youth. 22, 35 Savitar, the sun is called Savitar when he is emerging out of an eclipse making the world visible. 13 and 142 Apriverses for adjustment of calendar or luni-solar years. (See my Drapsa). 43 and 114 Rudra i.e., the moon and also Vāyus, his sons are praised here. 64 ; 85-90 Maruts or seven vāyus indicating the close of 19 years cycle with or without an eclipse.

62 reappearance of Jupiter after Sun's departure from Leo and Vergo and Jupiter's recovery of Cows i.e., his rays of light with the help of Indra or the Sun, is here referred to.

89-90, 105-107, and 122 Adityas. They are seven known as Dhatar, Aryama, Mitra, Varuṇa, Amsa, Bhaga, and Indra. In other words the moon the Jupiter, the Sun in equinox, Saturn, Mercury and Venus and the Sun in his fight against Vritra or causing lunar eclipse. They are also the lords of seven in intercalary months.

125-126 so called Danastutis or praises of gifts. The gifts are really animals immolated on the occasion of eclipses.

159-160 Dyāva-Prithvī, the loci of the two solstices. Uttarāyaṇa and Dakshiṇāyaṇa known as father and mother.

122 Viśvedevas or all moving luminaries are no other than the seven-planets indicating the close of a cycle with an eclipse solar or lunar.

105 Trita Aptya is no other than the third Rohita eclipse at the close of a cycle of 1000 days. In this series of three eclipses each falls back by 10 days compared with the same in the previous cycle (See my Eclipse-cult).

From the above analysis it is clear that the same seven planets are differently named according to change in their functions and that eclipses, occultations of planets are the most important subject matter of the Vedic hymns necessitating the performance of suitable sacrifices to appease the gods.

THE BUDDHIST SECTS : A SURVEY

By

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Buddhism, in its historical, religious and philosophical aspects, has received a fairly exhaustive treatment in the hands of the present-day orientalists. Still, it seems, the appearance of a number of sects in the second century after Buddha's death has not received the amount of attention it deserves. It was noticed by distinguished scholars such as Burnouf (*Lotus*, 357) and Wassilief (*Buddhismus*, 223), Beal (*Ind. Ant.*, 1880, 299) and Rhys Davids (*JRAS.*, 1891, 411 ; 1892, 5), Takakusu (*I-tsing*, xxiii) and Csoma Körösi (*As. Res.* xx, 298), Burgess (*Cave Temples of India*) and Bühler (*JRAS.*, 1892), Walleser (*Die Sekten des alten Buddhismus*), Oldenberg (*Vinaya Piṭaka*, Intro.) and La Vallée Poussin (*Ind. Ant.*, 1908), and lately by Masuda (*Asia Major*, II) and Mrs. Rhys Davids (*Points of Controversy*, Intro.). The galaxy of names, mentioned above, reveals that the importance of the topic was well realised but materials were lacking to add flesh and blood to the skeleton. Masuda's notes and translation of Vasumitra's work made a substantial contribution to the topic, and now by a comparative study of the *Kathāvatthu* and Vasumitra's work, it has been possible to form a fair idea of the sectarian differences, and it will be our attempt in this paper to point them out within a small compass.

Towards the end of the first century of its existence the Buddhist saṅgha began to split up into several saṅghas on account of the differences of opinion in matters of doctrines, disciplinary rules, and even in the manner of cutting and wearing robes.[1] According to the Vinaya traditions of almost all the principal schools the first split in the Buddhist church took place at the Second Council, held about a century after Buddha's death. The split is attributed to differences of opinion regarding the interpretation of ten points of discipline. An attempt was made in the Council to make up the differences, but it met with failure. There formed two parties, one favouring a more rigid interpretation of the rules while the other preferred the use of a little more discretion in the application of the rules. Among the former the monks of Kauśāmbī, Avantī and other western countries were predominant while among the latter were the monks of Vaiśālī, Pāṭaliputra and other eastern countries. Once the split commenced, it went on multiplying till we hear of the appearance of eighteen sects. From differences in disciplinary rules, the split encroached upon doctrines as well, and the Buddhist monks developed

1. Takakusu's *I-tsing*, p. 6 : "Each school has traditions handed down from teacher to pupil, each perfectly defined and distinct from the other."

distinct divisions among themselves, one espousing certain doctrines as against another, and some of the doctrines even going to the length of being almost un-Buddhistic.

As far as the tradition goes, the party who were in favour of the letter of the law claimed themselves as more orthodox than the other, though it is doubtful if their claim was agreed to by the other. The orthodox party also could not remain in unison for a long time, for within a short time of its existence we hear of its being split up into eleven sub-sects known as Thera-vāda (or Ārya Sthaviranikāya),[2] Mahiśāsaka, Dharmagupta, Sarvāstivāda, Sam, Kāśyapīya, Saṅkantika (Sautrāntika) and Suttavāda, Vātsīputrīya (or Sammitīya), Dharmottarīya, Bhadrayānīya, and Chan-nagarika.

The un-orthodox party too were split into seven sub-sects known as the Mahāsaṅghika, Gokulika (Kukkulika), Paññattivāda (Prajñaptivāda), Bahuśrutīya, Cetiyavāda, Ekvyavahārika and Lokottaravāda.

Besides these eighteen, we are told that there occurred a few more sub-divisions known as the Siddhatthika, Rājagirika, Aparaśaila, Pūrvaśaila (collectively called the Andhakas), Uttarāpathaka, Vetulyaka, Hemavatika (Haimavata), Vājiriya, Hetuvāda, Vibhajyavāda, Abhayagirivāsin, Mahā-vihāravāsin, Dhammarucika, and Sāgalīya.

The traditions slightly differ in naming the sects but on the whole there is a fair agreement, and the differences may be overlooked at present.

Chronology of the Sects

In the Ceylonese chronicles, the emergence of the sects has been shown in a genealogical form without any indication of their chronology while in Bhavya and Vasumitra's treatise some indication by centuries has been given, e.g., Sarvāstivāda appeared at the beginning of the 3rd century after Buddha's death followed by the Vātsīputrīya, Dharmottarīya, Sammitīya, Channa-girika, and Mahiśāsaka. At the end of the 3rd century and beginning of the 4th, appeared the Dharmagupta, Kāśyapīya and Sautrāntika. As far as the sub-divisions of the Mahāsaṅghikas are concerned, the sects appearing in the 2nd century after Buddha's death were the Ekavyavahārika, Lokottaravāda, Kukkuṭika (Gokulika) and Prajñaptivāda. Towards the close of the 2nd century appeared the Caityakas and the Śaila schools. There is no doubt that the sects appeared one after another, and it seems these came into existence in close contiguity, and probably most of them may be dated within the 2nd and 3rd centuries after Buddha's death.

Inscriptional Evidences

The only safe data by which we can proceed to establish the antiquity

2. *I-tsing*, p. 10; Masuda's translation of Vasumitra's treatise in the *Asia Major*, II (henceforth referred to as "Masuda" only).

of a particular sect are the inscriptional evidences. Bühler[3] pointed out that he did not come across the names of any sect in Bharhut and Sanci inscriptions. In the inscription on Mathura Lion Capital (*circa* 120 B.C)[4] the Mahāsaṅghikas and the Sarvāstivādins are mentioned as two rival sects. In the inscriptions during the reign of Kaniṣka and Huviṣka these two sects are mentioned more than once.[5]

It is only in the Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions (3rd and 4th centuries A.D.), we come across the names of the Mahiśāsakas, Bahuśrutīyas, Caityakas and the Śaila schools. In the Sarnath inscription (300 A.D.) there is a reference to the Sammitīyas as ousting the Sarvāstivādins who had previously ousted the Theravādins.[6] If we rely on the inscriptional evidences alone, we may chronologically place the origin of sects thus :

(i) Theravāda and Mahāsaṅghika.
(ii) Sarvāstivāda and Mahiśāsaka.
(iii) Bahuśrutīya, Caityaka and Śaila schools.
(iv) Sammitīya.

Literary Evidences

The Ceylonese chronicles place the origin of the eighteen sects within a century after the Second Council, pointing out only the gradual sub-divisions of the sects. Bhavya, Vasumitra and Vinītadeva are not more helpful in this respect. The only literary evidence which is of any use to us is furnished by Buddhaghosa in his commentary on the *Kathāvatthu*. He attributes the views discussed in the *Kathāvatthu* to particular sects and thereby helps us in finding out how many of the sects were in existence before the *Kathāvatthu* was composed. The list of sects so mentioned is as follows :—Vātsīputrīya (Sammitīya), Sarvāstivāda, Mahāsaṅghika, Kāśyapīya, Pubbaseliya, Apara-seliya, Rājagirika, Siddhatthika, Gokulika, Bhadrayānika, Mahiśāsaka, Uttarāpathaka, Hetuvādin and Vetulyaka.

Unfortunately the date of composition of the *Kathāvatthu* is still a matter of uncertainty. The fact that it discusses views of a sect like the Vetulyakas or Suññatāvādins shows that though its compilation might have started quite early, accretions went on till a late date. The Vetulyakas or Suññatāvādins need not be placed later than the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. and so we may take it for granted that the sects that the Kathāvatthu had in view were in existence about the 3rd century A.D. The inscription too does not take us much earlier regarding the date of origin of the Śaila and a few other sects. Vasumitra's date would have been the best landmark but the difficulty

3. *JRAS.*, 1892, p. 597.
4. *E. I.*, ix, pp. 139, 141, 146.
5. See my *Early Monastic Buddhism* (henceforth abbreviated as *EMB.*), II, pp. 58 f., 122.
6. *E. I.*, ix, p. 135.

arises regarding the identification of Vasumitra, the author of the treatise on the sects.

Origin and Home of the Sects.

During the first century of its existence, Buddhism did not spread beyond Vesālī and Campā on the east, Kosambī and Avantī on the west, Mathurā and Śrāvastī on the north, the southern limit being the boundaries of Aṅga and Magadha. The participants in the deliberations of the Second Council also hailed from this area. The two parties formed in this council lived together in Magadha but one preferred to proceed towards the west and the other to the east. The former adhered to the orthodox views and became known as Theravādins or Sthaviravādins, and the latter sided with the unorthodox and came to be called the Mahāsaṅghikas. The division between the two groups grew wider and wider, ultimately, one paved the way to Hīnayāna and the other to Mahāyāna.

The Mahāsaṅghikas

The Mahāsaṅghikas continued to wield their influence at Vesālī and Pāṭaliputra and send out their monks to the north as well as to the south. Fahien[7] found the Vinaya of this school at Pāṭaliputra while Yuan Chwang[8] states that the Hīnayānic monks of Pāṭaliputra began the Mahāsaṅghika school. I-tsing[9] found the adherents of this school mostly in Magadha, a few in Lāṭa and Sindhu, and some in a few places in northern, southern and eastern India side by side with other sects. From the statement of the three Chinese pilgrims, it is evident that the Mahāsaṅghikas remained in Magadha and had a few adherents in the northern and southern countries. The *stūpa* at Andarab (Afghanistan)[10] and the cave at Karle (Bombay Presidency)[11] are dedicated to the teachers of the Mahāsaṅghika school. These are clear testimonies to the authenticity of the statement of I-tsing.

The offshoots, of the Mahāsaṅghikas, however, were mostly local ones. The most prominent of them were the Śaila schools, known as Pūrvaśailas, Aparaśailas, and Uttaraśailas and Caityakas. The Śailas or hills and mountains from which a particular branch derived its name are located around Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa in the Guntur district. Along with the Śaila schools there were the Caityakas, who probably derived the name from the Mahācaitya erected there, and the Lokottaravadins, who were so called for their deification of Buddha.

From all these evidences, we may conclude that the Mahāsaṅghikas were predominant in Magadha having their centres at Vesālī and Pāṭaliputra, and that their offshoots were localised in the Guntur District, in and around Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa.

7. Legge's Fahien, p. 98.
8. Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 269
9. *I-tsing*, p. xxiii.
10. *E. I.*, xi, p. 211.
11. *E. I.*, vii, pp. 64 f., 71 f.

The Theravādins

The Theravādins lived side by side with the Mahāsaṅghikas at Pāṭaliputra and other places in Magadha but as they probably could not maintain their orthodoxy in the observance of Uposathas and other ecclesiastical functions they preferred to withdraw themselves to centres, which were not so assailed by unorthodox monks. They mostly retired to the west, and settled in Kauśāmbī and Avantī. The Theravādins also could not retain their solidarity for a long time for we hear of its disruption into several sub-sects, the prominent of which were the Mahiśāsaka, Dharmagupta, Sarvāstivāda, Sammitīya and Sautrāntika.

Theravāda-Vibhajyavāda

There are ample evidences to show that the original Theravādins preferred Avantī to Magadha. Mahinda, the propagator of this school in Ceylon, also hailed from Vidisa. In Ceylon the teachings of this school underwent certain changes, for which it was distinguished there as Theravāda-Vibhajjavāda.[12] The Ceylonese monks of Mahāvihāra preferred to call themselves Vibhajjavādins,[13] and not simply Theravādins. In Ceylon again the original school became further sub-divided into three sects known as Jetavanīya, Abhayagirivāsins, and Mahāvihāravāsins.

The Mahiśāsakas

Those of the Theravādins who wended their way southwards and sought an asylum in ancient Mahiṣamaṇḍala became known as the Mahiśāsakas. They settled in Vanavāsī (North Kanara) and Mysore.[14] It is an old school, claiming Puraṇa of Dakkhiṇāgiri as its patron saint. This school had doctrines and disciplinary rules closely allied to those of the Theravādins.

Dharmagupta

Some of the Theravāda monks must have proceeded north, adopting Sanskrit as the medium of their *piṭaka*.[15] They became known as the Dharmagupta. Prof. Przyluski[16] suggests that this school very probably derived its name from its founder Dharmagupta who may be identified with Dharmarakkhita, the Yonaka missionary sent to the north-western countries

12. We have similar distinction made in the case of another school, viz., the Bahuśrutīya-vibhajyavāda = Prajñaptivāda ; there was also a Sarvāstivāda-vibhajyavāda. See *EMB.*, II, p. 196.

13. See *Cullavagga*, chap. iii, colophon ; *Tikapaṭṭhāna* Cy., Colophon ; *Dīpavamsa* xviii, 41, 44.

14. *EMB.*, II, p. 113-114. Fa-hien found the Vinaya text of this school in Ceylon.

15. One of their texts is the *Abhiniṣkramaṇa Sūtra* containing the life of Buddha.

16. *Le Concile de Rājagṛha*, pp. 325-6.

by Moggaliputta Tissa. Later evidences show that the Sogdians and Parthians took interest in the disciplinary rules of this school, and De Groot also remarks that the Vinaya of the Dharmaguptas was actually in use in the Chinese monasteries.[17] Kouei-ki, the commentator on Vasumitra's treatise, remarks that this school was popular in Central Asia and China.

Sarvāstivādins

Another branch of the Theravādins also moved north-wards, making their seats at Mathurā, in Gandhāra and Kāshmir. This school, called the Sarvāstivādins on account of its fundamental doctrine of "*sarvam asti*", adopted Sanskrit as the medium of their *piṭaka*. It became very popular all over northern India and carried the palm in the days of Kanishka. It put into shade the oldest school the Theravādins and was for some time recognised as the best Indian exponent of original Buddhism. The monastic universities of the north made a special study of the Tripiṭakas of this school and it could count as its adherents some of the most distinguished writers on Buddhism like Saṃghabhadra, Vasubandhu, Dharmatrāta, Ghoṣaka, Vasumitra and Buddhadeva. Besides the three Piṭakas, it possessed an extensive literature in the shape of commentaries (*Vibhāṣās*) for which it became later on known as the Vaibhāṣika. It extended its influence beyond the borders of India upto Central Asia but does not seem to have obtained a footing in China. Its Tripiṭaka was carried to China by the Chinese pilgrims and so was preserved there in translation. Kanishka became an ardent supporter of this sect and that accounts for its popularity all over northern India. The fact that its doctrines particularly were assailed by Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu (after his conversion to Yogācāra), Śaṅkara and other philosophical writers shows the amount of attention received by it from its opponents for several centuries.

The Sammitīyas

This school is better known as the Vātsīputriyas or Vajjiputtakas. It issued out of the Theravāda, and so its earlier home was Avantī for which it had the other appellation, Avantaka. It is mentioned in the Sarnath inscription proving thereby its existence for sometime at that place. According to I-tsing, it became popular in Lāṭa and Sindhu, with some followers in Magadha, and a few in southern and eastern India.

It is not possible to locate the remaining sects of the Theravāda branch. The only suggestion that we can offer is that the Kāśyapiya, Sautrāntika Haimavata and others remained, it seems, in the north, as they were collectively called the Uttarāpathakas by Buddhagosa. The rivalry of the Sautrāntikas with the Vaibhāsikas, and the frequent mention of these two

17. *La Code du Mahayana en Chine*, p. 3.

sects hint that they lived side by side in the monasteries of the northern countries, and had no particular local habitation.

Differences in Vinaya Rules

Vasumitra's text and the *Kathāvatthu* have pointed out the doctrinal differences of the sects but there is no source of information regarding the differences in disciplinary matters. That there was a certain amount of differences among the sects is evident from the account of the Third Council, the remote cause of which was that the monks of different sects refused to hold the Pātimokkha assembly together, as one group of monks was regarded as *apariśuddha* (unclean) according to the disciplinary code of another. In the account of the First Council too, we read of differences of opinion between Mahākassapa and Puraṇa of Dakkhiṇāgiri, relating to seven rules,[18] and these seven rules were actually incorporated in the Mahiśāsaka and Dharmagupta Vinaya texts. The differences between the Theravādins and the Mahāsaṅghikas regarding the ten points are too well known to be recounted here. A detailed study of the Sarvāstivāda Vinaya, which is now being published, clearly shows that differences in disciplinary rules were no less important than differences in doctrinal matters. Regarding the Sammitīyas, I-tsing remarks that their Vinaya had special rules regulating the use of undergarment, girdles, medicines, and beds.[19] These Chinese travellers also point out in a general way that in the cutting and wearing of robes the sects differed. In view of these findings, though stray and scanty, one has to admit that there were differences among the sects relating to disciplinary rules. In Chinese, as many as five Vinaya texts of five sects are preserved, indicating that there were differences in the recensions.[20] The remarks of I-tsing (pp. 6-7) in this connection are interesting and so they are reproduced here: "There are small points of difference such as where the skirt of the lower garments is cut straight in one, and irregular in another, and the folds of the upper robe are, in size, narrow in one and wide in another. The Sarvāstivādins cut the skirt of the lower garment straight while the other three (Mahāsaṅghika, Sthavira, Sammitīya) cut it of irregular shape. The same school ordains separate rooms in lodgings, while the Sammitīyas allow separate beds in an enclosure made by ropes. The Sarvāstivādins receive food directly into the hand but the Mahāsaṅghikas marks a place on which to place the food."[21]

These points may appear minor to an outsider but were seriously taken by the monks, and even now such controversies rage among the monks in Chittagong, Ceylon and Burma.

18. *EMB.*, I, p. 331. 19. *I-tsing*, pp. 7, 66, 140.
20. See Nanjio, *Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka.*
21. This is also the practice at present followed by the monks at Chittagong, in Burma and Ceylon.

DOCTRINAL DIFFERENCES.

Along with the differences in disciplinary matters among the various sects, the differences in doctrines were no less keen. The *Kathāvatthu* and Vasumitra's treatise are devoted exclusively to the doctrinal differences, but their list does not take into account all the sects. From this it may be inferred that some of the sects had disciplinary differences only and not doctrinal. In doctrines also, many minor matters of faith and psychological analysis have been included ; for our present purpose however, we shall skip over those and point out only the broad differences.

Re. Buddha and Bodhisattva : The Theravādins and their offshoots[22] were more or less in favour of conceiving Buddha as a human being who after strenuous exertion, attained full knowledge[23] and visualised the Truth. He was subject to the human frailties though by his *yogic* powers he could overcome the everyday events of a man's life. The Sarvāstivādins and Uttarāpathakas added only that the Buddha is above *maitrī* and *karuṇā*, to which however, the Theravādins were not prepared to agree.[24]

All the sects held that the *mukti* of the Śrāvakayāna and Buddhayāna was the same though the *mārgas* might be different.[25]

Those who subscribed to the above view could not attribute to a Bodhisattva any superior qualities. According to them, Bodhisattvahood indicated only the previous lives of Gautama Buddha.

The Mahāsaṅghikas and their offshoots were quite opposed to the above view. They held that Buddha is *lokottara* (supra-mundane) and is made of *anāsrava* (pure) *dharmas*. His body, length of life, powers, etc. are all unlimited. It is his created body that appears in the world. In the words of the *Mahāvastu* (I, pp. 167-8), everything of the great *ṛṣi* is transcendental, including his advent into the world.[26]

As a corollary to the above conception of Buddha, this group of schools conceived the Bodhisattva also in semi-transcendental form. According to them Bodhisattvas are self-born, and not born of parents. They do not pass through the embryonic stages. They take birth out of their own free will in any form of existence.

Re. Arhats : Next to the Buddhological speculations come the controversy relating to the attainments of an Arhat. In the eyes of the orthodox group, i.e., the Theravādins and their offshoots, *Arhathood* marks the final stage of Śrāvakayāna, i.e. an arhat is a fully emancipated person, he has

22. Mahīśāsakas, Sarvāstivādins, Uttarāpathakas, etc.
23. It is the attainment of *bodhi* and omniscience that make a Buddha (*EMB*. II. p. 172).
24. *EMB*., II, pp. 147-8, 172.
25. *EMB*., II, p. 164.
26. For details, see *EMB*., II, pp. 63, 154.

Among the Sarvāstivādin teachers, there are again differences of opinion relating to the interpretation of *sarvam asti*. Bhadanta Dharmatrāta maintains *bhāvānyathātva* i.e. the past, present and future are differentiated on account of the non-identity of *bhāva* and not of *dravya*. Bhadanta Ghoṣaka maintains *lakṣaṇānyathātva*, i.e., the dharmas in their transition from past to present and present to future undergo changes in characteristics (*lakṣaṇas*) only. Bhadanta Vasumitra holds *avasthānyathātva* that the past, present and future of a *dharma* indicate only the difference in condition (*avasthā*) of the same *dharma*. Bhadanta Buddhadeva maintains *anyonyathātva*, i.e. past, present and future are spoken of relatively. Vasubandhu accepts the third interpretation as given by Vasumitra.[38]

The above opinion of the Sarvāstivāda is accepted by the later Mahīśāsakas but not the earlier who state that the present only exists but not the past and future. All other schools including the Sautrāntikas are opposed to this opinion of the Sarvāstivādins.

Re. Pudgala : The Sammitīyas or the Vātsīyas or the Vātsīputrīyas advocate the doctrine that there is a *pudgala* (a self, a personality) besides the five elements (*skandhas*) composing a being.[39] The pudgala is indefinable and persists through the several existence of a being till it reaches *nirvāṇa*. It is, however, neither identical nor different from skandhas. It is changing along with the skandhas, and disappears when the skandhas disappear in *nirvāṇa*. It is not *kṣaṇika* (momentary) like the skandhas, and it has not all the properties of a constituted object ; again it is also not unchanging and ever existing like *nirvāṇa*. In short, the *pudgala* is neither a constituted nor an unconstituted component of a being.

The Sautrāntikas may be pointed out as holding a doctrine similar to that of the Sammitīyas. They assert the continued existence of the very subtle *citta* (or *bīja* or *vāsanā*).[40] Vasumitra attributes to them the doctrine of the transference of *skandhamātra* from one existence to another, for which they may be identified with the Saṃkantika or the Saṃkrāntivādins.

38. See *Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā*, Jap. ed., pp. 470-1.
39. The Bhadrayānikas, Dharmaguptas and Saṃkrāntivādins accepted this view.
40. The Dārṣṭāntika-Sautrāntikas state that *citta* only exists and not *caittas* while other Sautrāntikas admit the existence of *citta* as well as *caittas*.

SOME SANDEŚA KĀVYAS & MALABAR GEOGRAPHY

By

DR. C. KUNHAN RAJA.

Kālidāsa has described many places in Western India in his Meghasandeśa. The description starts from somewhere near Nagpur and goes up to the Himalayas. It is mainly the Malwa country that he describes. After Malwa, the whole region up to the Himalayas is practically left off. Evidently Malwa was his home. After Kālidāsa, poets have written many Sandeśa Kāvyas. But there are not many that have an interest from the point of view of either history or geography ; many of them have taken a philosophical and religious turn. It is only when countries, cities, temples and other places are described, that the poem has an interest for us from the point of view of history and geography. Such Sandeśa Kāvyas are rare, though the number of Sandeśa Kāvyas is very high in Sanskrit Literature.

In imitation of Kālidāsa's Meghasandeśa, the poets of Malabar have composed many Sandeśa Kāvyas and they have a real interest for the students of Malabar History. In these Sandeśa Kāvyas, the poets find an opportunity to describe many kingdoms, many temples, many palaces, many rivers and many such places. Many of these Sandeśa Kāvyas are not available in print and no attempt has been made to tap the rich source of information for the reconstruction of the history of ancient Malabar.

What is called Malabar is the land on the west coast where the Malayalam language is spoken. The people have preserved a distinct mode of life through many centuries. It is only in recent times that the life in Malabar has shown signs of change and a tendency to be equated with the life in other parts of India. Caste distinction, the village organisation, marriage and inheritance, dress and food, houses and temples—in all such matters Malabar shows some distinctive feature. Malabar is at present divided into three political units, namely the States of Travancore and Cochin and the Malabar District of the Madras Presidency. The advent of the Portuguese and the Dutch, the wars between the Zamorins of Calicut and the Rajas of Cochin in which the European nations took sides, later the rise of the power of the Muslim rulers of Mysore and their interference in the affairs of Malabar, the appearance of the English on the scene and the part played by them in shaping the political structure of the west coast in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—these factors have changed the whole phase of Malabar history and geography.

There was a time when Malabar was parcelled out into a large number of small kingdoms. There was no power that could be called the Paramount

Power of Malabar. The history of the days of the Perumals, when Malabar was supposed to have had a political unity, is shrouded in the veil of mythology and anecdotes. The Pāṇḍya and Cola kings had some sort of power over portions of Malabar at times, especially in the southern parts. But at the time I propose to deal with, there was no such external authority wielding power in Malabar. In describing the geography of Malabar during this particular period, which I propose to consider in this Paper, I have to deal with the following Sandeśa Kāvyas. I give below a brief account of each of them.

1. THE ŚUKASANDEŚA. This is by tradition known to have been written by a Nambūdiri Brahmin named Lakṣmīdāsa, belonging to the house of Kariṅṅampilly on the banks of the Alwaye River, in modern Travancore. In this Sandeśa, the message is sent through a parrot from Rameswaram on the east coast to a place called Trikkanamatilakam (Item 28) near Cranganore (Item 27). This was the seat of the kings of Malabar in ancient days and it was a very important city till a few centuries ago. The route is through Cape Comorin and Trivandrum. The work is available at the Mangalodayam Ltd., Trichur (Cochin State).

The exact date of this work is not known. According to local tradition, it is before the time of Śaṅkarācārya. But such an early date is not accepted by many scholars. Anyway it must be earlier than the thirteenth century A.D., as will be evident from the description of the next Sandeśa. Sukasandeśa will be designated as SK.

II. UṆṆUNĪLISANDEŚA. This is a poem in Malayalam. Except in the matter of language, it follows the technique of Sanskrit Sandeśa Kāvyas, and it is an imitation of Kālidāsa's Meghasandeśa. The only difference is that in this poem there are six verses as an introduction, in which there is a Maṅgala and a description of the heroine and a dedication of the work for the joy and glory of the heroine by the hero (who is evidently the poet himself). The author is a member of the Vadakkumkūr royal family, the northern branch of the Bimbilī kings, now a part of the Travancore State.

This poem must be assigned to the fourteenth century, since there is the reference to the messenger (a member of another royal family) having fought against the Tuluṣka army (evidently the Sultans of Madura). The route is from Trivandrum to Sindhudvīpa, the capital of the Vatakkunkūr or northern branch of the Bimbilī kingdom (see item 16). This poem will be designated UN.

III. KOKILASANDEŚA. This is by the poet Uddaṇḍa, who is supposed to have been living in Malabar in the early part of the fifteenth century. The route described is from Canjeevaram in the Chingelpet District of the Madras Presidency to a place called Chennamaṅgalam, (now a part of the Cochin State) between the two arms of the Alwaye river (item 24). The messenger is asked to enter Malabar through Mysore (Hosala kingdom) in its north-

eastern corner. The poem closely follows Kālidāsa's Meghasandeśa in technique, and is supposed to be a complement to Śukasandeśa (No. I above), in so far as this poem describes such portions of Malabar as are not included in the other. This will be designated as KL. The work is available at Mangalodayam Ltd., Trichur (Cochin State).

IV. MAYŪRASANDEŚA. In technique, this follows No. II above, in so far as there are two introductory verses (a maṅgala and a mention of the heroine and the poem in honour of her) before the hero in separation is introduced. The poem mentions Uddaṇḍa, the author of the previous poem, as a living poet and as such its date is also in the fifteenth century. The route described is from Trivandrum to a place called annakara (item 35) near Trichur. (Item 31).

The author of the poem is identical with the author of Kaumidī, the commentary on Abhinavagupta's Dhvanyālokalocana ; this is all that is definitely known of the author ; so far as available evidences go, there is reason to assume that he belonged to a royal family in modern Cochin State (the writer's own family). The poem will be designated MR. This is printed in the Poona Oriental Series.

V. BHRAMARASANDEŚA. This is by one Vāsudeva and must be assigned to the first half of the seventeenth century. It mentions Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa whose date is definitely known from many of his works. It also mentions his teacher Acyuta (Piṣaroṭi) the date of whose death is also known as 1624 A.D. The route described is from Trivandrum to a place in Malabar District called Śvetadurga (white fort), which may be identified with the present Kottakal, a few miles to the north of the Tirur railway station on the Madras to Mangalore railway line, 388 miles from Madras. (See under item 44). The work has been printed as No. 128 in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. This will be designated BR.

VI. KOKASANDEŚA. This is a beautiful Malayalam poem, of which only a portion has been found, and this portion has been published in the Quarterly Journal of the Pan-Kerala Literary Academy for October-November 1942. The date cannot be definitely fixed. The language is fairly old. It must be later than 1500 A.D. in so far it records the conquests of parts of the Cochin territory by Zamorin of Calicut. This describes the route from a place called Thriprankot (item 44), a few miles to the south-east of Tirur railway station (mentioned in the previous section), to Quilon (Item 7) in Travancore State. This will be designated KK. The portion received ends with the description of Idappilli (see under item 20).

Although I have mentioned six works, and although there are many more Sandeśa Kāvyas which describe portions of Malabar, I am taking into consideration mainly three of the above, the Śukasandeśa (No. I), Kokilasandeśa (No. III) and Mayūrasandeśa (No. IV), since they exhaust the whole territory from one end of Malabar to the other, and also since they are the earliest. The Sandeśa Kāvyas I and III would have been enough for the purpose. Yet the route in IV is slightly different from the route in III, and IV mentions and describes important places on the route not found in the others. I will make ample references to the others when there is occasion.

What is noteworthy in these Sandeśakāvyas is the fact that between Cranganore (item 27) and Quilon (no. 7), there is no mention of the places on the present coast line. Now we have two very important Ports in this stretch of land, namely, Alleppey and Cochin. It has to be assumed that in those days the coast line was much more to the east in this part of the country. Perhaps there were sandbanks, which later became habitable places. Thus except in the seventeenth century Sandeśa (No. V), no other poem mentions a place on the present-day coast line between Quilon and Cranganore. The sea at that time must have been washing the shores at places now represented by Kottayam and Ernakulam, and what are now back-waters were then open sea.

Another interesting point that I have noticed is that there is no reference to any boat traffic at all along this coastal region. Now, the so-called back-waters between the coastal strip of land and the mainland, joined together by occasional canals, form one of the most striking features of the west coast, and boat traffic along these back-waters has become very important. Perhaps in those days there was nothing like a back-water system ; there was only the open sea with occasional sand-banks. It is true that Ibn Batuta mentions his journey from Calicut to Quilon in ten days and his halting at the capital of a chieftain, now attempted to be identified with the principality of Villārvaṭṭam, which about the year 1600 A.D. was merged into the Cochin State (see Cochin State Manual, p. 96). Perhaps he travelled by sea and not by a back-water.

Now there is a connected water route from Malabar to Trivandrum for nearly three hundred miles. Until there was the railway line opened and motor vehicles also began to ply, the water-route was the only one available for long distance journeys.

We have to assume that the Sandeśakāvyas describe the route ordinarily known and used in those days, and such routes must have taken a direction which would pass along the principal temples and cities and other places of public interest. Or perhaps, such places grew up in those localities on account of the fact that the popular route lay along that line. Thus we are in a position to chart the old route in Malabar from one end to the other by an examination of these Sandeśakāvyas. With these preliminary remarks I give below brief notes on the various places noted in these Sandeśakāvyas.

1. CAPE COMORIN. Described in Sk. (35), where there is a temple of Kumārī. Starting from Rameswaram, the route comes to Malabar, which

is spoken of as the country ruled by Brahmins, the mirror for the (prowess of the) hands of Paraśurāma, shining with betel-leaves, cocoa-nut trees and arica-nut trees. (34).

2. VAKRAGIRI. This comes after Cape Comorin, to the north, a little off the regular route, where sages perform penance and where celestial beings sport. The place is not definitely identified. (Sk. 36).

3. SUCHINDRA. The famous temple of Suchindra is described in SK. 37 and 38. Here persons alleged to have been guilty of illicit relations with Brahmin ladies could get their innocence proved through the ordeal of dipping their hands into boiling ghee ; this ordeal continued in that place for a long time. There is also a Brahmin Agrahara in front.

4. TRIVANDRUM. Designated *Syānandūra,* which is a Sanskritisation of the Malayalam form Tirendram of the Sanskrit Śrī Anantapura, which first becomes Tiru Anantapura and then Tirendra in Malayalam. (SK. 40 to 48 ; MR. 26 to 35). Viṣṇu as Anantaśayana, the great Bali festival, the jewels, silks and other shining objects that are very conspicuous in that festival, the young men and charming ladies who assemble to witness the festival—all these are described in both. There is no mention of the royal residence there, since that city became the seat of the Government only at a much later time. UN. also describes the city ; and it too does not mention the royal residence. BR. mentions the reigning King there as Ravi Varman ; but one is not certain if Trivandrum itself was the seat of the Government. It is said that the route starting from Trivandrum, lies through the country ruled by king Ravi Varman. It is not also quite certain to which political division in southern Malabar this city belonged at that time. Quilon was the most important kingdom at that time, in the south. SK. devotes 6 more verses to describe the morning in that place. MR. speaks of the ocean immediately after leaving Trivandrum. So does UN. also. Trivandrum is, to all the poets, one of the most important places in Kerala even in those times. The temple and the festival must have been known throughout the country.

5. A ŚIVA TEMPLE. MR. speaks of a Śiva temple after leaving Trivandrum (50) and before reaching Varkala (next item). It is spoken of as surrounded by sea. There is now a temple called Kaṭhinakkulam, which has the open sea on one side and the back-water on the other side. There is archaeological evidence of once there having been a Śiva temple in the sea itself, surrounded by ocean, which has now disappeared. The temple was known as Śrīmūlavāsam and it was at one time a Buddhist Temple. It must have been near Varkala and not further to the north in the middle Travancore (see *Travancore Archaeological Series,* Vol. II, Part II ; the Paper on Buddhist and Jain vestiges in Malabar). It is more likely that it is this lost temple that is referred to than the present Kathinakkulam. UN. also mentions a Śiva temple after leaving Trivandrum and before reaching Varkala (57 to 61).

6. VARKALA. This is a famous Kṛṣṇa temple, now called Janārdana, where the tank with crystal water is world-famous (MR. 50 ; UN. 66, 67).

7. QUILON. This is another famous place, described in detail in all the Sandeśakāvyas. It is famous for its wealth and opulence. It is the capital of the Kūkapa kings, who belong to the lunar race (SK. 54 to 56 ; MR. 51 to 55 ; CN. 67 to 71 ; BR. 25 to 27).

8. TWO RIVERS. SK. speaks of two rivers after Quilon (57). We are not sure of the identity of these rivers. The coast line from Quilon to Cranganore has changed considerably and the topography too has altered.

9. OṬANĀḌ. MR. (57) speaks of the rich country of Oṭanāḍ and mentions the fertile fields before reaching this country.

10. KAṆṬIYŪR. This is another wealthy city on the west coast in olden days and this is the capital of the Kāyaṅkulam kings, who belonged to the Yādava dynasty. The country was annexed to the Travancore State by king Martanda Varma in the beginning of the eighteenth century. MR. specially mentions the handsome ladies of the place (58 and 59). UN. also (100) describes the charms of the place.

11. PANAYANĀR. This is a Kāli temple described in MR. (60), where the name is not given. UN. gives the name of the temple (113). MR. speaks of Kāli playing with the skull of the Asura as with a ball.

12. TIRUVALLA. This is a famous Viṣṇu temple, described in SK. ([illegible] and 59); MR. (60 to 62) and UN. (119 to 121). Special mention is made of the learned Brahmins and the devotees in the temple.

13. MAṆIKAṆṬHA TEMPLE. SK. speaks of a forest after Tiruvalla (60) and MR. describes this Viṣṇu temple (63) where there is the Goddess who gives food to all (Items 12 and 13 are in Tekkunkū country).

14. VAÑCULA RIVER. MR. describes this in 64 and 65 and UN. in 129. MR. also speaks of the gardens and their beauties after this river.

15. ETTUMĀNŪR. This is a great Śiva temple (MR. 67 and UN. 132). The place is designated in Sanskrit as kīrtimadgrāma. Ettam means "fame" (kīrti) ; āna means "having" (mat) ; ūr means "village" (grāma).

16. SINDHUDVĪPA. This is the destination in UN. Sindhu means "ocean" (Kaṭal) and dvīpa means "island" (turuttu). So Sindhudvīpa is the Sanskrit equivalent of the modern Katatturuttu, near the famous Śiva temple called Vaikom. This is the capital of the northern branch of the Bimbilī country (Vaṭakkumkūr), the southern branch being round about Nos. 12 and 13 above, known as Thekkunkūr. Both MR. and SK. speak of the elephants there. (MR. 68 to 70 ; SK. 60 and 61). These two countries were annexed to the Travancore State at a later time.

17. PHULLĀ RIVER. MR. describes this in 71 and 72 and SK. in 62. The river is now known as Muvvattupuzha, which joins the back-water south of Ernakulam.

18. BRAHMIN VILLAGES. Both SK. and MR. speak of the famous Brahmin villages after crossing this river. These villages were occupied by very learned Brahmins (MR. 73; SK. 62).

19. RAVIPURA. MR. mentions this in 74. SK. mentions the temple where the deity has Ananta as pedestal, but does not mention the name of the temple. MR. also describes the deity in the same way. Both speak of the learned Brahmins who were well-versed in the meaning of the Upaniṣads. The place is the modern Tripunithura, the residence of the Maharajas of Cochin.

20. SUBRAHMANYA TEMPLE. SK. speaks of a Subrahmanya temple here through a double meaning, there is reference also to a great Brahmin named Subrahmanya, who used to live opposite the temple. The temple has now been identified as with the Vayattil temple, two miles to the north of Tripunithura.

There is great difficulty in ascertaining a few names after this. Before we take up those names, I must state that although the route described in the old poems are along a more easterly line, that must have been the coastal line at that time. Katatturuttu, mentioned in item 16, can have that name only if that had been on the coast. Turuttu need not mean an island; it may also mean sandy bank. Now it is a little inland; then there is the backwater and also the coastal strip of land before we reach the sea. On this present coastal strip is the important port of Allepey and a few miles to the south of this town, there is the temple of Ampalappuzha, where once ruled King Devanārāyaṇa, the patron of poets and scholars, a great scholar and warrior himself. The famous Malabar poet, Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa lived in his court; so did at a much later time, the great Malayala poet Kuñcan Nambiyār and also a great Sanskrit poet of the same time named Rāma Pāṇivāda. It is only in BR. that we have a mention of Devanārāyaṇa. One is not sure if even BR. is speaking of the coastal territory or only some town more to the east. The mention is after the two Bimbilī countries.

Vaikom is another famous Śiva temple. This is not mentioned in any of the older poems. But BR. mentions it. The route in the older poems lies very near the temple. The inference should be that it was not an important temple at that time or that the temple did not exist at all.

After passing Tripunithura, BR. mentions the great anscestral palace of the Cochin Maharajas on the west coast. Perhaps this is the modern Cochin Palace built for the Maharajas of Cochin by the Dutch.

Even though those places might have become solid land at that time and even though some villages or even towns might have sprung up, the ordinary route in those days lay much to the east of the present-day coastal line. That is certain. It may not be that Cochin and Alleppey did not exist then. The probability is that they were insignificant places and came into

prominence when later the Portuguese and the Dutch came and settled down on the coastal region.

21. A ŚIVA TEMPLE. After Tripunithura and the Subrahmanya temple (items 19 and 20) SK. mentions a great Śiva temple. It is simply introduced as "that temple". It must have been so very famous at that time that no special mention of the name was needed. In the notes in the edition of the work in Malayalam script with Malayalam translation, the annotator says that the temple is the one at Trikakkara, two miles to the east of Idappilli (now a railway station next to Ernakulam on the way to Shoranur). Others say that it is the temple at Trikkarur, a few miles to the east of Alwaye railway station on the same line (one next to Idappilli). There is a third opinion that it is the temple of Peruvaram in Parur, on the island formed by the two arms of the Alwaye river. All that SK. says is that in the temple, the twelve, two, eight, and eleven (total 33) gods reside. MR. also speaks of all the gods (certainly the 33 gods) reside there. In Trikkakkara there are many minor deities installed. So is the case with Peruvaram. But SK. says that the river Cūrṇī (taken to be the Alwaye river) flows not far. So the preference is for Trikkarur. The minor deities installed in the two temples have nothing to do with the 33 gods.

Now, KK. mentions a place called Ulanāḍ and also a temple there where the Deity had to give up half his body to Pārvatī after his defeat in his fight with Kāma, and as for the other half, he had to remain content with being 33rd in rank. Now in the Upaniṣad enumeration, Prajāpati (i.e. Śiva himself) comes as the 33rd. This description has some relevancy only if in the temple there were the 33 gods. MR. speaks of the god "who is a moon to the moon-stone of the heart of Pārvatī." Taking these things together, we have to assume that in SK. and in MR. the temple mentioned is just the one mentioned in KK. (SK. 65; MR. 75; KK. 88 and 90).

MR. here mentions a Śaṅkara, who is very liberal and who feeds Brahmins, who is a great authority on Śukra and Bārhaspatya nīti. Since the place is in the Parur country, some scholars assume that Śaṅkara is the king of that country who was known as Śaṅkararāma. But he is known only as Śaṅkararāma or as Rāmaśaṅkara, and never as mere Śaṅkara. It is very likely that he is the author of Jayamaṅgala commentary on Arthaśāstra. If this is so, this gives us the date of that commentary, namely, about 1400 A.D., which is the date of MR.

22. BALYA COUNTRY. This is the most difficult place to fix. It is described in MR. (78 to 85). The place is not known in any other place in literature. All that we know from MR. about the location is that it is to the east of the route to be followed. In the palace the messenger is told that he could meet the great poet Uddaṇḍa. Uddaṇḍa is by popular tradition, known only to be connected with the Zamorin of Calicut and not with such

a southern country. It is also said in the course of the description that the capital of the country is Bhūtivāhinī. This city too is not known in Malabar from any other source.

From the similarity of the name Balya with Villārvaṭṭam, which is a known country, there is a tendency to identify the two places. The great difficulty is that Villārvaṭṭam is not to the east of the route, but rather on the route itself, in so far as it is identified with Chennamaṅgalam, the place where Paliyat Achan now lives. This is also the destination in KL. (See item 24 below). This is just to the north of Peruvaram temple or Ulanāḍ mentioned under the previous item and much to the west of Trikkakara or Trikkarur mentioned in the same item. There is another difficulty that in MR. the hero speaks of this country and its capital as "my own". The author is a king himself and he cannot be expected to speak of the capital of a petty chieftain like Villārvaṭṭam as "my own." There is no way of bringing about any sort of relationship between the hero (who is also the author of MR.) and the Villārvaṭṭam family.

I am inclined to identify Balya with Perumpaṭappu family, the modern Cochin Royal family. According to Pāṇini (V-ii-120), taken along with a Vārtika, Balya means "having renowned army." Perum means "great" or "renowned" and paṭa means "army". Thus Balya can be the Sanskritisation of Perumpaṭa. Śivavilāsa, mentioned in item 26 below, denotes this family in Sanskrit as bahuvyāpti, which means having great expansion (perum patarpu). Balya may be a similar adaptation into Sanskrit. MR. has many other similar adaptations like iṅgudībhūvibhāga for otanād (item 9) and kīrtimadgrāma for ettumanur (item 15). This family is known to have had the overlordship of Malabar and they are styled Keraledhīśvara, the Rāja (see item 26 below). Thus one can understand how the hero (and the author, who is himself a king, speaks of this palace as "his own," in so far as it is the palace of his overlord.

Then there is the word "Bhūtivāhinī" which is the name of the capital of the Balya country. Bhūti means ashes and vāhinī means river, or even a tank. So some people try to identify this with a tank called Cārakkulam (ash-tank), which is near the site of the palace, if the country is identified with Villārvaṭṭam. It may be that the palace had the name and the tank retains the name now. But Bhūtivāhini can also mean "Vellār" and it may be the place called Vellārppilli, which was the seat of the Perumpatappu family for a long time. Thus the Balya country can be the country of the Perumpaṭappu family.

In this latter assumption, there is only one difficulty. The river Cūrṇī is described after Balya country (Item 25). But Vellārpilli is after the Alwaye river with which Cūrṇī is identified. Here one matter must be taken into consideration. The Alwaye river is known only as Marudvṛthā and not

Cūrṇī. In all the descriptions, Cūrṇī is related with Tiruvañcikkulam (item 26). It may be that the name Cūrṇī is given only to the part of the river, after it joins the other river called Chalakkudi river now, and known to Sanskrit as Nau. The portion of the river after this confluence is short (Cūrṇī) and Tiruvañcikkulam is on that part. If this is what is meant by Cūrṇī, then Cūrṇī comes after Balya (even according to my explanation) and everything is all right.

Here I must also say that in KK. when Idappilli is described there is the epithet "Vasutatimahāvāhinījuṣṭapārśva." This is identical with Bhūtivāhinī. The expression in MR. is "bhūtivāhinyākhyā" (named Bhūtivāhinī which may be a mistake for "brūtivāhinyāhinyāḍhyā" (adorned by bhūtivāhinī). Then bhūtivāhinī is a river between the Idappilly country and Perumpaṭappu country. Since the coastal region has undergone much change, it is not possible to identify this river now. Even the course of the Alwaye river has changed much. Its southern arm now is not what it once was, if there was such an arm in ancient times. Vasutatimahāvāhinī or bhūtivāhinī can very well be the upper part of the Alwaye river before it branches off into the two arms. This may be another name. Idappili is only five miles from it which may be its northern boundary. Vellarppilli is on its bank a little further up. Bhūtivāhinī and Vasutatatimahāvāhinī answer to the Malayalam word Mutalār. Mutal means wealth and Ār means river. I am told that there is such a river in that locality. But when I made further inquiries, the first information has not been confirmed. The matter needs further elucidation.

The only notable thing about Balya country mentioned is that there are extensive sugar-cane plantations in the country.

23. ABHINAVAKURUMBA TEMPLE. This is mentioned in MR. (74) as near the palace of the Balya kings. There Brahmins are fed sumptuously. There are many Kālī temples on the banks of the Alwaye river which are supposed to be later installations of the Kālī temple called Putiya Kāvu (new temple) near the site of Villārvaṭṭam; but that is far too much to the west, to fit in with the route. Near Vellārpilli, there is a temple called Putiyeḍat (also meaning new temple), and this may be the temple that is meant here. Cranganore is called Kurumba and has also the name of Kotuṅṅallūr. Thus Abhinavakurumba appears to be the Sanskritisation of a name Ilaṅṅallūr. But I have not been able to locate a Temple dedicated to the Goddess in that locality, having such a name. All that I can say is that the Idappalli royal family has the name of Ilaṅṅallūr also. But the description is here about the Perumpaṭappu family and not Idappalli family.

24. JAYANTAMAṄGALA. This is the modern Chennamangalam, which lies within the two arms of the Alwaye river. There is the Narasimha temple described by Uddaṇḍa in his KL. (91). This place is the destination in KL. Uddaṇḍa's consort lived here in a house called Mārakkara. At present the

residence of the Paliyath Acchans, the minister and commander-in-chief of the Cochin Maharajas for a long time, is in this place. But no Sandeśakāvya mentions this. Villārvaṭṭam is supposed to have been here and the last member of the family gave over the rights of the family to the Paliyath Achan.

25. CŪRṆĪ. This is supposed to be the Alwaye river; most likely it is only the lower reaches of the river, after it is joined by the Chalakkudi river, that bore this particular name. All the poets describe this river with great enthusiasm. It is described as a charming lady, whom it is very difficult to ignore and pass by. The sports of the ladies of Mahodayapura (next item) is specially mentioned in the poems. (SK. 65 to 67; KL. 87 to 90; MR. 86 to 89). In BR. Cūrṇī is supposed to form a moat on the eastern side of the ancestral palace of the Perumpaṭappu kings on the west coast, which palace is identified with the palace at Cochin.

26. MAHODAYAPURA. This is the modern Tiruvañcikkulam on the Alwaye river along it lower reaches. This was the seat of the Perumals. It was also the residence of the Perumpaṭappu kings (modern Cochin royal family) and in a work called Śivavilasa the Perumpaṭappu king is mentioned as living at this place (Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras R. No. 5146. I have my own copy). The Śiva temple here is called Añjanākṣetra (MR. 90; KL. 87) and Pañcaranga in BR. (63). It is spoken of as the seat of the Keralādhīśvaras (MR. 91) and of the Rāja in SK. (68). BR. also uses the same expression (61). In connection with a paramount power in Malabar, it must be mentioned in this connection that in ancient literatures which I am now examining, the Perumpaṭappu kings are the only paramount power spoken of. There is no early literary evidence of the last Perumal having distributed his kingdom and titles to five of his heirs.

27. CRANGANORE. This is Kurumba temple. The Kālī temple here is well known in the whole of Malabar. The devotion to the Goddess, of even the trees is specially mentioned. (SK. 71; KL. 91; MR. 92).

28. TRIKKANĀMATILAKAM. This city is designated as Guṇaka in all the poems. This is the destination in SK. KL. does not mention it. MR. speaks of it and mentions the great poets and the charming ladies of the place (93 and 94). This city was ruined long ago. It was once a very opulent city. Now it is only an ordinary village.

29. IRINJALAKKUDA. This is called Sangamagrāma. The Deity is described in all ancient poems as Viṣṇu. MR. mentions the four arms of the Deity holding the disc, club, conch and akṣa-bead. A very late poem speaks of the Deity as Bharata, son of Daśaratha and brother of Rāma. The modern notion too is that the Deity is Bharata. There is a tank called Kulīpinī. (MR. 95 to 97; KL. 85). BR. also speaks of this place (70). The Brahmins of the place were well versed in Vedas and were performing the vedic sacrifices.

30. A VILLAGE. After Irinjalakkuda, MR. (98) mentions of villages resided by very holy Brahmins.

31. TRICHUR. MR. (98) and KL. (81) mention this place. The Śiva temple here is very famous. MR. says that the messenger can hear the drum beaten by Nandi during Śiva's evening dance, on his way. The route in MR. does not lie along Trichur, but only a few miles to the west. The route in KL. is through Trichur.

32. VENKITANGU. This is a village to the west of Trichur. This is mentioned in MR. (99) and also in KK. (38). MR. speaks of the famous Śaṅkarnārāyaṇa temple here, which exists even now.

33. BRAHMAKULAM. This is a great Brahmin village a few miles to the north of the previous and a few miles to the south of the modern Guruvayoor temple. The Śiva temple and the great tank in front are mentioned in MR. (100 to 104); they are found even now. The great scholars of the place who learned the Vedas even in their childhood are specially mentioned. Nārāyaṇa the commentator of Raghuvaṃśa and Udaya commentator of Kauṣītaki Brahmaṇa were natives of this village.

34. ILAVALLI. Designated abhinavalatā in MR. (105), this place has a famous temple of the Goddess; the image is supposed to have grown on the spot and not installed there. It is an immense image.

35. ANNAKARA. This is the destination in MR. It is to the east of the previous, which itself is to the south east of the still previous one. The temple is dedicated to the Goddess, who is supposed to be the giver of food to all.

36. ŪRAKAM. This is on the route followed in KL. This is to the north of Irinjalakkuda (item 29). There is a temple dedicated to the goddess. It is even now a famous Devī temple (KL. 84).

37. PERUVANAM. This is mentioned in KL. (82, and 83). There is an ardhanārīśvara temple, which is one of the so called Grāma-temples in Malabar (so are Irinjakkuda and Trichur). Vāsudeva the author of Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya belonged to this village.

38. PORKULAM. KL. speaks of this place (78 to 80). The great Mīmāṃsakas, the Bhaṭṭas of Payyoor house, belonged to this village. In KL. there is a glowing tribute given to these Bhaṭṭas.

39. MUKKOLA. There is a famous Durgā temple here and KL. mentions the place (77), BR. also mentions this (80). This has been and continues to be one of the most important temples in Malabar. Once this was a great intellectual centre. Many a well-known author of ancient Malabar belonged to this place.

40. NETRANĀRĀYAṆA'S COUNTRY. This is the famous portion of Malabar known as Vanneri country, which belonged to the Talappili Rajas.

Uddaṇḍa says that this is the most famous portion of Malabar (75). Netranārāyaṇa is the name of Azhavancheri Thamprakkal, who performs the coronation ceremony of the Malabar kings. KK. also mentions this family of preceptors (29). KL. mentions the family in 76.

41. CHAMRAVATTAM. This is a Śiva temple in the Ponani river (known in literature as Nilā river). It is a frail building; yet in the fiercest flood of the river, even a tile on the shrine is not shaken. (KL. 74).

42. TIRUNAVAY. This is on the banks of the same river, a little higher up. There is a stone mark near the Viṣṇu temple here; if the water rises to that mark, the temple in Chamravattam would be under flood. There is both a Śiva and a Viṣṇu temple on the left bank of the river and a Viṣṇu temple on the right bank. This latter is the famous temple of Tirunavay. In this place a great national festival called Māmāṅkam (Mahāmakham) used to be celebrated in ancient times. The Zamorins presided over the ceremony. It is the greatest honour for a Malabar king to be able to preside over this festival. The platform where the presiding king stood was attacked by other kings in order to take possession of it and to preside over the festival, and this gave occasion for great feats of valour. There are many tales of heroism connected with this festival, current in Malabar. All the poems speak of this festival and the Zamorin who presided over it. (KL. 71 and 72; KK. 19 to 24; BR. 82 to 88).

43. NILĀ. This is the Ponani river. This is one of the most famous rivers in Malabar. The Mamāṅkam festival was celebrated on its sandy banks. This was supposed to have some connection with the installation of the Perumals. But there is no historical evidence of any connection between this place and the Perumals.

44. TRIPRANGOT. This is another famous Śiva temple. It is supposed that Śiva killed Yama at this place. Even now there is a banyan tree on the northern side, which is supposed to have parted itself at the bottom portion of its trunk to give way to Mārkaṇḍeya when he was running towards the Deity for protection from Yama who was chasing him. The banyan tree is even now in that position; the trunk is split, each half being on either side of the path and both parts joining together up, looking like an archway. There is a tank in the temple in which the water is reddish supposed to be due to the blood of Yama when Śiva washed his trident after killing him. Another tank is called Vellot tank. The temple is in the Vettathunad country (Prakāśa kingdom). The place is mentioned in (KL. 69 and 70). This is the starting point in KK.

45. CALICUT. This city is mentioned by Uddaṇḍa (KL. 63 to 68). The greatness of the Zamorin Raja, the trade and the ships in the harbour, the handsome ladies and their sports in the city—all these things are described. But there is no mention of the Academy of learned men, which is famous in Malabar history of the later days.

After item 33 above, the route in KK and BR. comprehend some important places not mentioned in KL., whose route is different. Guruvayoor temple is mentioned in KK (34 to 37) and BR. (76 to 78) and the latter speaks of the rheumatic patients who get cured by worshipping in the temple. KK. speaks of the mid-day worship where handsome ladies participate.

KK. (33) also mentions a great Kālī temple to the north of this place, called Kavīṭṭil, which is a well-known temple even now. Then there is the village called Vailattur (33) further to the north, the residence of the third Raja of Talappilli whose fame spreads there like the scent of flowers (31 and 32) and the Govindapuram temple more to the north (30), where the worshippers immediately reach heaven.

To the east of the house of Netranārāyaṇa (Item 40) there is the house of Tirumalaśśeri, a Brahmin belonging to the Panniypur village who was far famed for his martial feats, and also there is the temple of Vivardhanapura (KK. 25 to 27).

After Tirunavay, BR. speaks of the temple of Trikkandiyur to the west (89) where there is the great astronomer Achuta, who is known as the teacher of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa. Then there is the temple of Chandanakkavu (pāṭravāṭī) where there is the great poet Nārayaṇabhaṭṭa and his brother Mātṛdatta (91 and 92). Further on (92) there is the country of the Vallabha kings (Valluvanad) and the city called Śvetạdurga which is the destination in BR. This city may be identified with the modern Kottakal, the residence of one of the branches of the Zamorin family. On further inquiry I find that the place may as well be Nirankaitakotta further to the east of this place. Near this place there is a house called Ceriyakkam (Balayakṣri of the Sandeśa) to which house belonged the heroine.

46. KOLATTIRI. This is one of the most important of the ancient kingdoms in Malabar. It is the western half of the part of Malabar to the north of Calicut. (KL. 60). The place is mentioned as famous for cardamom. The great poet Śaṅkara is mentioned as living there. The kings of the place were great patrons of learned men.

47. TRICCABARA. This is a great Viṣṇu temple (KL. 60).

48. TALIPPARAMBA. This is another of the ancient Malabar villages where there is a Grāma temple, dedicated to Śiva. It is supposed to be just like Trichur. KL. (49 to 55) speaks of the great Brahmins who perform worship in that temple. Though the route is a little longer, yet the messenger is asked to go to the place and see its greatness.

49. KOTTAYAM. This is the seat of the royal family called Puralī. KL. speaks of an ancient king named Hariścandra. The kings were patrons of the Kumārila school. There is mention of the princess Śvātī. This kingdom is on the eastern side of North Malabar. The last king was defeated by the English. The place is described in KL. (43 to 47).

50. VĀṄMAYĪ. This is a river to the eastern side of Kottayam. There is a temple on the banks. Only during the annual festival is the temple open. The Deity is supposed to be so very ferocious that no worshipper goes there except during that annual festival.

51. TIRUNELLI. This is the first place mentioned by Uddaṇḍa in KL. (40). It is a famous place even now; people go there to perform their Śrāddha.

In this short survey we have traced the important places in Malabar. It will be found that nearly all important places lay along a line from north to south. If there were other important places, some poet should have mentioned them. The poets had no special personal affinity to these places. They described the places because they were important. The poems dealt with in this Paper help one in understanding the topography of Malabar, the important cities and temples, the important kingdoms and also about the general nature of life in some of the places. The history and political division of ancient Malabar are now based mostly on tradition and later literary works, which are unreliable. Most of them were written to glorify a certain king and to trace his descent to the ancient Perumals. It is such works as I have dealt with that reveal the real history and political division of Malabar in an authentic way. A more detailed study, based on more works, will revolutionise the current notions of ancient Malabar history and political divisions.

THE AJĀTIVĀDA OF GAUḌAPĀDA

By

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Gauḍapāda, whom tradition regards as Śaṅkara's parama-guru (preceptor's preceptor), is the earliest known systematic exponent of Advaita. His *Kārikā*, which is more than a verse-commentary on the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad*, contains the quintessence of the teaching of Vedānta.[1] The work consists of 215 couplets arranged in four chapters. Following the Upaniṣad, the first chapter, Āgama-prakaraṇa, analyses the three *avasthās*, waking, dream, and deep sleep, and finds that the Self which is referred to as the Turīya underlies and transcends these changing states. The second chapter, Vaitathya-prakaraṇa, seeks to establish the illusoriness of the world of plurality, on the analogy of dreams, and through a criticism of creationistic hypotheses. The third chapter, Advaita-prakaraṇa, sets forth the arguments for the truth of non-dualism, gives citations from scripture in support thereof, and discusses the path to the realisation of non-duality, called Asparśa-yoga. The last chapter, Alātaśānti-prakaraṇa, repeats some of the arguments of the earlier chapters, shows the unintelligibility of the concept of causality through dialectic, explains the illusoriness of the phenomenal world, comparing it to the non-real designs produced by a fire-brand (alāta) and pressing into service modes of Bauddha reasoning, and establishes the supreme truth of non-duality which is unoriginated, eternal, self-luminous bliss.

I

The central theme of Gauḍapāda's philosophy is that nothing is ever born (ajāti), not because 'nothing' is the ultimate truth, as in Śūnya-vāda, but because the Self is the only reality. 'No jīva is born; there is no cause for such birth; this is the supreme truth, nothing whatever is born.'[2] From the standpoint of the Absolute there is no duality, there is nothing finite or non-eternal. The Absolute alone is; all else is appearance, illusory and non-real. They are deluded who take the pluralistic universe to be real. Empirical distinctions of knower and object known, mind and matter, are the result of Māyā. One cannot explain how they arise. But on enquiry they will be

1. The commentator on the *Kārikā* says: vedāntārtha-sāra-saṅgraha-bhūtam.
2. III, 48; IV, 71.
na kaścij-jāyate jīvaḥ sambhavo 'sya na vidyate,
etat-tad-uttamaṃ satyaṃ yatra kiñcin-na jāyate.

found to be void of reality. If one sees them, it is like seeing the foot-prints of birds in the sky.[3] The Self is unborn ; there is nothing else to be born. Duality is mere illusion ; non-duality is the supreme truth.[4]

II

Gauḍapāda expounds his philosophy of non-origination or non-birth in several ways and through many an argument. The reality of the non-dual self he first establishes through an enquiry into the purport of the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad*. Though extremely brief, the *Māṇḍūkya* contains the essentials of Vedānta. For the liberation of those who desire release, says the *Muktikopaniṣad*, the *Māṇḍūkya* alone is enough.[5] The *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad* begins with the equation 'Om=all=Brahman=self' and proceeds to describe the three states of the self, waking, dream and sleep, as well as the fourth (Turīya) which is not a state alongside the others but the transcendent nature of the self—the non-dual peace, the self *per se*. Gauḍapāda makes this declaration of the Upaniṣad the basis of his metaphysical quest and seeks to show through reasoning that non-origination is the final truth.

Viśva, Taijasa, and Prājña are the names by which the self is known in the three states, waking, dream, and sleep. Viśva is conscious of the external world, enjoys what is gross and is satisfied therewith. Taijasa is conscious of what is within,[6] enjoys what is subtle and finds satisfaction there. Prājña is a consciousness-mass without the distinctions of seer and seen ; its enjoyment and satisfaction is bliss. The three, Viśva, Taijasa, and Prājña, are not distinct selves. It is one and the same self that appears as three.[7] To show that all the three aspects are present in waking, Gauḍapāda assigns localities to them. Viśva has its seat in the right eye ; Taijasa in the mind ; and Prājña in the ether of the heart.[8] And the three should also be thought of as identical with the three cosmic forms of the self, Virāṭ, Hiraṇyagarbha, and Avyākṛta or Īśvara. It is to indicate this identity that the *Maṇḍūkya Upaniṣad* describes the Prājña-self as the lord of all, the knower of all, the controller of all, the source of all, the origin and end of beings.[9] The recognition of Viśva, Taijasa, and Prājña in the waking state, and the identification of the three individual forms of the self with the three cosmic forms, are for the purpose of realising non-duality.

The non-dual reality is the Turīya. It has no distinguishing name ;

3. IV, 28.
4. I, 17, māyā-mātraṃ idaṃ dvaitaṃ advaitaṃ paramārthataḥ.
5. *Muktikā*, I, 26.
6. The distinctions of 'within' and 'without', it must be remembered, are from the standpoint of waking experience ; for it is in this state that inquiry is possible.
7. I, i. eka eva tridhā smṛtaḥ.
8. I, 2. See commentary.
9. *Māṇḍūkya*, 6.

hence it is called 'the fourth' (turīya[10]). It is the self-luminous self, changeless, non-dual, one without a second. The states that change and pass, with their worlds and enjoyments, are illusory, products of *Māyā*. *Māyā* is twofold in its functioning ; it veils the one and projects the many. Non-apprehension of the real (tattvā-'pratibodha) and the apprehension of it otherwise (anyathā-grahaṇa). For the Prājña in the state of sleep there is non-apprehension alone, and not misapprehension. It knows neither the self in its real nature nor the not-self. The Turīya is free from both the aspects of *Māyā*. It is consciousness *per se*, without even a trace of ignorance. It is unfailing light, omniscient sight.[11] The metaphysical implication of sleep is that it hides the true, and of dream that it projects the untrue. Viśva and Taijasa are associated with dream and sleep ; Prājña is associated with dreamless sleep ; for the Turīya there is neither dream nor sleep. Real awakening comes with the realisation of the Turīya, with the transcendence of *Māyā* in its double role of veiling the real and showing up the non-real. When the jīva wakes from the beginningless sleep of illusion, it knows its true nature as unborn, as that in which there is neither sleep nor dream nor duality.[12]

In the Alātaśānti-prakaraṇa,[13] Gauḍapāda teaches the same theory of the three avasthās, employing Bauddha terminology. Waking, dream, and sleep are there called laukika, śuddha-laukika, and lokottara respectively. The difference between the first two is that while in the former there are external objects (savastu), in the latter there is none (avastu); but in both there is consciousness of duality (sopalambha). In the lokottara there is neither the external world of things nor the internal world of ideas, and consequently there is no apprehension of duality ; ignorance, however, persists. It is only he who knows these three as non-real states that knows the truth. For him there is no duality, nor ignorance, the seed of duality. When the real is known, there is not the world of duality.[14]

III

As a result of the inquiry into the avasthās it must be evident that the pluralistic world is illusory, as the self alone is real. That the world which we take to be real in waking is illusory, Gauḍapāda seeks to establish in the Vaitathya-prakaraṇa on the analogy of the dream-world. Judged by the standards of waking, it will be readily seen that the world of dreams is unreal. A person may dream of elephants and chariots ; but on waking he realises that all of them must have been illusory because they appeared within him, within the small space of his body.[15] The dream-contents do not form part

10. Here again it must be noted that the real is called 'the fourth' from the empirical standpoint ; in truth, the category of number is inapplicable to it.
11. I, 12. turīyaḥ sarvadṛk sadā.
12. I, 13-16.
13. IV, 87, 88.
14. I, 18. jñāte dvaitaṃ na vidyate.
15. II, i ; IV, 33.

of the external world which we take to be real in waking; and so they are illusory. Nor do they conform to the laws of space and time which govern the waking world. In a trice of waking time one may travel far and wide in dream. There is no real going to the place of dream, for on waking one does not find oneself there. Nor are the objects experienced in dream real, for when the dream-spell is broken one does not see them.[16] Because chariot, etc., seen in dream are non-existent, they are illusory.[17]

The world of waking is in many respects similar to that of dream. The objects of waking are *perceived* as the dream-objects are; and they are evanescent as well, like the contents of dream. What is non-existent in the beginning and at the end, is so even in the present.[18] That is real which is not conditioned by time. *Per contra* that which is conditioned by time cannot be real. Just as the dream-objects are experienced in dream alone neither before nor after, even so the objects of waking are experienced in the state of waking alone. A difference between the two states cannot be made out on the ground that, while the objects experienced in waking are practically efficient, those seen in dream are not; for even the objects of waking experience are fruitful in practice only in that state and not in dream; and the dream-objects are useful in their own way in the state of dream. It is true that the dream-water cannot quench actual thirst. But it is equally true that the so-called actual water cannot quench the dream-thirst either.[19] It may be argued that the contents of dream are unreal because, unlike the objects of waking, they are strange and abnormal. But when and to whom do they appear abnormal? To him who has returned to waking after a dream. In the dream state itself the contents are not realised to be strange. With perfect equanimity the dreamer may watch even the dismemberment of his own head. We are told that the denizens of heaven have their own peculiarities which to us are all abnormal. Similarly, from the side of waking the dream-contents may seem abnormal; but in themselves they are quite normal.[20] That there is an essential similarity between the contents of dream and the objects of waking may be shown by a closer scrutiny of the two states. In the state of dream, the dreamer imagines certain ideas within himself and sees certain things outside; and he believes that, while the former are unreal, the latter are real. But as soon

16. II, 2. 17. II, 3; see *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, IV, iii, 10.
18. II, 6; IV, 31.
ādāv-ante ca yan-nāsti vartamān 'pi tat tathā.
19. II, 7; IV, 32.
20. II, 8. See J. A. C. Murray, B.D.: *An Introduction to a Christian Psycho-Therapy* (T. & T. Clark), p. 252; Waking consciousness is, after all, a limited affair, narrowed by the immediacies of the five senses, and concentrated at every moment on but one moving point. In dreams, we seem to enter a wider kingdom, freed from the fears and restraints of normal life, a field where earthly forces and laws are set at naught, and where the whole immensity of the sub-conscious can have freer speech, and like a rising tide, submerge the petty logics of our daily life.

as he wakes from the dream, he realises the unreality of even the things which he saw in dream *as if* outside. Similarly in waking, we have our fancies which we know to be unreal, and we experience facts which we take to be real. But when the delusion of duality is dispelled, the so-called facts of the external world will turn out to be illusory appearance.[21] Therefore it is that the wise characterise waking as a dream.[22] Just as the dream-soul arises and perishes, the souls of waking come into being and pass away.[23] It is the self that posits the dream-contents as well as the external world. The things created in the mind within and those posited in the world without—both these are the illusory imaginations of the Ātman. The difference between the two sets of things is that while the dream-contents last only till the mind of the dreamer imagines them (cittakālāḥ) and are peculiar thereto, the objects of the external world are perceived by other subjects[24] as well (dvayakālāḥ), and are cognised through the sense-organs. Illusoriness (vaitathya), however, is common to both.[25] In dream as well as in waking it is the mind that moves impelled by Māyā, and creates the appearance of plurality. As identical with the self the mind is non-dual; but owing to nescience duality is figured and there is the consequent saṃsāra.[26]

Illustrations for illusoriness are to be found even in the state of waking. Just as in the dark a rope which is not determinately known is imagined to be a snake or a streak of water, the self is imagined to be the world through nescience. And as when the rope is known as rope the posited snake, etc., vanish, so also when the self is known as non-dual, the pluralistic world disappears.[27] Like the Palace city of Fairy Morgana (gandharva-nagara), the universe is seen but is not real.[28] The things of the world are believed to exist because they are perceived (upalambhāt) and because they answer to certain practical needs (samācārāt). But these two reasons cannot make them real; for even the objects like the elephant conjured up by the necromancer are observed and are practically efficient but are not real.[29] One more illustration Gauḍapāda gives in the fourth chapter, viz. the *alāta* or fire-brand. When a fire-brand is moved, it appears to be straight, or crooked, and so on; and when the movement stops, the appearances vanish. They do not really come from the fire-brand in motion, nor do they enter into it when it comes to rest. The patterns of fire that appear with the movement of the fire-brand are illusory; they have no substance whatsoever. Similarly, consciousness appears in manifold forms due to Māyā. These do not come out of it, in reality, nor

21. II, 9 & 10; IV, 63-66.
22. II, 5. svapna-jāgarite sthāne hy ekam āhur manīṣiṇaḥ. An ancient Chinese sage said: "Last night I dreamt that I was a butterfly and now I do not know whether I am a man dreaming that he is a butterfly or a butterfly dreaming that he is a man."
23. IV, 68. 24. Who are also positions of the supreme Self.
25. II, 11-15. 26. III, 29, 30; IV, 61, 62. 27. II, 17, 18.
28. II, 31. 29. IV, 44.

do they return to it; for they are naught.[30] There is no dissolution, no origination; no one in bondage, no one who desires release, no one who is released—this is the supreme truth.[31]

IV

The establishment of the non-reality of the world by Gauḍapāda does not mean that the great teacher subscribes to the view of ontological unreality (śūnyavāda). We have already seen how in the Āgama-prakaraṇa he expounds the meaning of the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad* and shows through an inquiry into the nature of the three avasthās that the Self (turīya) is the sole reality. That this is so Gauḍapāda argues through reasoning in the Advaita-prakaraṇa, and cites in support the evidence of passages from other scriptural texts as well.

The self is unlimited like ether, undivided and the same throughout. The jīvas are apparent distinctions therein, as pots, etc., produce in ether divisions as it were. We speak of a plurality of souls and a multiplicity of material objects, even as we speak of pot-ether, pitcher-ether, and so on. The one Ātman appears as the many jīvas, as the same ether seems divided, enclosed in the different things. When the things are destroyed, the distinctions in ether too vanish; so also when the jīvas are realised to be illusory manifestations due to Māyā, the self alone remains. There is no contingence of the defects of one jīva being occasioned in the other jīvas or the defects of the jīvas defiling the purity of the self. It must be noted that Gauḍapāda's theory is not eka-jīva-vāda but ekā-'tma-vāda. Since the empirical plurality of jīvas is recognised, there is not the contingence of the defects of one jīva being occasioned in the others or the experiences of one being confused with those of the rest. And by the defilements of the jīvas the self is not affected, as dust, smoke, etc., present in the pots or pitchers do not make ether foul. Forms, functions, and names differ from object to object; but there is no difference in ether. Similarly, the jīvas vary in their physical make-up, mental and moral endowment, in station and status; but the self is unvarying, formless, functionless, and nameless. Just as children attribute wrongly dirt etc., to the sky, the ignorant superpose on the unsullied self defects like birth and death, pleasure and pain. But these are changes that are not real and do not touch the self. The birth of the jīvas and their death, their coming and going, do not alter the Ātman. They are not products of the self, nor are they parts thereof. The non-dual reality is partless; it neither causes anything, nor is caused by anything.[32]

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30. IV, 47-52.
31. II, 32.
    na nirodho na cotpattir na baddho na ca sādhakaḥ,
    na mumukṣur na vai mukta ity eṣā paramārthatā.
32. III, 3-9.

Scripture in many places proclaims the non-duality of the self and deprecates the delusion of duality. Through an inquiry into the five sheaths (kośas) that cover the soul, the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*[33] exhibits the self as the non-dual bliss, not to be confused with the mutable coverings. In the 'Honey section' of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*[34] the principle behind the cosmic elements is identified with the self which is the substrate of the body and its functions. What is without is within as well. The same 'honey' pervades all beings. It is immortal, the self, Brahman, the all. As the spokes are fixed in the nave of a wheel, so are all beings centred in the self. Thus scripture declares the non-difference of the jīva from the self and denounces plurality. Difference is illusory; the one appears as many through Māyā. "There is no plurality here."[35] "Indra through *māyās* assumes diverse forms."[36] "Though unborn he appears variously born."[37] The *Īśāvāsya*[38] denies birth of the self, and the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* asks, "Who indeed could produce him?"[39] Of what is real birth is incomprehensible; and what is unreal cannot even be born.[40]

It is true that in some contexts scripture speaks of creation. Through the illustrations of clay, metal, sparks, etc., creation of the many from the one is described. But this is only to enable those who are dull-witted and middlings to understand the fundamental unity of reality. Śruti declares creation in some places, and non-creation in others. The two sets of passages cannot have equal validity. That teaching should be taken as the purport of scripture which is ascertained through inquiry (niścitam) and is reasonable (yukti-yuktam). If birth is predicated of the real, it must be in the sense of an illusion, and not in the primary sense. The self is unborn, sleepless and dreamless, nameless and formless, self-luminous and all-knowing.[41]

V

That the self is unborn and that nothing else there is which is born, Gauḍapāda seeks to demonstrate through a dialectical criticism of the causal category in the fourth chapter. Causation, like all other relations, falls within the realm of nescience, because on analysis it turns out to be unintelligible. There are two rival views on causation which are totally opposed to each other. The Sāṅkhya theory is that the effect is pre-existent in the cause and is not produced *de novo*. The Nyāya-Vaiśesika view is that the effect is non-existent prior to its production. On either of these hypotheses there will not result causation. If the effect is already existent, there is no need for any causal operation; it is meaningless to say that what is existent is born. If the effect is non-existent, it can never be produced; what is non-existent like

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33. Second vallī. 34. II, v.
35. Bṛh. Up., IV, iv, 19; Kaṭha Up. IV, 11.
36. Ṛg Veda, VI, 47, 18; Bṛh. Up., II, v, 19.
37. Tait. Ār. III, 13, 1. 38. Īśa, 12. 39. III, 9, 28.
40. GK, III, 11-13, 24-26. 41. III, 14-16, 23, 36.

the barren woman's son is not at any time seen to take birth.[42] Even without their knowing the two rival schools, *satkārya-vāda* and *asatkārya-vāda*, are thus seen to support the view of non-creation or non-origination.[43]

Of what is really unborn the disputants predicate birth. But this is a flagrant violation of the laws of contradiction. How can that which is unborn and therefore immortal become mortal? The immortal cannot become mortal, nor the mortal immortal; for it is impossible for a thing to change its nature. If what is by nature immortal were to become mortal, then it would cease to be changeless, and attain artificiality, illusoriness. But this is impossible for what is immortal by nature. The Sāṅkhya thinks that the unborn and beginningless Prakṛti evolves itself into the manifold evolutes that constitute the universe. But this view cannot be justified by any canon of logic. If Prakṛti *becomes* the world, it cannot be unborn (aja) and eternal (nitya). Even to admit that there is a first cause is to confess the failure of causation as a principle of explanation. To add to the confusion the Sāṅkhya says that the effect is non-different from the cause. Now, is the effect born or unborn? If it is born, it cannot be non-different from the cause which is unborn. If it is unborn, then it cannot be called 'effect', as the effect is that which is *produced*. And if the effect is produced and is non-different from the cause, the cause cannot be permanent or unchanging. There is no illustration that could be instanced to prove the production of the effect from the unborn cause. If to avoid this difficulty it be said that the cause too is born, then there should be a cause for that cause, a still further cause for that other cause, and so on *ad infinitum*.[44]

The Mīmāṃsakas maintain that the cause and the effect are reciprocally dependent. Merit and demerit are responsible for producing the body; and the body occasions merit and demerit. The chain of causes and effects is without beginning, each alternating with the other, like the seed and the sprout. Here again we meet with insuperable difficulties. If the antecedent of a cause is its effect and the antecedent of an effect is its cause, then both cause and effect are begun. How can they be beginningless? Moreover, there is a paradox in the very thesis that is proposed. To say that the antecedent of the cause is its effect is like saying that the son begets his father.[45] There must be some definite sequence recognised as between cause and effect. It is no use believing that the two are reciprocally dependent. If the cause and the effect can be indifferently antecedent or consequent, there would be no distinction whatever between them, and to call one a cause and the other an effect would be entirely arbitrary and void of meaning. Now, there are three possible ways of stating the sequence. It may be said that first there is the cause and subsequently the effect takes place (pūrva-krama); or it may be

42. IV; 4. bhūtaṃ na jāyate kiñcid abhūtaṃ naiva jāyate.
43. IV, 3-5.
44. IV, 6-8, 11-13.
45. IV, 15, putrāj janma pitur yathā.

held that the effect is followed by the cause (apara-krama); or it may be thought that the cause and the effect are simultaneous (saha-krama). None of these alternatives is intelligible. That the cause cannot produce the effect we have shown already. If the cause is unborn, it cannot change and therefore cannot produce; if it is born there is infinite regress. The reverse order too is impossible; for, as we said, it is just like making the son antecedent to the father. The effect by definition is that which is produced by the cause; and if the cause is not there before the effect, how can the effect be produced? And from the unproduced effect how can the cause come into being? The third alternative also is untenable. If what are simultaneous be causally related, there must be such a relation between the two horns of an animal. But as a matter of experience it is well known that the two horns are not so related. This, then, is the crux of the problem. Without settling the sequence, the distinction of cause and effect would be unintelligible. And it is impossible to settle the sequence. In despair, appeal might be made to the illustration of seed and sprout. But a little thought would reveal that these —seed and sprout—cannot serve as illustration. It is only when the causal sequence has been settled that the relation between seed and sprout would become intelligible. Since the latter is a particular falling under the wider relation of cause and effect, it cannot be used as an illustration. It is, in short, *sādhya-sama*, still to be proved.[46]

A thing is not produced either from itself or from another. A pot is not produced from the self-same pot, nor from another pot. It may be urged that pot is produced from clay. But how is pot related to clay? Is it non-different, different, or both different and non-different from it? If pot is non-different from clay, it cannot be produced, since clay is already existent. If it is different, there is no reason why it should not be produced from another pot or a piece of cloth which are also different. And it cannot be both different and non-different, because of contradiction. Similarly, neither the existent nor the non-existent nor what is existent and non-existent can be produced. It is meaningless to say that what exists is produced. The non-existent cannot be produced even because of its non-existence. The third alternative involves us in contradiction.[47]

It is true that empirical distinctions are observed between knower and known, pain and the source of pain, etc. From the standpoint of reasoning based on relative experience (yukti-darśanāt), there is difference as also causal relation governing the differents. But from the standpoint of the Absolute (bhūta-darśanāt) there is no difference and the concept of cause is unintelligible.[48]

46. IV, 14-18, 20.
47. IV, 22.
48. IV, 24, 25.

VI

Gauḍapāda admits creation in the sphere of the empirical. But creation, according to him, is neither *de novo* nor transformation of an original stuff. It is of the nature of Māyā, illusory manifestation or transfiguration. The world is not related to the self either as a piece of cloth to the threads or as curds to milk. In fact, no relation is intelligible. The one reality somehow appears as the pluralistic universe through its own Māyā (ātma-māyā). The complexes that constitute the world are projections, like the dream-contents, effected by the illusion of the Ātman.[49] Things are said to be born only from the standpoint of empirical truth (saṃvṛti-satya); they have therefore no permanence. Just as an illusive sprout shoots from an illusive seed, all things arise from Māyā.[50]

There are several theories of creation. Some philosophers favour materialistic origins for the world. For example, there are thinkers who attribute the origination of the universe to Time. Theists, however, regard God as the first cause of things. Some of them ascribe to Him efficient causality alone, others both efficient and material causality. The former say that creation is the mere volition of the Lord, while the latter hold that it is His expansion. Some maintain that God creates for the sake of His enjoyment. Others urge that creation is His sport. But how can desire be in God who is *āpta-kāma* and has no end to achieve? In our ignorance we must content ourselves with saying that creation is His nature or māyā. Like dream and magic it is illusory.[51] The non-dual is imagined to be the manifold world. The latter is neither different from the self nor identical therewith. Hence it is declared to be indeterminable.[52]

The philosophers of the different schools characterise the real in different ways and give their own schemes of categories. Each emphasises one particular aspect of reality and holds on to it as if it were the whole. The self has been variously conceived as life, elements, constituents of Primal Nature, things, worlds, Vedas, sacrifice, what is subtle, what is gross, what has form, what has no form, and so on. According to the Sāṅkhyas, there are twenty-five tattvas or principles. To these, the followers of the Yoga system add one more, viz. God. In the view of the Pāśupatas there are twenty-one categories. There are others who make the categories endless in number. All these theories are but the imaginations of their respective advocates.[53] There is only one self which appears as many through self-delusion as it were.[54] First the jīvas are imagined and then the various things, exter-

49. III, 10. saṅghātāḥ svapnavat sarve ātma-māyā-visarjitāḥ.
50. IV, 57-59.
51. I, 7-9.
52. II, 33, 34.
53. II, 20-29. For details see *The Āgamaśāstra of Gauḍapāda*, edited by Vidushekhara Bhattacharya, pp. 30-37.
54. II, 19. māyaiṣā tasya devasya yayāyam mohitaḥ svayam.

nal and internal. The world of souls and things is an appearance superposed on the self, as the snake-form is imposed on the rope-substance in the dark.[55]

The teaching of creation has no final purport. As has been shown already, what is real cannot be really born. If it is said to be born, it must be in the sense of an illusory appearance.[56] Ordinarily it is stated that saṃsāra which has no beginning comes to an end when release is attained. But this is figurative language. If saṃsāra had no beginning, it could not have an end. If release is attained, it is liable to be lost again.[57] If the universe really existed, it would be destroyed. As we have observed, duality is *māyā-mātra*, mere illusion. Removal of saṃsāra and attainment of mokṣa are figurative. These have to be taught in language which needs must relate to duality. When the real is known, there is no duality whatever.[58]

VII

True to its character as an *upadeśa-śāstra*, the *Gauḍapāda-kārikā* contains practical teaching at the end of each chapter. The purpose of a *śāstra* is to enable the aspirant to cross the sea of *saṃsāra* and reach the shore of blessedness which is the highest human goal (parama-puruṣārtha). The vicious circle of empirical life dependent on the law of cause and effect is evil (anartha). This, however, as has been shown above, is a product of avidyā or Māyā. As long as there is an obstinate faith in causality which is illusory (āvidyaka), the chain of birth and death will not cease. When that false belief is destroyed through knowledge, saṃsāra is removed.[59] The cause of birth and death is ignorance as regards the ultimate truth which is causeless. When this is realised, there is no further cause for metempsychosis, and we attain release which is freedom from sorrow, desire, and fear. Attachment to the non-real is responsible for the illusory wanderings in the wilderness of saṃsāra. When one becomes non-attached through knowledge, one turns back from the false pursuit of the non-real, and reaches the non-dual reality which is homogeneous and unborn.[60]

The real bliss is veiled and the non-real sorrow is projected on account of the perception of illusory plurality. Enshrouded by the darkness of ignorance, those of immature knowledge (bāliśaḥ) dispute about what they consider to be the nature of reality. Some say, it is; some, it is not; others, it is and is not; yet others, it neither is nor is not.[61] All these are kṛpaṇas, narrow-minded, who see fear in the fearless,[62] and follow the way of difference, getting themselves engrossed therein. Opposed to these are the great

55. II, 16, 17.
56. III, 27. sato hi māyayā janma yujyate na tu tattvataḥ.
57. IV, 30.
58. I, 18.
59. IV, 56.
60. IV, 78-80.
61. IV, 82-84.
62. III, 39. abhaye bhaya darśinaḥ.

knowers (mahājñānāḥ) who are settled in their wisdom about the unborn, unchanging reality.[63]

The knowledge which saves is not that which remains a mere theoretical comprehension, but that which has become a direct experience. Study of scripture, ethical discipline, detachment from objects of sense and intense longing for release—these are essential for realising the self. The aspirant should learn the purport of the Veda and acquire freedom from passions like attachment, fear, and anger (vīta-rāga-bhaya-krodhaḥ); and he should fix his thoughts on the non-dual reality.[64] Gauḍapāda teaches two methods of concentrating the mind on the non-dual, Praṇava-yoga in the first chapter and Asparśa-yoga in the third. These are to serve as auxiliaries to the knowledge of the Absolute methods to loosen the cords of ignorance.

Asparśa-yoga is the yoga of transcendence, whereby one realises the supra-relational reality. Saṅkalpa is the root of activity and bondage. The mind contemplates objects and gets distracted and shattered with the result that there is no peace or happiness. Acceptance and desistance are motivated by the centrifugal tendency of thought-processes. The out-going mind should be called back and controlled. Controlling the mind is difficult, indeed, as difficult as emptying the ocean drop by drop by the tip of a *kuśa* grass. But it is not an impossible task; only it requires relentless effort. If the mind is restrained through discrimination, the end will certainly be reached. One must remember first that all is misery and turn back from desires and enjoyments. The mind that moves out must be brought to unity. But in this process care must be taken that it does not fall into sleep. When the mind goes to sleep, it must be awakened; when it tries to go out, it must be calmed. When the stormy mind is stilled, there is the thrill of quietitude. But one should not revel even in this *yogic* trance. Anything that is *enjoyed* must belong to duality; it cannot be unlimited or lasting happiness. The mind must become non-mind (amanībhāva); the relations of subject and object, enjoyer and enjoyment must be transcended. This will come only through the knowledge of the non-dual self. Knowledge and the self are not different. Knowledge *is* the self or Brahman. Hence it is said that through the unborn (knowledge) the unborn (Brahman) is known.[65] Self-established, the unborn knowledge attains its natural equanimity or sameness. This is called asparṣa--yoga, the yoga which is pleasing and good to all beings, and which is beyond dispute and contradiction.[66]

The same end may be reached through meditation on OM (praṇava-yoga). 'Om' is the term indicative of the Brahman-self. It consists of three mātras, *a*, *u*, *m*, and a soundless fourth which is amātra. *A* stands for Viśva, *u* for Taijasa, and *m* for Prājña. Meditation on the significance of the three

63. IV, 94.95.
64. II, 35, 36.
65. III, 33. ajenā-'jaṃ vibudhyate.
66. III, 31-46, IV, 2.

sounds respectively will lead to the realisation of the three aspects of the self. The sound 'om' proceeds from and is resolved in the soundless *amātra*. Similarly, the Turīya is the absolute which is unchanging and non-dual, but which appears as many and changing. When the meaning of the soundless culmination of Om is realised, there is no leading to or attainment of anything; for the Turīya is no other than the real and only self. Thus the Praṇava is to be meditated upon and known. It is the beginning, middle and end of all things. It is the lord established in the hearts of all beings. There is nothing before it nor anything after it, nothing outside it nor anything other than it. Understanding the Praṇava in this manner, one attains the supreme.[67]

Mokṣa or release is not a *post-mortem* state; it can be realised even here (iha), while in embodiment.[68] To speak of it as an attainment or realisation is but figurative. It is the eternal and inalienable nature of the self. He who knows this is released, he is a jīvan-mukta. Because he has attained full omniscience and is free from the delusion of duality, there is nothing for him which he can desire.[69] He is not elated by praise nor depressed by blame. He does not offer obeisance to any, nor does he perform any rite. He has no fixed home, and subsists on what comes his way. He lies like a non-conscious being, and lives as he likes.[70] Though he has no obligations, his conduct can never be immoral. Virtues like humility, equanimity, calmness, and self-control are natural to him.[71] His is the immortal state which is difficult to be seen, very deep, unborn, ever the same, and fearless.[72] He sees the truth everywhere. He delights in the truth and does not swerve from it. He is the truth.[73]

VIII

From the account of Gauḍapāda's philosophy given above it will be clear that this great teacher was an Advaitin the earliest known to us—who in his *Kārikā* laid the foundations of a system which was to become a glorious edifice through the immortal work of Śaṅkara. While making use of logical reasoning and the dialectical method, he does not deviate from the teaching of the Upaniṣads. Even where he employs Bauddha terminology, he takes care to point out that his system should not be confused with Buddhism. While denying absolute reality to the world, he is firm in proclaiming that the non-dual Brahman-self is the supreme truth. He has no quarrel with any system of philosophy because, in his view, all systems if properly understood are pointers to non-duality. While the dualists oppose one another, the doctrine of non-duality does not conflict with them.[74] *Ajāti* or the unborn reality is the final goal of all metaphysical quest.

67. I, 19-29.
68. IV, 89.
69. IV, 85.
70. II, 36, 37.
71. IV, 86.
72. IV, 100.
73. II, 38.
74. III, 17.

PROPERTY—HOW IT IS ACQUIRED AND MANAGED

By

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One may acquire property by earning, inheritance, or gift. Earning can be either lawful or unlawful. The Islamic teachings condemn all methods of acquiring property by unlawful means, such as gambling, theft, and the like. The Quran says : "They ask thee concerning wine and gambling."[1] Say : "In them is great sin, and some profit for men ; but the sin is greater than the profit."[2] The principle on which the objection is based, is, that a gambler gets the profit easily without any effort. He gains what he has not earned or loses a mere chance.[3]

"O ye who believe ! Intoxicants and gambling, dedication of stones, and divination by arrows are an abomination, of Satan's handiwork. Eschew them that you may prosper. Satan's plan is to excite enmity and hatred between you with intoxicants and gambling, and hinder you from the remembrance of God, and from prayer. Will you not then abstain ?"[4]

Intoxicants and gambling are mentioned together and the main reason for their prohibition is that they are the source of enmity and hatred among men.

"As to the thief" the Quran says, "male or female, cut off his or her hands. A punishment by way of example, from God, for their crime. And God is exalted in power."[5]

The canon law jurists are not unanimous as to the value of the property stolen which would involve the penalty of the cutting off of the hand. The majority are of opinion that petty thefts are exempt from this penalty.

The general principles of inheritance is laid down in the following verse of the Quran :

"From what is left by parents and those nearest related there is share

1. In India there are various forms of gambling. In Arabia the form most familiar to the Arabs was gambling by casting lots by means of arrows on the principle of lottery. The arrows which were marked, served the purpose of a modern lottery ticket. The marked arrows together with the blank ones were drawn from a bag. Those who drew the blank arrows got nothing. The marked arrows indicated prizes, big or small.

2. Ch. 2, 219.

3. Dice and wagering are held to be within the definition of gambling. But insurance is not gambling when conducted on business lines.

4. Ch. 5, 93-94.

5. Ch. 5, 41.

for men and a share for women, whether the property be small or large, a determinate share."[6]

The Quran states the law of inheritance as follows :

"God directs you as regards your children's inheritance : to the male, a portion equal to that of two females : if only daughters, two or more, their share is two thirds of the inheritance ; if only one her share is a half."

"For parents, a sixth share of the inheritance to each, if the deceased left children ; if no children, and the parents are the only heirs, the mother has a third ; if the deceased left brothers (or sisters) the mother has a sixth. The distribution in all cases is after the payment of legacies and debts. You know not whether your parents or your children are nearest to you in benefit. These are settled portions ordained by God. And God is All-knowing, All-wise."

"In what your wives leave, your share is a half, if they leave no child. But if they leave a child you get a fourth after payment of legacies and debts. In what you leave their share is a fourth, if you leave no child. But if you leave a child they get an eighth, after payment of legacies and debts."

"If the man or woman whose inheritance is in question has left neither ascendants nor descendants but has left a brother or a sister, each one of the two gets a sixth. But if more than two, they share in a third after payment of legacies and debts so that no loss is caused to any one. Thus is it ordained by God. And God is All-knowing, Most forbearing."[7]

The broad principles to be gathered from the text of the Quran as interpreted by the jurists are : The power to bestow the property by will or deed extends over only one third of the property, the remaining two thirds are inherited by the heirs as per law.

All distribution of the property takes place after the legacies and debts including funeral expenses have been paid.

Legacies cannot be left to any one of the heirs entitled for a share, as this will upset the shares.

The male takes generally a share double that of a female in his own category.

The shares are allotted to children, parents, husband or wife of the deceased, and collaterals.

The children's shares are fixed but their amount will depend upon what goes to the parents. If both parents are living, and there are also children, both father and mother take a sixth each. If only one parent is living, he or she takes his or her sixth, and the rest goes to the children. If the parents are living, and there is no child or other heir, the mother gets a third and the father the remaining two thirds ; if there are no children, but there are bro-

6. Ch. 4, 7.

7. Ch. 4, 11-12.

thers or sisters, the mother has a sixth and the father the residue as he excludes collaterals.

The husband takes a half of his deceased wife's property if she leaves no child, the rest going to residuaries; if she leaves a child the husband gets only a fourth. As the female share is generally half the male share, the widow gets a fourth of her deceased husband's property if he leaves no children, and an eighth if he leaves children. If there are more widows than one, their collective share is a fourth or an eighth as the case may be; they divide it equally among themselves.[8]

An owner of property can bequeath his property for a charitable purpose or to any one who is not a legal heir to the property bequeathed. The Quran says: "It is prescribed when death approaches any of you, if he leaves any goods, that he makes a bequest to parents and next of kin, according to reasonable usage. This is due from the God-fearing."[9]

But the right to testamentary disposition is prescribed only to very rich people, and it is subject to certain limitations. Not more than one third of the property can be bequeathed and no legal heir be the beneficiary. The reason for limiting the bequest to one third is learnt from the saying of the Prophet that one should leave the heirs free from want. There are also rules for the disposal of the intestate property.

One can acquire property by getting it as gift from another person. The term *hiba* in Islamic law means a transfer of property made immediately and without exchange. The *hiba* becomes complete when the donee accepted it and took possession of it. The donor cannot revoke the *hiba* when it has been accepted by the donee.

A *hiba* is allowed in favour of a son but it is recommended that similar gifts should be made in favour of other sons. The husband can make a gift of property to his wife and the wife to husband and others. Gifts from Muslims to Non-Muslims and *vice versa* are also allowed.

The jurists allow a gift for a consideration and also a gift made on the condition that the donee should give the donor some thing definite in return for the gift.

While the property can be disposed by will or deed to the extent of one third only there is no such limitation for the distribution by gift, for, the owner divests himself of the property immediately.

There is no limit to the extent one can possess property. The Quran says that a man who has heaps of gold, may give away any amount of it to a woman as dowry but should not take it back. The Quran says:

8. As space will not permit, the shares of collaterals and the rules about residuaries are not discussed here.

9. Ch. 2, 180.

"But if you decide to take one wife in place of another, even if you had given the latter a whole treasure for dower, take not the least bit of it back."[10]

Muslims are advised not to waste property but increase it by traffic and trade:

"O ye who believe! Eat not up your property among yourselves in vanities. But let there be amongst you traffic and trade by mutual good will. Nor kill yourselves, for verily God hath been to you most merciful."[11]

Property carries with it its own responsibilities, and people are asked not to be greedy.

"And do not eat up your property among yourselves for vanities, nor use it as bait for the judges, with intent that you may eat up wrongfully and knowingly a little of other people's property.[12]

Two kinds of greed are mentioned in the above verse. A man may use his property for corrupting others like judges or those in authority, with a view to obtain some gain under the protection of the law. Another form is that one may put his property to frivolous uses. How to spend money is related in the following verses:

"Those who, when they spend, are not extravagant and not niggardly, but hold a just balance between those extremes."[13]

One may not be so lavish as to make oneself destitute and incur the censure of wise men, nor is it becoming to keep back one's resources from the just needs of those who have a right to expect help. This idea is expressed thus:

"Make not thy hand tied to thy neck, nor stretch it forth to its utmost reach, so that thou become blameworthy and destitute.'[14]

But one must keep a just measure between one's capacity and the needs of other peoples, is emphasised by the Quran thus:

"And render to the kindred their due rights as also to those in want and to the wayfarer. But squander not in the manner of a spendthrift."[15]

Apart from these general instructions, the Quran empowers the society or the state to interfere when money is wasted by men of weak understanding.

"To those of weak understanding make not over your property which God hath made a means of support for you, but feed and clothe them therewith and speak to them words of kindness and justice."[16]

It is clear from the above verse that the owner may not do just what he likes absolutely. His right is limited by the good of the community of which

10. Ch. 4, 20. 11. Ch. 4, 29. 12. Ch. 2, 188.
13. Ch. 25, 67. 14. Ch. 17, 29. 15. Ch. 17, 26.
16. Ch. 4, 5.

he is a member and if he is not able to understand it, his control should be taken away; because the Islamic conception is that all property belongs to the community and a particular individual holds it in trust. If he is incapable, he is put aside but gently and with kindness. While his incapacity remains the duties and responsibilities devolve on his guardian even more strictly than in the case of the original owner.

".... Let the trustee faithfully discharge his trust and let him fear his Lord ...." Says the Quran[17]. The principles underlying it are those of the Court of Wards in Indian Law.

In regard to the discharge of the trust and the remuneration for the trustee the Quran says:

"Make trial of orphans until they reach the age of marriage. If, then, you find sound judgment in them, release their property to them. But consume it not wastefully, nor in haste against their growing up. If the guardian is well off, let him claim no remuneration, but if he is poor, let him have for himself what is just and reasonable."[18]

The guardian is enjoined to be just to orphans. He must not postpone restoring the property of his ward when the time comes. The property, household and accounts of the orphans must be kept separate, lest there should be any temptation to get a personal advantage to the guardian by mixing them with his own property, household or accounts.

The Quran says:

"To orphans restore their property, nor substitute your worthless things for their good ones, and devour not their substance by mixing it up your own, for this is indeed a great sin."[19]

Thus in all matters concerning the management of the property equity and fair dealing should be observed so that no one's interests are prejudiced.

17. Ch. 2, 283. 18. Ch. 4, 6. 19. Ch. 4, 2.

SOME ABORIGINAL TRIBES OF MALABAR

By

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It was Swami Vivekananda who drew pointed attention to the "distance pollution" observed in Malabar by the unsavoury remark that "Malabar is a lunatic asylum". The Swamiji was proceeding from Trivandrum towards North when he heard certain caste Hindus making a curious sound to indicate that the "unapproachables" should be out of their way. No wonder that the sight shocked the Swamiji to whom all human beings were "children of God". Though more than a generation has passed, conditions are not very much better now in the country in spite of the levelling tendency of the Railways, public conveyances and democratic institutions. Malabar is one of the few spots of India where most up-to-date and antiquated things exist side by side and ample material awaits the antiquarian. The following sketch of a few tribes selected at random will give the reader an idea of the racial problem that stands in need of urgent solution. This article is a fitting tribute to Dr. B. C. Law whose studies on numerous races and tribes of India are too well-known.

Society in Malabar is a heterogeneous one and its component parts constitute a number of irreconcilable units which function without hitch but hardly admit of fusion. On the topmost rung of the ladder are the Nambudiris and Nayars who once shared between themselves the religious and political administration of the country. The various communities or sections that represent a comparatively low level of culture may be classed under two main divisions 'Untouchables' and 'Unapproachables'. In the former fall the Barber, Washerman, the Weaver, Snake-charmers etc. The last category comprises of a good number of tribes in respect of whom 'distance pollution' is observed. The distance they have to keep between them and the higher classes varies with each tribe and the degree of its status. At the other end there are even a few tribes that can be called 'unseeables'. We shall now proceed to describe them in order of their distance proportion.

CEṚUMAN.

The term can be taken to be a corruption of Ceṛuvan—a small man—not in point of size or physical stature, but in view of the place he occupies in the social hierarchy. He is veritably a slave and a field labourer. Once this tribe had the monopoly of agricultural labour. The plough and the spade are his inseparable companions. When the field work is over he goes

to the garden occupying himself all the year round. His position was once that of a slave attached to a master who looked after him whether he had work or no. He was also entitled to annual presents of cloths during the Ōnam Festival.[1] His services could also be lent either temporarily or permanently for a consideration which was akin to rent. In recent times he had his emancipation but that has not improved his economic position. Plantations in Wynad (North Malabar) and other hilly stations absorbed a large number of them within the last 30 years and they are scarcely to be seen in villages now. They are called 'Pulayars'[2] in Travancore. The change of name indicates no difference in status or material prosperity. There is a tradition that once they owned lands themselves and the Aikarayajamanan, a North Travancore Chieftain, is still considered to be the latest descendant of a Pulaya king. Pulayanar Kōṭṭa Hill, literally, the fortress of Pulayans, in Trivandrum seems to support this tradition. The annual festival at Sri Padmanabha Swamy Temple at Trivandrum usually begins with a fire brought by a Pulayan.[3] There is another interesting feature about their association with temples and higher castes. One day during festival time particularly in Kāḷi temples they can enter its sacred precincts, and worship the deity instead of doing it at a distance from the temples which is the usual practice in other parts of the year. Temple festivals in West Coast usually follow the harvest season when Ceṛuman is free from work in the paddy field. He enjoys his holiday by presenting himself in the vicinity of the temple with his family dancing and singing all the time and drinking toddy at intervals. In fact during that period toddy constitutes the main item of his food. Neither his master nor his neighbour interferes with his conduct and behaviour at this time. Ceṛuma tribe has a number of sub-divisions of which Kaṇakkan[4] is the most important.

His Religion.

Nothing special needs be mentioned about the Ceṛuman's religion as there is no deity which he exclusively worships. Kāḷi temples are his favourite resorts and he entertains great regard for his ancestors. Once in a year he gives his dead ancestors a feast of toddy, rice, etc., 'Kuṭṭi Cāttan' and 'Karim Kutty', supposed to be spirits of deceased heroes, are propitiated by him. Expenses in connection with all these ceremonies are to be met by his master.

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1. The great National Festival of the Malayalees lasting for five days in Chingam (August-September).

2. The word is derived from 'Pula' meaning pollution.

3. L. K. Anantakrishna Ayyar, quoted by E. Thurston: *Castes and Tribes of South India*, Vol. II, pp. 47-48.

4. The present form looks like a derivative from Kaṇakku—Accounts. It must have something to do with 'Kāṇ'—to see or watch. The long vowel might have been dropped later.

His death ceremonies are not very elaborate either. If a member of a Ceṛuman's family dies, his master is immediately informed. He sends all the requisites for the burial—the dead body is always buried and not burnt—such as oil to besmear his body, spade to dig the grave, etc. To the accompaniment of the drum called "Paṛa" the dead body is taken to the river bank or a hilly track for burial, all assembled there touching the dead body. His belongings also in certain cases are buried with him. After the burial a mound is raised over the grave and a stone fixed at the head. His people fast for that day and the next day there is a feast for all the castemen. If the death takes place during the season when Ceṛuman is busy in the field the after-ceremonies and pollution are dispensed with. A mud vessel containing rice, etc., will be kept closed in which the spirit of the deceased is supposed to rest till summer when he is comparatively free. The usual ceremonies and the pollution lasting for fifteen days will then be observed giving due intimation to his master and the chief of the caste.[5]

Marriage Ceremonies.

The bridegroom's sister takes the leading part in their marriages. They generally marry outside their clan or group. The intention to marry must be communicated to the bride's parents. With their permission the couple can associate with each other and even produce children. Only the bride should not go to the bridegroom's house before the formal ceremony of marriage in which tying of the Tāli at the auspicious moment is an important item. The bridegroom only makes the knot while his sister gives the finishing touch. There is the usual feast for castemen. The master of the Ceṛuman meets all the expenses of the marriage. He must also be duly informed when the choice of the bride is made. Divorce is permitted after giving formal intimation to the parents concerned and the master. As a labourer Ceṛuman has hardly an equal and he is not attracted by the monetary gain accruing from his work although modern conditions have converted him into a cooly who likes to make the best of his labour. Unlike other aboriginal tribes of Malabar Ceṛuman is a stranger to Black Magic.

Puḷḷuvan—The Snake Expert.

The name is derived from the word, Puḷḷu, a small bird, which is supposed to have some evil influence over children. Puḷḷuvan is the healer for any such malady. There are different legends relating to their origin. One makes them the descendants of Kadru, the mythological mother of serpents. The other takes us to the story of the burning of the Khandava forest by the God of Fire to exterminate the snakes. One of them escaped from the devouring fire and was saved by a woman who allowed it to get into her close-necked mud vessel (pitcher). The snake blessed her for this kindness and

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5. For details of the death ceremony *vide* Thurston's *Castes and Tribes of South India*, Vol. II, pp. 76, 82.

gave her magical power to cure all diseases arising out of snake-bite or curse.[6] These legends true or otherwise, however, reveal the fact that this tribe had unusual power over snakes which abound in Malabar where a regular cult has developed thereon. Almost every Hindu house in Malabar has a snake shrine located in a corner of the compound surrounding it where annual puja is offered to propitiate snakes. In a region like that it is no wonder that one community specialised in the snake-cult and became famous in the rituals connected with them. It also looks strange at the same time that Pulluvan has control only over the divine aspect of the snake and not its physical aspect. He is never seen with a snake nor does he administer medicine to patients bitten by snake although occasionally we have stories of a snake of the benignant variety being saved by him in his pitcher from attack by hostile tribes. They do not also assume the role of snake-charmers like 'kuravas' who catch the reptile by their music and carry them from house to house to be exhibited for the sake of 'Alms'. But all the evil influences due to the curse of the snake, they are able to eradicate. Pulluvan is a friend of the snake, while 'Kuruva' is its enemy. He is superior to Ceruman in respect of accessibility to the higher castes.

RITUAL.

The principal ritual performed by Pulluvan is 'Tullal' literally jumping or quick movement. The figures of two snakes intertwined —probably one male and the other female—is drawn on a spot rendered sacred by certain purificatory process. Two women—generally virgins—will sit in that, facing the hood of the serpents holding a bunch of the tender inflorescence of the arecanut palm. Pulluvan with his female partner sits at a distance and chants his songs accompanied by his Veena and the Kuṭam[7] of his partner. After a time the girls get possessed, destroy the figure waving their heads on either side like a snake. When they become calm by the ministrations of the Pulluvan through some special notes on his Veena and Kuṭam they pronounce the pleasure of the snake. After that they proceed to the snake-shrine of the house and deposit their bunch of flowers there and come away. With this the ritual closes.

This community is gradually dwindling in numbers and they are not of a strong build. The Pulluva woman is noted for her sweet voice and her songs are very much appreciated all over. She is a specialist in the diseases of the children for whose relief she chants a special song called Nāvērupāṭṭ.[8]

6. Hindus associate serpents with divine power. Their curses more than their blessings are believed to be more effective. Leprosy is usually ascribed to snake curse.

7. A mud vessel covered with leather at one end to which a string is attached.

8. The song sung to remove the evil effect of the 'tongue.' Eyes, and tongues of evil minded persons are supposed to be effective in causing certain diseases of the children.

In that curiously no mention of snake occurs. It describes only the birth of a child in a family and enumerates the various diseases of the children with a view to remove them prescribing remedies therefor.

Custom allows a brother and sister among them to marry. It is seldom that they go about alone. This practice according to some is responsible for their weak stature and their lack of productive capacity. If this community becomes extinct, as their gradual diminution in numbers shows a tendency in that direction, Malabar society will lose much of its amusement and entertainment particularly in the rural areas.

PĀṆAN.[9]

Pāṇan's role in the general structure of Malabar society is unique. From the point of distance he has to keep from the higher classes, he is below Pulluvan and Ceruman and he is an 'unapproachable' pure and simple. He is a friend and foe of the higher classes. He is a medical man, sorcerer, artist, industrial worker all rolled into one. There is a proverb in Malayalam, "there is no medicine which Pāṇan does not know", although his knowledge of medicine is not the outcome of any conscious attempt at studying it. His sorcery which relies for effect on the use of various shrubs renders a knowledge of medicine absolutely necessary. His artistic taste makes his cultural outlook very much wider than that of many an 'unapproachable' that is classed with him. Professionally he is the umbrella-maker in Malabar and tailor in Travancore. His service in Kāḷi temple ranks him as a first rate artist. Pānkaḷi[10] is his distinctive contribution to the region of Art.

Pāṇan brings umbrellas made of palmyra leaves with long handles to every house in the village at the commencement of the rainy season. In Malabar there is heavy rain from the beginning of June to November. For all classes of people, agriculturists, artisans, labourers, and others his umbrella is a necessity. He gets a few measures of paddy[11] in return for this present. It is a customary obligation and not a commercial transaction which either party fulfils voluntarily. Whenever there is a feast in any aristocratic house it is the Pāṇan who supplies the requisite number of plantain leaves on which rice is served. For this he is given a good meal and a very nominal amount

9. Literally a singer from Puṇ—a melody (Tamil).

10. A variety entertainment consisting of music, dance, and dramatic interludes by which Pāṇan caters to the aesthetic taste of his castemen and others of similar status. For details *vide* author's article on "The Histrionic Art of Kerala" —the cultural background, *Annals of the Oriental Research of the University of Madras.*

11. It depends upon the size and number of umbrellas. Though the modern umbrella made of dark cloth has replaced the palmyra leaf variety of it, in country parts during heavy rains Pāṇan's production is of immense use to protect oneself from heavy rain.

as compensation. Ayurvedic physicians in Malabar usually depend on Pāṇans for the supply of medicinal shrubs. The people at large entrust him with the work of collecting the various medicines prescribed by a doctor.

Black Magic.

His Black Magic makes him a terror to society. His displeasure brings dreadful disease to his enemies and sometimes death. The only way to avoid them is to requisition his own services. He is also afraid of the caste Hindus like Nayars and their communal wrath which sometimes takes violent forms resulting in their total annihilation. There is a type of Black Magic called 'Oṭi'[12] by which the magician kills his enemy in the night meeting him on his way. On such occasions he appears in the form of an animal, a dog, or a bull and so on, catches the victim unawares and kills him by twisting the neck. In modern times instances of such practices are rarely heard, although there are evidences to show that they have not disappeared. One who is an expert in this Black Art is also supposed to have power to let loose the demons he worships on his enemies and give them untold miseries. In this field 'Parayan' who is dealt with in the next section beats Pāṇan hollow as the former often takes to it as a profession.

His role as an artist comes in full play during the summer when temples of Malabar particularly, the Kāḷi shrines have their annual festivals. He goes about wearing masks and dances. His partner will mark time on Tuti.[13] They provide immense amusement to the village folk. He returns home in the evening with his bag full of paddy and a few clothes.[14] Mention has already been made of Pānkaḷi in which there is an interesting interlude by a couple who conduct an amorous dialogue to the accompaniment of dance. It is a pity that writers like Thurston and Gopala Panikkar[15] have entirely ignored this aspect of Pāṇan's life. It is one of the puzzles of anthropology how an artistic community like that of Pāṇan that has a cultural background to its credit came to practise Black Magic and commit heinous crimes associated therewith.

This tribe is obliged to play Tuṭi in the burial ground of Īzuvas—a class much higher to his—to ward off evil spirits.

Marriage and death ceremonies observed by Pāṇan are on a par with those of Ceṛuman. Only Pāṇan has no master to meet his expenses or give him directions.

It is the Pāṇan's privilege to herald the beginning of the new year by going to every house in the village in the previous night and sing songs to

12. Literally means to bend. 13. A small drum.
14. A detailed description of Pāṇan's role as an artist occurs in the author's *Kali Worship in Kerala*, Vol. I.
15. Author of *Malabar and its Folk.*

that effect. This is done on the eve of the third day of the Ōṇam festival in Malabar.

Paṛayaṇ.

Among the aboriginal tribes that live in the plains Paṛayan is taken to be the lowest. In fact it is doubtful whether he could be called strictly a denizen of the plains. He is partly of the plains and partly of the hills. In any case he must have his hut far away from the scene of civilization and he is classed not as a mere 'unapproachable' but an 'unseeable'.[16] Even his sight is forbidden. He comes to villages with winnowing baskets and mats, of various size and patterns made of bamboo pieces. On such occasions he must stand far away from the houses of the village folk and must cry sufficiently loud to announce his arrival. Time-honoured custom makes it obligatory on his part to present these baskets as Pāṇan does umbrellas, and the village folk who receive them give paddy in return. Considering the labour involved in the manufacture of these articles the remuneration is far too low. During these visits sometimes he gets the carcasses of cows or goats to which he seems to have earned a claim established for centuries. As a carcass-eater he is held in contempt and the word 'Paṛayan' is often used as a term of abuse meaning a wretch.

The tribal appellation is traced to 'Paṛa' (a big drum). He plays on that when his castemen assemble within a convenient distance of Kāḷi temples to witness festivals[17] there and indulge in a sort of weird dance wearing hideous masks and painting their faces. This make-up reminds us of the cannibals of African jungles.

In stature he is neither tall or strong but his looks inspire terror. His eyes proclaim that he is a born hypnotist and represents a culture to which we are perfect strangers.

Black Art—Oṭi.

Black Art is his mainstay in life. By the application of certain medicines it is said, that he can stand any amount of physical torture having thereby attained insensibility to pain. One of them according to an eye-witness, bore for three days a big stone which was placed on his back as a punishment. When the stone was removed after the third day he was none the worse for it and regained his normal posture without feeling the least discomfort.

'Oṭi' is the chief item of his Black Art as already mentioned. Pāṇan is only a novice in the Art when compared to Paṛayan who is an adept in it. If any one has the misfortune to meet him in the night (dark)—moonlight

16. His kinsmen in the Tamil area occupy a higher status.
17. This is the only privilege he is allowed by the villagers.

is a serious handicap to his method—the belief is, that death is inevitable. Not only that he appears in the form of animals but he can also imitate their sounds and cries—devices by which he misleads nocturnal travellers. They never go alone. On either side of the victim they will run in opposite directions holding a long stick across their shoulders. The sticks strike against the neck of the unfortunate man who by their force will fall on the ground. He is robbed of his possessions and killed instantly. The victim sometimes lingers for a couple of days as a living corpse and then expires.

A variation of this called Veḷḷoṭi[18] is also practised by them to entice women, not necessarily for sexual relationship, but for the removal of the tender 'foetus' which they use for the preparation of a patent which helps them to assume various disguises. When they want to do this they take their women with them as they are expert midwives. Paṛayan administers a charm over the woman victim when his wife intervenes to remove the fœtus. The victim usually recovers without any injury.

He has other ways of killing his enemies.[19] He generally buries his dead and occasionally burns them also.

His marriage customs are also on a par with those of the Ceṛuman except in a few details. The uncle of the bride makes the first present to the couple. Unlike other aboriginal tribes they are very particular about the chastity of their women. Violation of that virtue meets with severe punishment.

This tribe has however produced the great saint 'Pākkanār' whose philosophy of service to humanity and equal opportunities to all reminds us that this tribe was once not so despicable and degraded as they are to-day. Their strength is going down every year.

One interesting feature about these tribes whose characteristics are described above, is that they follow the patriarchal system of inheritance while the higher classes like the Nayars and a section among Nambudiris, Tiyyas and Mohammedans in Malabar reckon their descent through mother. The problem is for the anthropologist to solve and to tell us which system is more ancient.

18. The 'white Oṭi' probably has reference to the 'white' of the human embryo.

19. For details *vide* Thurston's *Castes and Tribes of South India*, Vol. VI, pp. 124, 126.

ASPECTS OF PRE-PĀṆINEAN SANSKRIT GRAMMAR

By

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Grammar presupposes not only language but also linguistic analysis, but it is obvious that the earliest analysis of language could have been only formal, the mere measuring of word-forms of various lengths. But even this mechanical measuring of word-forms could have been hardly taken in hand by primitive grammarians without some special reason. In civilised speech sentences—which alone, in general, can truly reflect the whole of the idea in the mind of the speaker—are constructed more or less consciously by joining together independent units of expression or suggestion represented by word-symbols. But the mind of the primitive man is always engrossed with the *whole* of the sentence-idea, for the simple reason that the sentence-idea is the only real thing in language, though that idea may be suggested also by a single word, even by a single gesture sometimes. In primitive speech, therefore, a single word may stand for a whole sentence, and a whole sentence may be treated as a single word (holophrasis). Words and sentences, in short, are not distinguished in primitive speech. It is obvious that in such a state of things even the simple measuring of word-length is out of the question, for the word as such, as a separate and independent unit, doesn't exist as yet.[1]

But the situation is radically altered as soon as primitive man takes to making verse. And it is an established fact that primitive man makes verse before he makes prose *consciously*. If his verses are of the kind that we find in the Ṛgveda, the Avesta, and in Homer, i.e., if his verses are always of fixed length and his verse-feet consist of fixed numbers of syllables, then the delimiting of words becomes a peremptory necessity. The foot of such a verse offers at all times a definite unit of speech-material, all the more if, as we find in the Ṛgveda, the end of every foot coincides with the end of a word. Every Ṛgvedic verse-foot is moreover an independent unit not only metrically but also in meaning: euphonic combination between *pādānta* and *pādādi*, though found in the accepted text of the Ṛgveda, has almost always to be dissolved in recitation. Needless to say, this metrical convention, which is one of the most striking characteristics of Ṛgvedic verse, must have been inherited from much earlier times,—from times when, apparently, it was considered too hazardous to try to operate with ideas which cannot be expressed in one single verse-foot. To think that the Ṛgvedic seers themselves,

1. For this article I have freely used Liebich's *Einführung* II.

who had developed a highly complex ritual system and created poetry of no mean order, were afraid of sentence-ideas longer than a verse-foot would be to wholly misunderstand Ṛgvedic civilisation. We have to conclude, therefore, that words must have been fully and *consciously* isolated from sentence-complexes before the first Ṛgvedic verse could be constructed, i.e., centuries before the Ṛgvedic hymns were composed.

But it is not out of these theoretical considerations only that we have to conclude that in India—and perhaps also in other countries—the conscious delimiting and isolating of single word-symbols from out of the only real sentence-complexes should have started with the construction of verses: I say, *conscious* delimiting, for the unconscious and enforced delimiting, as when a single word suffices to fully convey the speaker's intention, can be hardly regarded as a grammatical achievement of any account. In fact the earliest grammatical strivings of the ancient Indians are for the most part directly connected with metrical observations.

The existence of even a single metre, as among the Greeks of the Homeric age, would enforce the necessity of limiting off verse-units and thus render formal linguistic analysis almost inevitable. But this process of delimiting and isolating words and consequently word-elements would be greatly accelerated if several different metres are in operation in one and the same period as among the Ṛgvedic Indians. The Ṛgvedic poets, who had constantly to deal, *inter alia*, with Triṣṭubh and Jagatī pādas, must have noticed at an early date that the difference between them is due to the presence or absence of something that was different from the only speech-elements they were as yet conscious of, viz. the verse-foot and the word. This differentiating element, the syllable, they decided to call *akṣara*, i.e. "irreducible." The term is highly significant, for it shows that to the Ṛgvedic poets not the sound (*varṇa*) but the syllable was the irreducible speech-element. But why should the *akṣara*, which need not consist of one sound only, should be regarded as the irreducible speech-element? The answer is clear: the Ṛgvedic poets were thinking only of their metres in which a solitary consonant without any duration is of no account; they were not thinking of ordinary prose speech in which along with the vowel-syllable also the consonant would have to be regarded as irreducible speech-element. The word *akṣara* therefore clearly suggests that the incentive to speech-analysis should have come to the Vedic Indians primarily from a comparison of the various metres.

This is indirectly supported by the further consideration that in the older literature the metres are constantly spoken of as constituted by *akṣaras*, but nothing is said about the fixed quantity of certain syllables of certain metres[2] which could not have escaped the eye of the Vedic writers if they

2. Cf. Ṛkprātiśākyha VIII, 36-39.

had objectively studied every metre individually. Moreover, if the discovery of the *akṣara* had been due to the analysis of ordinary prose speech its use in the oldest literature could never have been confined, as it is, solely to metrical observations.[3] But the fact is that in the three passages of the Ṛgveda[4] in which the word *akṣara* with the meaning "syllable" occurs, the allusion is always to metres. In the first of these three passages it is even clearly stated that the "seven" speeches are measured by the *akṣara* (*akṣáreṇa mimate saptá vā́ṇīḥ*). That "*saptá vā́ṇīḥ*" of this passage refers to the seven metres of the Caturuttara-series (*sapta cchandāṃsi caturuttarāṇi*), mentioned already in the Ṛgveda, but in due order for the first time in the Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā,[5] admits of no reasonable doubt. In Ṛgveda X. 130. 4-5, we have a list of seven metres which is practically identical with this traditional Caturuttara-series, the only difference being that Virāj here takes the place of Paṅkti; but it is significant that also in this passage, when it is paraphrased in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa VIII.2.2, Paṅkti appears for Virāj.—All this and much more that the Vedic literature contains by way of metrical observations clearly show that to compare various metres with each other and to try to arrange them in a rational order was a favourite occupation with the Vedic seers. And that this activity should in due course have led to the discovery of the "syllable"—which is in fact the earliest grammatical discovery made in India—has been already shown above.

Just as the syllable (*akṣara*) is the smallest sound-unit (so far as metres are concerned) so is the word (*pada*) the smallest sense-unit. But it is curious to note that in the Ṛgveda,[6] the word "*pada*" has not been used in the sense of a word, but in the sense of a verse-foot, i.e., a Pāda! Does it show that speech, at least sacred speech, was measured originally by whole lumps constituting verse-feet and not by individual words? If it does, then we shall have to admit a curious thing: we shall have to admit that in Indian grammatical thought the word received recognition *after* the syllable and the verse-foot. But that is as it should have been if, as shown above, the earliest linguistic speculations had been concerned more with metres than with the language.

Why was the term *pada* used originally in the sense of "verse-foot" and how did it later come to assume the meaning "word"? After what has been said above, the answer to these questions cannot remain doubtful. The true meaning of the word *pada* in the Ṛgveda is "step" and not "foot."

3. I am of course leaving out of consideration those passages in which the word *akṣara* does not mean "syllable."

4. I. 164. 24; 39; X. 13.3.

5. XXI. 12-18: Gāyatrī, Uṣṇih, Anuṣṭubh, Bṛhatī, Paṅkti, Triṣṭubh and Jagatī.

6. I. 164. 23.

As Liebich[7] has ingeniously suggested, the recitation of Vedic hymns was conceived in the lively imagination of the Ṛṣis as accompanied by the rhythmic steps of Vāc, and thus every metrical unit (i.e., the verse-foot) came to be regarded as a "step" of the goddess dancing along in perfect harmony with the sacred speech. So far as the sacred speech was metrical, the "step" could not but be the verse-foot, which is the natural unit of metres. But where the sacred speech was prose, there the "step" could mean nothing but the natural unit of prose, i.e. the word. When in this way *pada* came to mean "word", a new term, but not too different, namely *pāda* "foot", was seized upon to denote the verse-foot by, perhaps on the analogy of four-footed animals, since the metres are indeed mostly four-footed[7a]—Thus we see that not only "*akṣara*" but also the terms "*pada*" and "*pāda*" should have been recruited into the grammatical vocabulary of the Vedic age mainly through metrical considerations.

The earliest grammatical discoveries were thus painfully slow and the secondary—almost accidental—result of studies which by no means were truly grammatical. But with the isolation and comprehension of both the sound-unit (*akṣara*) and the sense-unit (*pada*) the foundation was laid to proper grammatical analysis of the language, and henceforward the progress of grammatical thought was extraordinarily rapid, culminating at last in that matchless work of scientific perfection,—the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini.

In the period of the Brāhmaṇas grammatical thought was mainly concerned with the relation between sound and sense, i.e. etymology. The etymologies of the Brāhmaṇa-texts are of course mostly puerile, and it is quite probable that the Brāhmaṇa-authors themselves were not quite serious about them as Roth aptly remarked. The fact is that the Brāhmaṇa-authors, though operating with both sense and sound, were wholly dominated by the sense-element, so that if there is any similarity in meaning between two words they would not hesitate to connect them etymologically even though in form they may have only a single consonant common by chance. Yet in the Brāhmaṇas may be found many correct etymologies, some of them of really difficult words, such as *nyagrodha*, which has been correctly analysed in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa VII, 5.4 as *nyaṅ rohati* "that which grows downward." Also in other fields of grammar, as we shall see below, much real progress was made during the Brāhmaṇa-period, but the favourite occupation of the naïve grammarians of this age was, apparently, this *nirukta* "etymology." The etymologies of the Brāhmaṇa-authors were later collected and classified by Yāska in his Nirukta.

7. *Einführung*, II, p. 5.

7a. *Pada* in the sense of "clause" of prose mantra may be regarded as an intermediate step between *pada* = verse-foot and *pada* = word. Thus the twelve clauses of the Nivid such as *agnir deve 'ddha, agnir manv iddha* etc. are called the twelve *padas* of the Nivid; cf. AB. II. 5. 1: *dvādaśapadā vā eṣā nivit*.

The word *nirukta* in its original sense had however nothing to do with etymology. The verses in which the gods to whom they are addressed are not mentioned by name are called *anirukta* in the Brāhmaṇas,[8] and, *vice versa*, when in a verse the god addressed to is actually mentioned it is said: *devatā nirucyate*.[9] It is clear, therefore that the word *nirukta* in its original sense signified only that kind of theological enquiry, so dear to the hearts of the Brāhmaṇa-authors, which strove to ascertain the relation between the gods and the verses addressed to them. No enquiry was necessary in the case of a verse with the name of the god addressed to actually mentioned in it. But the intended divinity could not be ascertained without enquiry and deliberation on the text concerned in the case of a verse in which no god is mentioned by name. The term for this enquiry was *nirukta*, but it had its meaning gradually extended into "etymology"; and in view of the character of the enquiry originally signified by the term it is but natural that it should thereafter be always associated only with that kind of etymology which stresses the meaning more than the form.

The main grammatical activity during the Brāhmaṇa-period was, as shown above, in the field of etymology. But this period was not altogether barren of phonological enquiry. The term *varṇa* "sound" occurs for the first time in the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa[10] as also *svara* "accent";[11] in the sense of "vowel" however, the latter term does not appear before the Aitareya Āraṇyaka (III. 2.5).—With the discovery of the *varṇa* it became now possible also to analyse the *akṣara*. Thus it was stated that the sacred syllable consists of the three sounds *a*, *u* and *m*.[12] Even the technical term *riphita* occurs in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,[13] but exactly in what sense it is difficult to say. The earliest attempt to scientifically arrange the sound-system of Sanskrit is to be found in the Aitareya-Āraṇyaka (III. 2.5) and the Chāndogya Upaniṣad[14] where the *sparśa*, the *ūṣman* and the *svara* (vowel)

8. Cf. Aitareya Br. III. 3.6; 3. 10, etc. In explanation of the word *anirukta* in AB. III. 3. 6 Sāyaṇa says: *niḥśeṣeṇo 'kto devo niruktas, tādṛśo yayor dhāyyayor nā 'sti te anirukte*. Still more clearly he says *ad* AB. III. 3. 10: *sā "py ṛg aniruktā rudravācakapadābhāvād aspaṣṭadevatākā*.

9. Aitareya Br. IV. 5. 3.

10. V. 5.7.—This meaning of the word *varṇa* should have been developed first in the Brāhmaṇas of the Sāmaveda in which we constantly come across locutions like *rathantaravarṇā ṛc* "verse which gets the *colour* of Rathantara-sāman in chant." In these passages the word *varṇa* is visibly changing its meaning from "colour" to "sound" of melody. Then gradually the "sound of melody" became "sound in general."

11. III. 2. 13. Keith translates *svaravatyā vācā* as "with sonorous voice", but according to Sāyaṇa *svaravatyā* means *svarayuktayā*.

12. Aitareya Br. V. 5.7.

13. *vi-riphita*. AB. V. 1. 4—Sāyaṇa's comment is not very helpful:—*viriphitam nyūṅkharūpeṇa viśeṣakleśena 'ccāritam*.

14. II. 22.3-5.

are separately mentioned, but the *antasthā* (for *antaḥsthā*) is mentioned for the first time in the Ṛkprātiśākhya (I. 9). Simultaneously with these phonetical discoveries purely grammatical categories too were being gradually isolated in the age of the Brāhmaṇas. The animate genders are called *vṛṣan* and *yoṣā* respectively in the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa;[15] the terms *ekavacana* and *bahuvacana* occur already in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5.1.18), but *dvivacana* for the first time only in the Atharva-Prātiśākhya (I. 75; II. 47), though *dvivacas* occurs earlier in the Ṛkprātiśākhya (I. 71); the *āmreḍita* is still naïvely called *punarāvṛttam punarninṛttam* in the Brāhmaṇas.[16]

Much more important than these individual discoveries are the grammatical groupings of nominal and verbal forms. The order of the seven cases was determined obviously with a view to having all the possible identical forms in contiguous positions. It was therefore only after a certain period of trial and error that the order of the seven cases could be fixed as already in Yāska[17] who, it should be noted, uses the term *vibhakti* only in the sense of nominal case-form. The eighth case vocative is mentioned for the first time in the Bṛhaddevatā.[18] The different grammatical persons too were clearly distinguished by Yāska when he declared in his peculiar language (*loc. cit.*) that the Mantras are *parokṣakṛta* (i.e., in the third person) and connected with verb-forms of the third person (*prathamapuruṣaiś cā 'khyātasya*), or *pratyakṣakṛta* (i.e., in the second person), or ādhyātmikī (i.e., in the first person). The three tenses future, present and past (called *kariṣyat, kurvat* and *kṛtam* respectively), have been mentioned already in the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa.[19] But, as Liebich[20] pointed out, the distinction made between the tenses was as yet more logical than grammatical, for although the examples for present and past are in their proper tenses, those for the future are mostly imperative-forms such as *ā yāhi* etc.

In connection with various ritual acts the Brāhmaṇas often recommend the use of forms containing word-elements corresponding in some way or other to those acts. This is of more than passing interest for the history of Sanskrit grammar, for these recommendations could be laid down and acted up to only by those who had learnt not only to separate the suffix and the ending from the stem but also to isolate the root-element from among a bewildering mass of congeneric forms. Thus when the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa[21] declares a verse containing the word *pitṛbhiḥ* to be *pitṛmat*, it is quite clear that the author of this Brāhmaṇa had isolated, consciously or otherwise, the

15. VI. 1. 3 : *vṛṣā vā ṛṣabho yoṣā subrahamaṇyā*—We have *puṁnāmnyaḥ strīnāmnyaḥ napuṁsakanāmnyaḥ* in Śat. Br. X. 5. 1. 2.
16. E.g., Aitareya Brāhmaṇa V. 1.1.
17. VII. 2.
18. I. 43.
19. IV. 5.1; IV. 5.3; V. 1.1.
20. *Einführung*, II, p. 13.
21. III. 3.8.

stem *pitṛ-* both from the suffix *-mat* and the ending *-bhiḥ*. But such cases, of which there are hundreds in the Brāhmaṇa-literature, are quite a simple affair compared with the analysis of composite verb forms indirectly suggested by Brāhmaṇa-authors. Only after a long period of intelligent grammatical study and observation could it have been possible to recognise such dissimilar forms as *ajījanat* (Ait. Br. V. 3.2) and *januṣā* (Ait. Br. V. 1.5) to be *jātavat*, i.e., containing the root *jan-*. Similarly in the Ait. Br. *aganma* (V. 4.1) and *jagmus* (V. 4. 2) are called *gatavat*, *asāvi* (VI. 3.1) is called *sutavat*, etc.

These examples clearly show that although the actual root had not been fully abstracted by the later-Vedic writers, they had nevertheless rightly guessed the existence of a common element which they were at a loss to know how to express. It was quite natural that in order to express or suggest it they should have utilised only such forms as actually occurred in the language, and if of such actual forms they particularly fixed upon the form in past participle passive to suggest that elusive common element by, it was obviously because this was the only form of a verb which almost never failed to actually occur. Yet the form in past participle passive was not the only form utilised for this purpose, various purely nominal forms too were used,—as, for instance, the verb-form *naya* is called *netṛmat*.[22] Sometimes both verbal and nominal forms are brought under the same head in this way; thus in the Aitereya Brāhmaṇa *vṛṣasva* (IV. 5. 3), *vṛṣṇyāni* (IV. 5. 4), *vṛṣaṇam* (VI. 3. 1) etc. are called *vṛṣaṇvant*. This was a further step in advance, for the elusive common element was in these cases clearly perceived to be reducible to both verbal and nominal ideas. The idea of the abstract grammatical root was therefore already there, but the root was yet to be actually abstracted. Liebich points out one case in which it may be claimed that even this last step had been actually taken by the author of the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa, for here the forms *mādayantām, mamadan* etc. are declared to be *madvat*. But, as Liebich[23] himself has argued, it is more probable than not that here too *mad-* is no real abstraction at all, but is derived mechanically from compounds like *soma-mad*.

Hardly beyond the pale of Vedic literature stand the traditional Nighaṇṭus—the earliest work of a lexicographical nature in the Sanskrit literature—and Yāska's Nirukta thereon. For our purpose it will be sufficient to note about the Nighaṇṭus that they are probably older than Śākalya's Padapāṭha of the Ṛgveda, for *hikam, nukam* and other particles are treated as single words in the Nighaṇṭu[24], though they are divided in the Ṛkpadapāṭha as

22. Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, I. 2. 4. Similarly in AB. *ajani* is *jātavat* (I. 3. 5), *āpyāyasva* is *āpīnavat* (I.3:6), *arūrucat* is *rucitavat* (I.4.4), *jaṅghanat* is *jaghnivat* (I.4.8), etc.
23. *Einführung*, II, p. 17.
24. III. 12.

whose author Yāska[25] himself mentions Śākalya. In dealing with the words *māsakṛt* and *vāyaḥ* Yāska[26] definitely rejects the views of Śākalya, though however without mentioning his name. Śākalya's Padapāṭha is the earliest purely grammatical work in the Sanskrit literature. On it is based Śaunaka's Ṛkprātiśākhya which is quoted by Pāṇini.

What Śākalya[27] actually did was merely to give every word of the Ṛksaṃhitā, in most cases modified through Sandhi with the preceding and the following word, in its pure and independent form. Simple as this task may appear to be it could not be carried out without a good deal of grammatical analysis, the Visarga alone being capable of assuming eight different forms in Sandhi. Moreover the consonantal endings in nominal flexion, as also secondary suffixes, have been regularly, though not always, separated from the stem in the Padapāṭha by Avagraha; components of compounds too have been separated in the same way, though however two Avagrahas have never been used in the Pada-form of the same compound. The forms considered to be *pragṛhya* are marked by the word *iti* by Śākalya, but it is still a mystery what precisely was the special characteristic which decided the *pragṛhya*-character of a form.[28] Some words are repeated in the Padapāṭha after the indicatory *iti* under circumstances which it is not possible to discuss in this place; they are *parigṛhya*. It is important to note that *avagraha*, *pragraha* and *parigraha* are all purely grammatical terms. All this may seem to be mere mechanical work, requiring no grammatical acumen. But there are many indications which clearly prove that Śākalya actually did try to understand grammatically the words he was dealing with. Thus the enclitic pronominal form *ī* is represented by him as *īm* in the Padapāṭha, evidently because the nasalless form had completely gone out of use in his time. In a large number of cases Saṃhitā-words which are perfectly justifiable in themselves have been replaced by the later forms of those words in Śākalya's Padapāṭha (e.g., Saṃh. *dakṣi* but P. *dhakṣi*, Saṃh. *ārinak* but P. *ariṇak* etc.) All this shows that Śākalya's Padapāṭha is a purely grammatical work,—the first Indian purely grammatical work in fact, though the scope of grammar could not but be extremely narrow in it.

The function, though not the form, of the Padapāṭhas of the other Saṃhitās is more or less the same, evidently because they were all modelled after Śākalya's Padapāṭha, and they are thus all later than it. But Gārgya's Padapāṭha of the Sāmaveda seems to be older than Yāska, for in commenting on the difficult word *mehanā* the latter says[29] that it may after all be three words,

25. VI. 28. 26. V. 21; VI. 28.
27. Date "not later than 600 B.C." according to Keith, *Aitareya-Āraṇyaka*, Introd., p. 73.
28. On this problem cf.: *IHQ*., X, pp. 665-70; *IC*., IV, pp. 387-99; *NIA*., II, pp. 59-61; *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume* (1940), pp. 21-24; *IC*., VIII, pp. 397-8.
29. IV. 4.

and it can hardly be a case of fortuitous coincidence that in the Padapāṭha of the Sāmaveda this form is actually treated as three words as Yāska's commentators Durga and Skandasvāmin have pointed out.

Gārgya in his Padapāṭha has shown much greater grammatical acumen than Śākalya, and in his word-analysis he in some cases forestalled even the latest achievements of the science of linguistics. For example, Gārgya correctly divides the words *sam-udram*, *candra-masaḥ*, *śrat-dhā* (*śraddhā*) none of which has been analysed by Śākalya. Yāska in dealing with these words sides with Gārgya against Śākalya as Professor Bhagvaddatta[30] has pointed out. In other cases, however, Gārgya's analysis is definitely wrong, e.g., *an-ye*, *sa-khye*, *su-ūryasya* (*sūryasya*) etc. In analysing the compounds Śākalya never separates a component member if it does not occur in the Ṛksaṃhitā also independently in the same sense which it assumes in the compound. Thus *svasti* has not been analysed by Śākalya, because *asti* does not occur as a noun. Gārgya however ignored this convention and analysed *svasti* also.—The other Padapāṭhas offer little new material of grammatical interest. Ātreya's Padapāṭha[31] of the Taittirīya-Saṃhitā is so crude in comparison with the Padapāṭhas of Śākalya and Gārgya that Keith is inclined to date him even earlier than Śākalya.[32]

The great etymologist Yāska is to be placed somewhere after Śākalya and Gārgya whom he quotes, but before Śaunaka's Ṛkprātiśākhya which in its turn is quoted by Pāṇini. Yāska's priority to the Ṛkprātiśākhya is to be inferred, however, only from circumstantial evidence. There is no direct evidence to prove Śaunaka's—or even Pāṇini's—posteriority to Yāska. The words *padaprakṛtiḥ saṃhitā* occurring both in the Nirukta[33] and (in the reverse order) in the Ṛkprātiśākhya[34] can of course prove nothing as to their relative chronology, though Max Müller[35] asserted that Yāska was here simply quoting the Prātiśākhya. Similarly, the Sūtra *paraḥ saṃnikarṣaḥ saṃhitā* occurring both in Pāṇini and the Nirukta is valueless for chronological purposes. Yāska indeed presupposes the science of grammar when he says that etymology should not be taught to non-grammarians;[36] but that cannot prove his posteriority to Pāṇini, for both the works of Yāska and Pāṇini are the final results of pre-existing traditions. Yāska might have had in view the grammars or the grammatical science of the pre-Pāṇinean era. Nor does Pāṇini's teaching the formation of the *name* Yāska[37] prove his posteriority to Yāska the etymologist. Yet, in pursuing the history of Indian grammatical thought one is forced to admit Yāska's priority not

30. *A History of Vedic Literature* (Hindi), Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 154.
31. Padakāra Ātreya is mentioned already in Baudh. Gṛ. S. III, 9.7.
32. TS.—translation, Introd., p. 30. 33. I. 17.
34. II. 1. 35. Introd. to Ṛkprātiśākhya, p. 4.
36. II. 3. 37. Pāṇ. IV. 1. 102.

only to Pāṇini but also to the Ṛkprātiśākhya. Chronologically it is important to note that Śākalya must have been already dead when Yāska wrote, for he uses the perfect form *cakāra* when referring to Śākalya.

Yāska clearly distinguishes the four parts of speech—noun, verb, Upasarga and Nipāta.[38] The verb (*ākhyāta*) in his opinion chiefly conveys the idea of becoming (*bhāvapradhāna*). All the twenty Upasargas of the Sanskrit language are given by Yāska,[39] and he divides the Nipātas into four groups, giving examples of each.[40] Kṛt[41] and Taddhita[42] suffixes are mentioned and illustrated by examples. The treatment of compounds by Yāska is however wholly inadequate. The different kinds of compounds had evidently not yet been differentiated in his time, so that he contents himself merely with the statement that they may be *ekaparvan* or *anekaparvan* (i.e. of two or more components). It is extremely difficult to believe that anyone coming after Pāṇini, though not dealing with grammar proper in the strictest sense of the word, could have confined himself to such broad generalities. And it is hardly possible that Yāska intentionally refrained from mentioning Pāṇini but referred to Gārgya and other Vaiyākaraṇas in the famous passage in which he contrasts the views of the etymologists with those of the grammarians.[43] In the absence of any compelling reason the benefit of doubt should therefore be given on the side of Yāska's priority to Pāṇini.

But compared with the preceding age Yāska surely marks a long step in advance. The technical terms *lopa, upadhā, vākya, navādeśa, sarvanāman* and *saṃkhyā* (*nāman*) are used by him already in the Pāṇinean sense. The masculine and feminine are now called *pumān* and *strī* as in Pāṇini. The causative, desiderative and intensive are called *kārita, cikīrṣita* and *carkarīta* foreshadowing Pāṇinean nomenclature. As proof of Yāska's linguistic insight may be mentioned that he had perceived that the first *t* in *prattam* is the fragment of a root.

Śaunaka, the author of the Ṛkprātiśākhya (and Book V of the Aitareya Āraṇyaka) should have been one of the last pre-Pāṇinean writers on grammar, and his is certainly the earliest Prātiśākhya. It has to be borne in mind, however, that almost the sole object of the Prātiśākhyas is to explain or explain away the apparent or real differences between the Padapāṭha and the Saṃhitā-text, and in this they start with the assumption that the Padapāṭha is the original (*prakṛti*) of which the Saṃhitā is a modified form (*vikṛti*). The Prātiśākhyas are not interested in anything that does not directly or indirectly serve to explain the difference between the Saṃhitā-text and the Padapāṭha. Thus they have a good deal to say about Sandhi, accent and metre, but that is about all in them that can be reasonably included in a

38. I. 1. 39. I. 3. 40. I. 4.
41. I. 14. 42. II. 2. 43. Nir. I. 12-14.

purely grammatical work. Particularly for the Ṛkprātiśākhya it is important to note that its last eight Paṭalas are certainly later than the first ten.

Śaunaka's chronological position is determined by the fact that although both Yāska and Pāṇini quote the views of Śākalya, the quotations in Pāṇini are however such that they could not have been taken directly from Śākalya's Padapāṭha but only from the Prātiśākhya which presents in a systematic form the substance of Śākalya's Padapāṭha.[44] Goldstücker[45] tried to prove that Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī is older than the Ṛkprtiśākhyya, mainly on the ground that Vyāḍi, also called Dākṣāyaṇa, who, according to Patañjali, wrote his Saṃgraha on the Sūtras of Pāṇini, is mentioned in the Ṛkprātiśākhya. But Max Müller[46] rightly pointed out that the Vyāḍi mentioned in the Prātiśākhya need not have been the author of the Saṃgraha.[47] Limited as was the scope of Śaunaka's Ṛkprātiśākhya, the advance in grammatical thought since Yāska as reflected in his work is truly enormous, though still far behind Pāṇini excepting in things purely phonetical. Over a hundred technical terms occur here for the first time according to Liebich,[48] most of them naturally pertaining to phonetics. The word *vyañjana*, which in Yāska[49] means *viśeṣaṇa*, appears here in the sense of "consonant" as in later literature. Yāska uses the term *upajana* in the sense of Pāṇini's *āgama* : it is significant that in the Ṛkprātiśākhya *āgama* occurs four times in this sense, but *upajana* only once. The author once[50] refers to Yāska, but only as a metrical authority. There is no trace of Pratyāhāras and Anubandhas in the Ṛkprātiśākhya.

As none of the other Prātiśākhyas can be proved to be older than Pāṇini[51] they need not be discussed here. A word, however, needs to be said about the Bṛhaddevatā which, as Macdonell has convincingly demonstrated,[52] though later than Śaunaka's Ṛkprātiśākhya, is probably older than Pāṇini. The author categorically declares[53] : *nākarmako 'sti bhāvo hi, na nāmā 'sti nirarthakam, nā 'nyatra bhāvān nāmāni, tasmāt sarvāṇi karmataḥ.* This shows that the author of the Bṛhaddevatā as a grammarian belonged to the school of Śākaṭāyana, who would derive every word from a verbal root. Like the previous writers he uses the term *vibhakti* in the sense of finite verb-form and nominal case-form (*nāmākhyātavibhaktiṣu*),[54] but in

44. See *Indian Culture*, Vol. IV, pp. 387-399.
45. *Pānini : His Place in Sanskrit Literature*, London 1861.
46. Introduction to his edition (1869) of the Ṛkprātiśākhya, pp. 20-21.
47. Cf. also Weber, *Indische Studien*, V, pp. 106 ff.
48. *Einführung*, II, p. 30.
49. VII. 13. 50. XVII. 42.
51. Suryakanta however makes the strange assertion that "in all the Sūtras, that are found parallel in Ṛktantra and Pāṇini, the latter may owe a debt to the former." (Introd. to Ṛktantram, Lahore 1933, p. 40).
52. Bṛhaddevatā, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. V, p. xxii.
53. I. 31. 54. II. 94.

Pāṇini it signifies merely endings, verbal and nominal. He defines that to be a noun which takes the eight Vibhaktis varying according to number and gender,[55] and is the first to mention[56] all the types of compounds known to Pāṇini. The number of Upasargas is given as twenty in the Bṛhaddevatā,[57] and it is added that Śākaṭāyana urges the inclusion of three more, viz. *accha*, *śrad* and *antar*. Of the Nipātas it is said significantly that nobody can say "there are so many" of them.[58] The grammar of the Bṛhaddevatā is therefore in every way more advanced than anything that was known before. Yet, compared with Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, it looks crude enough to earn for its author the compensatory advantage of chronological priority—which can be granted him all the more easily since unlike the authors of the Prātiśākhyas the author of this text was not pinned down to an inexorable tradition in deference to which he might have felt compelled to ignore the grammatical discoveries of his age.

Then comes Pāṇini with his Aṣṭādhyāyī which Benfey[59] described as "the most comprehensive grammar of the richest language within the briefest compass imaginable—or rather unimaginable." Pāṇini was born in the Athenian age of Indian history, when our forefathers fearlessly questioned all that was held sacred and mysterious from the beginning of times. This fast life—fast in the noblest sense of the word—need not and could not have been of long duration, for the spirit too, like flesh, is weak. It is therefore misreading human nature to assume from the perfect technique displayed by Pāṇini that he must have been preceded by long generations of plodding grammarians. Pāṇini surely had predecessors, many of whom he himself mentions by name, but along with Pāṇini they all should have participated in the brisk intellectual life of more or less the same age which on account of its very brilliance could not have lasted very long. All things considered, Pāṇini should be placed about 400 B.C.

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55. I. 43.
56. II. 105.
57. II. 94.
58. II. 93.
59. *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 76.

BUDDHISM IN ĀNDHRADEŚA

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Dr. Bimala Churn Law is one of our distinguished orientalists, and is pre-eminently a Buddhist scholar. This article on Buddhism in Āndhradeśa is a tribute paid by its author to his versatility and scholarship. Buddhism, like Jainism was an all-India movement in the centuries preceding and succeeding the Christian era. There has been some dispute whether Buddhism was the earlier movement or Jainism in Āndhradeśa. We need not discuss this point here. Suffice it to say that Buddhism in Āndhradeśa may be traced as far back as the third century B.C. if not earlier. Though we have several and rich remains of Buddhist monuments in the shape of Stūpas and Caityas throughout the Āndhra country, still a good number of them are to be found in the districts of Guntur and Kṛṣṇa. The earliest of these Buddhist monuments in these districts is a stūpa discovered at Bhaṭṭiproḷu with the inscriptions (edited by G. Bühler in Ep. Ind. II, pp. 323-29). Apart from the fact that these inscriptions take the history of Buddhism in Āndhradeśa to the Aśokan times,—because the characters of these documents resemble those of Aśoka's inscriptions, they are of value to prove that during the third century B.C. several varieties of the Southern Mauryan alphabet existed. As Dr. Bühler very ably points out the Bhaṭṭiproḷu inscriptions show a system of writing which helps us to believe that the art of writing was practised in India for many centuries before the age of the Mauryas.

Bhaṭṭiproḷu has been identified with Pratipālapura, about six miles from Repalle in the Guntur district. It is said that the stūpa here enshrined a genuine relic (dhātu) of the Buddha. One of the inscriptions here refers to a king Kuberaka. The first inscription refers to the preparation of a casket and a box of crystal to deposit some relics of the Buddha. In some inscriptions (III, V, VI, VIII) reference is made to village committees and guilds (nigama) who have presented caskets, boxes of crystal and of stone. The tenth inscription in the stūpa states that even women from Nandapura participated in the gift in memory of the Buddha. These documents at Bhaṭṭiproḷu are an unquestionable testimony of the flourishing condition of the Buddhism in Guntur district in the third century B.C. Perhaps they may be dated earlier also. The religion of the Buddha had become popular and the public were anxious to contribute their mite to perpetuate the memory of the Bhagavān Buddha. The king, villagers, merchants, śramaṇas and women

all joined together in the common effort of erecting the stūpa and enshrining the relics of the Buddha in boxes of crystal and stone. The antiquities of Bhattiprolu are preserved in the Government Museum, Madras, except the casket which has been presented to the Mahā Bodhi Society. (See B. V. Krishna Rao : *Early Dynasties of the Andhra Desa*, p. 124, n.).

The next set of Buddhist monuments come from Amarāvati and Jaggayyapeta. The Mahā-Caityas in these places contain inscriptions with Mauryan letters. Burgess following Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship* has elaborately studied the remains in these two places and published the results of his study in the Archaeological Survey of South India, Vol. I. Amarāvati or the ancient Dhānyakataka about 18 miles west from Bezwada is a well known Buddhist centre in Āndhradeśa. It had a huge stūpa—(a stūpa is only a large caitya)—with four gates, and dates probably from the second century B.C. Except the fragments some of which are now in the British Museum, Fergusson writes that not a vestige remains *in situ* of the central stūpa at Amarāvati. But it is inferred from the fragments that the dome must have been considerably big, the base being about 162½ feet in diameter, and 40 to 50 feet in height. The stūpa[1] was embellished and repaired whenever necessary. It is believed that the outer rail was erected in the second century A.D. while the sculptures in the inner rail would be put down to the third century.

A peculiar characteristic of these dāgabas is the existence of five pillars on each of the faces of the stūpa. These are called Āyaka-Kambas. The outer rail, quite an artistic monument, was formed of upright slabs about ten feet in height above the level of the inner paved path with a number of cross-bars carved with discs on both sides. The inner rail which was about 6 feet in length was richer in its carving. (Burgess : Op. cit., pp. 24-5). If we examine the sculptures of the outer rail, we have carvings of elephants and *makaras* generally. There are scenes of a king and his attendants, the queen holding her husband by the left arm, then a lion throne and behind it the *bodhi tree*. The men are seen wearing turbans and heavy earrings. Representations of Nāgas and Nāga chiefs, of chauri-bearers are common. What is very interesting is the flaming Triśūla to which worship is offered. In front of the altar is the Pādukā or the sacred feet of the Buddha. In one place there is a *bodhi* tree rising from behind the Triśūla pillar. Men and women worship together, and the men invariably have a high head dress. Next to Svastika the trident symbol oft occurs on Buddhist sculptures. This symbol is the counterpart of Jyotir-linga in which form Śiva is worshipped. In this, as in several other things, like the Dharmacakra and Caitya, the Buddhists copied the existing Hindu models apparently to catch the popular imagination.

1. The Ārya-mañjuśri-mūlatantra (*VAI.* p. 88) mentions that the stūpa was raised over a relic of the Enlightened One.

Such things alone would appeal to the masses. Worship to the Pādukā seems to be counterpart of the prayer offered to Viṣṇu-pāda.

Among other representations is the representation of the Bodhisattva or future Buddha coming from the heaven of Tuṣita gods to be born of Māyā, the wife of Śuddhodana. There are some elegant sculptures depicting a battle scene, where elephants, horsemen and infantry men are seen. In some scenes, women are seen wearing heavy anklets and scanty clothing. Before we close it may be remarked that the architecture is distinctly wooden, though the use of brick in buildings is also seen.

In the inner rail, the most remarkable are the Chakra or wheel pillars. At the base of each is a chair with two round cushions and the footprints on the footstool. Over the wheel Gandharvas and other gods are seen. Below a Chaitya pillar occurs an inscription (Burgess : Op. cit., p. 86):—a chaitya pillar with a relic, at the south entrance—the gift of the merchant Kuta with his wife, with his sons, with his daughters, with his grandsons. A number of Amarāvati inscriptions are full of such gifts especially of private donors. These documents point out how not only institutions but even private families vied with one another in making gifts and enriching and embellishing the great stūpa out of reverence for the Lord Buddha.

In a slab from the central stūpa we meet with objects of Buddhist worship. The dhamma cakra is prominent in what is called the central compartment. In front of the dāgaba is the five-hooded snake. Below the dhammacakra is seen the Bodhi druma which is considered a symbol of Buddha's victory over Māra and his evil followers. On the footstool are found the footprints of the Buddha. This panel reminds one of the Buddhist triad—Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. (Burgess, p. 89).

These sculptures, generally speaking, are of varied interest. They depict scenes from the life of the Buddha and promote the legendary history of the Buddha. Among the images discovered were those which bear close resemblance to the Mahāyāna school. The figures, whether it be of men or animals bear marks of a distinct individuality and are realistic. We get some idea of the ornaments and dress worn in those early times and also a hint as to the domestic life of the people at large. There is no doubt that the fair sex enjoyed complete freedom and most of the gifts were made by the members of that sex, independent of the male members of the family. The Amarāvati school of Buddhism continued to flourish for more than five centuries together and has left indelible marks of its prosperity.

The Jaggayyapeta stūpa has the same tale to tell. It is at Betavolu, about 30 miles north-west from Amarāvati. The remains of the stūpa and the fragments of sculpture are allied to those which we deem as old as at Amarāvati. The characters of the inscriptions on this stūpa are of the Mauryan type and the stūpa may possibly be dated to the second century

Only slabs surrounding the base of the stūpa were found. Not a fragment of the rail can be discovered. We do not meet also with elaborate carving though we see a *makara* here or two winged animals there. Burgess remarks that even these are in very low relief and of archaic type. Among them may be mentioned a drawing of a shrine with four pillars in front. The śripāda is seen inside over which is found a chhatra or umbrella with two garlands hanging from it. There were the Āyaka pillars some of which were found lying bearing some inscriptions. One of them tells us about the erection of five Āyaka-pillars at the eastern gate of the Chaitya in the 20th year of King Puruṣadatta of the Ikṣvāku line. Another inscription refers to an image of the Buddha done by Candraprabha, a disciple of Jayaprabhacārya who was, in his turn, a pupil of Nāgārjuna. While the former may be dated to 4th century A.D., the latter may be dated to about 600 A.D. We cannot fully agree with these dates. Thus this monument had also the patronage of the state and of the public for several centuries together. (See Ind. Ant. XI, pp. 256-59).

ŚRĪPARVATA AND NĀGĀRJUNIKOṆḌA.

Fa-hian (5th century A.D.) and following him Hiuen Tsiang refers to a saṅghārāma on a mountain in the Āndhradeśa. The Tibetan books refer to the activities of Nāgārjuna and his death at Śrīparvata mountain. The Purāṇas like the Matsya Purāṇa refer to Śrī Pārvatīya Āndhras. Śrīparvata has been identified with Śrī-śailam by early scholars like Burgess. But the explorations at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and the Prākrit inscriptions therefrom show that Śrīparvata may be identified with Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. No less than seventeen specimens of āyaka-pillars, all of which are inscribed, have been discovered at this place and these documents have considerably increased our knowledge of Buddhism in Āndhradeśa. It is still a mystery why these pillars, which had nothing to do with the main structure, have been given so much importance. The term āyaka-Kambha, has not been properly interpreted. We are familiar to-day with *āyakkāl* in Tamil which are forked wooden thick sticks used as a support when a procession of god is taken out on the shoulders of people. At resting places these pillar-like sticks are used to relieve the bearers for the time being. I suppose this *āyakkāl* is a remnant of the old āyaka pillars which adorned the main entrances of the ancient Buddhist stūpa.

At Nāgārjunikoṇḍa there was a mahā chaitya. On its east, north and the north-west the excavations brought to light a number of monuments and the remains of other monuments like the chaitya, stūpa, stone pillars which all indicate that once many buildings existed all round the main chaitya. Apart from the monuments of value, the inscriptions have shed new light. They refer to an Ikṣvāku dynasty which ruled in south India. To this dynasty belonged Mādhariputa Siri-Virapurisadata. It was in his reign that

the various monuments in the locality were raised. His father was Vāsithiputa Siri Chāntamula (see Ep. Ind. XX pp. 1-37) who is credited to have done a number of Vedic sacrifices including the Aśvamedha.. His son Siri Virapurisadata was also a follower of Brahmanical religion but he was tolerant enough to allow his queens and other ladies to follow the Buddhist faith In those days it is rather difficult to say that one was a Buddhist or Hindu in faith. Toleration was the order of the day. In a family one member may follow a particular faith and another member another faith and a third member a third faith. This is very well seen from the pages of the Śilappadikāram, the Tamil classic.

It is therefore not surprising that a princess like Chāmtisiri who is called the uterine sister of Siri-Chāmtamula and the paternal aunt of Siri Virapurisadata and who was the wife of Mahātalavara Vāsithiputa Kamdasiri of the Pukiya family, a mahāsenāpati—on this account Chāmtasiri holds the title of Mahātalavari—was a Buddhist. The epigraphical records show that the great chaitya of the great Vihāra at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa was founded by this lady in the 6th year of Siri Virapurisadata's reign. She was also responsible for other edifices like a Chaitya gṛha and a stone maṇḍapa together with a cloister. The last building was intended for the use of the ācharyas of the Apara Mahāvinaseliya sect, and erected in the eighteenth year of Siri Virapurisadata. By this time the reigning king had become the son-in-law of Chāmtisiri.

In these pious foundations Chāmtisiri was helped by other noble ladies. One was a daughter of Siri-Chāmtamula and the sister of the reigning king. She was also a mahātalavari. The second was the wife of Mahāsenāpati Mahātalavara Vāsithiputa Khamdachalikiremmanaka of the Hiraṇyakas. She was the donor of the fourth pillar. The third lady who had dedicated the fifth pillar was also a Mahātalavari. Yet another lady by name Mahādevi Bhaṭidevā, who is called the daughter-in-law of Siri-Chāmtamula, is credited with the foundation of a vihāra. Apparently she was a consort of the Siri-Virapurisadata. Another vihāra was founded by the daughter of Siri Virapurisadata as the inscribed pillar of Koṭṭampaluga would point out. She is said to be a consort of the Mahārāja of Vanavāsa, the ancient name for North Kanara. This is dated in the eleventh regnal year of Siri Ehuvuḷa Chāmtamula, the son and successor of Siri Virapurisadata. The information yielded by the inscriptions has enabled us to reconstruct a history of the Ikṣvākus in Āndhradeśa.

Among the pious foundations enumerated in these documents, special mention may be made of two monasteries—Kulaha-vihāra and Sīhaḷa vihāra. The donor of the fourth pillar calls herself as a daughter of the Kulahakas, evidently a royal family of considerable importance. Kulaha-vihāra, as has been surmised by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, was the foundation chiefly dedicated to

the Kulahakas. In the same way Sīhaḷa-vihāra would be a convent founded by or for the Singhalese. This convent had a shrine and also a Bodhi-tree. There had been at this time frequent intercourse between Ceylon and South India, and hence we see more of Ceylonese Buddhist influence here. Such flourishing edifices were found in ruins when Hiuan Tsiang came to India and wrote about them. Buddhism had definitely decreased in the Andhra country in the days of Hieun Tsiang. The reasons are not far to seek. Dr. Vogel happily summarises them for us. (1) The decline of South India's trade with Rome which flooded the Peninsula with the Roman gold (2) the conquest of South India by the great ruler Samudragupta (3) the rise of Pallavas devoted to Brahminical religion (4) the rise of Chālukyas in the West of the same religious persuasion. One other cause may be the rise of a number of sects within the Buddhist community which must have considerably weakened the harmony and coherence of the community. (Ep. *Ind.* Opt. cit.)

Even in the inscriptions of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa there are a number of sects mentioned. Reference has already been made to the sect of Aparamahāvinaseliyas. One scholar associated it with Mahāvana Sāla at Vaiśāli. The Mahāvaṁśa (V, 12) and Dīpavaṁśa (V, 54) refer to the Pubbaśelikas and Aparaśelikas, as the two subdivisions of the Mahāsaṁghikas. It is said that the Apara-śelikas may be an abbreviation for Apara Mahāvinaseliyas of the inscriptions. Or it may be that the Pāli chronicles of Ceylon record the two sects of Pubbaśela and Aparaśela, which, according to Hiuen Tsiang existed on the hills to the east and west of the then capital of the Āndhradeśa.

Hiuen Tsiang says : "to the east of the city, bordering on a mountain, is a convent called the Fo-lo-pho-shi-lo or Pūrvaśila. To the west of the city, leaning against a mountain is a convent called 'O-fa-lo-shi-lo or Avaraśila. These were built by an early king in honour of the Buddha. He hollowed the valley, made a road, opened the mountain crags, constructed pavilions and long galleries, while chambers supported the heights and connected the caverns. . . . There have been no priests for the last hundred years." (Beal, *Bud. Records of Western World II*, pp. 221-23). Earlier the Chinese traveller tells us that in his days there were about twenty convents with a thousand priests or so. The Aparaśila is the western-rock monastery and the Pūrvaśila is the eastern-rock monastery. Those who made the former as their residence were known as Aparaśailas and those who made the latter were known as Pūrvaśailas. The Pūrvaśailas, according to Burnouf, are followers of Mahādeva, an early teacher (Int. a' l' Hist. Du Bud. Ind. 2nd edition p. 398). They were also known as Chaityikas. The Pūrvaśailas and Avaraśailas were two of the five sects of the Mahāsaṁghika school.

Very early the Buddhist Church came to be divided into two schools—the Mahāsaṁghikas or the school of the great Congregation and Mahāsthaviras or the school of the great President. The Buddhist community in the

Āndhradeśa were followers of the Mahāsaṁghika school. The three remaining sects of this school were the Haimavatas, the Lokottaravādins, and the Prajñaptivādins. A definition of all these sects cannot be attempted. Suffice it to say that most of them were local. There were several other sects also. The inscriptions at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa mention a sect Bahusutīya (Pāli Bahusuttīya ; Sanskrit Bahuśrutīya), besides Ayira-haṁgha (Skt. Ārya-saṅgha), and Mahisāsaka (Skt. Mahīśāsaka). Thus the collapse of Buddhism after seven or eight centuries of existence is due more to the split in the church leading to sects and subsects than any extraneous causes, which also contributed to its fall.

The inscriptions give some more details of the Buddhism as prevalent in the Andhra country. It occurs in an additional passage that in the completion of the great Chaitya, service was rendered by one Ānanda who knew *Dighanikāya* and the *Majjhima-nikāya* by heart. It is further stated that Ānanda was a follower of the Ārya saṅgha sect whose scripture is seen to be the Digha and the Majjhima nikayas and the five Mātukas.

Again the erection of āyaka pillars and stone pillars was considered very holy and ladies of royal family were invariably the donors. They did these for the attainment of *nirvāṇa* mainly and also for material prosperity e.g. Chāmtisiri wishes for the longevity and victory of her son-in-law Siri Virapurisadata. From an inscription in an apsidal temple it is seen that one Bodhisiri caused a number of foundations for the welfare of her family members. This document shows the wide activities of the Ceylonese monks who carried the message of the Buddha to Kashmir, Gandhara, China, Chilata (Assam?), Tosali, Aparānta, Vanga, Vanavāsi, Yavana, Damila, Pālūra, and the Isle of Ceylon. It is particularly to be noted that Buddhism was prevalent all over India about this time which may be roughly third century A.D. This proves further that not only royal ladies but ordinary female members who could afford to erect pious foundations associated themselves with the worship of the Buddha. Add to this the two inscriptions incised on sculptures at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. It is the donation of a footprint slab by Budhi, the sister of a Saka Moda. If Saka is Scythian as is usually interpreted by western orientalists, then it is significant in the sense that even foreigners like the Scythians embraced the Indian cult (*Ep. Ind.* Op. cit. p. 37).

There is a strong tradition that Nāgārjunikoṇḍa was the residence of Nāgārjuna, the founder of the Mahāyāna school. As has been already said the Tibetan tradition says that he ended his life at this spot. Further the name of the locality itself is a strong testimony. But what is surprising is that the inscriptions from this place do not make any reference to Nāgārjuna at all. The late lamented A. B. Keith would place this 'mysterious' Nāgārjuna in the latter part of the 2nd century A.D. His chief works are Madhyamakārikās and Suhṛllekha, where the Buddhist doctrine is summarised.

(*A History of Sanskrit Literature* pp. 71-2)' Hiuen Tsiang further tells us that Bodhisattva Bhāvaviveka lived in a monastery on a hill at Vijayapuri. The identification of Vijayapuri has not yet been satisfactorily done. According to the Chinese traveller it was not far from the capital. Vijayapuri is only once mentioned in a record at Amarāvati. According to the document of Bodhisiri, to its west lay the Śriparvata. In this place lived Bhāvaviveka (Watters on *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 215).

A. H. Longhurst who conducted further excavations at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa was able to recover many lead coins, gold and silver reliquaries, pottery, statues and over four hundred bas-relief sculptures as magnificent as those from Amarāvati. (Ind. Ant. Vol. LXI pp. 186f). The ruined buildings are the remains of Stūpas, monasteries, apsidal temples and a palace. These were built of large bricks measuring 20″ × 10″ × 3″. The sculptures and statues were executed in grey limestone which resembles marble. On plan and in construction, it is said, that the Andhra stūpas bear marked differences from those of the north. They are built in the form of a wheel with hub, spokes and tire, all in brickwork with a dome over the structure. The dome was made to rest on a circular platform from 2 to 5 feet in height according to the size of the monument. Another special feature of these monuments is a platform on each of the four sides of the dome resembling an altar. Large monuments were provided with pillars. Five pillars varying from 10 to 30 feet in height adorned every quarter and the total number was twenty. These are the āyaka-pillars to which a reference has already been made. (*Ibid*).

In the sculptures two kinds of stūpa are depicted and decorated partly with stone slabs and partly with plaster ornamentation. In decoration they resemble the stūpas of Gandhara and this shows mutual influence between South India and Gandhara. The chief scenes in the sculptures portray the five miracles in the life of the Buddha. These are the Nativity, Renunciation, Sambodhi, First Sermon and Death.

The diameter of the great stūpa at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa is 106 feet and its total height excluding the *tee* about 80 feet. The Āyaka plaforms are 22 × 5 feet. The stūpa was surrounded by a procession path 13 feet wide and enclosed by a wooden railing resting on brick foundations. The stūpa consisted of 40 chambers. Originally a plain structure, additions were made later on. Perhaps the Āyaka pillars were added in the second century A.D. The monument was a dhātugarbha or a shrine containing a relic, and not a memorial stūpa. Hence the name Mahācaitya. (*Ibid.*)

It may be concluded that with the decline of the Ikṣvākus, Buddhism began to decline in the Andhra country. By the time when the Viṣṇukuṇḍins rose to power about the beginning of the fifth century A.D., it has ceased to be an active religion, though some monks continued to live and preach in some monasteries for a century or two more.

THE HOME OF TĀNTRIC BUDDHISM

By

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When Mm. Haraprasad Shastri published his *Discovery of Living Buddhism* in Bengal in the year 1897 he was ridiculed, and in scholarly parlance it was long known as 'Shastri's fad'. Later, however, Buddhistic studies in Bengal progressed satisfactorily, and several scholars took up the study of Buddhism—both living and dead—in right earnest, and made much valuable contribution which revealed the political, cultural and linguistic history of Bengal with a great wealth of detail. The name of the late Sarat Chandra Das, however, stands pre-eminent amongst scholars of Buddhism in Bengal.

The results of these Buddhistic studies have been admirably summarised in the recent *History of Bengal*, Vol. I published by Dr. R. C. Majumdar. To-day, thanks to his efforts, we know a great deal regarding Buddhism in Bengal. We know, for instance, that there were celebrated Buddhist scholars whose fame spread beyond India, that there were Bengali mystics, Tāntrics, Siddhas and magicians who made a name outside Bengal, and that gifted composers of mystic poetry preached and popularised the esoteric doctrines of Vajrayāna, and great Yogis followed complicated Yaugic practices. We further know that Bengal produced in mediæval times hundreds of Buddhist sculptures, which have been discovered, studied and identified. In fact, it now gradually becomes evident that there was an independent school of art and sculpture, which produced a large number of Buddhist images of wonderful workmanship besides thousands of the most exquisite specimens of Brahmanical ones with a sprinkling of Jain icons.

Dr. Majumdar's *History* gives also a survey of the origin and development of the vernacular songs of the early Buddhist composers of Bengal. The *Buddha Gān O Dohā* revealed a large number of Dohās, or Bengali songs of the earliest times, although there is still some controversy concerning the date of their composition.[1] There are weighty reasons to show that these

1. With apologies to the learned linguist I entirely disagree with the findings of Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji and his associates regarding the dates of the authors of the *Caryāpadas*. Linguistic evidence is not by itself sufficient to combat historical evidence. Śāntarakṣita's date is certain; since he did not refer to Śankarācārya but to the earlier school of the Aupaniṣadas, his date as given by me in the *Tattvasaṅgraha* is to be taken as settled. The date is 705-762 A.D. Śāntarakṣita is again connected with Padmasambhava, and incidentally, with his father Indra-

songs, composed by poets flourishing at different times, cover a period from the 7th to the 12th centuries A.D., but linguistic experts would place them all in the 10th, 11th and the 12th centuries, or to be exact, 950-1200 A.D. These songs are no doubt Buddhist, and belong obviously to the Vajrayāna and Sahajayāna forms of Buddhism, and are accompanied with a commentary in Sanskrit.

The *Buddha Gān O Dohā* was published in the year 1916 by Mm. Shastri, and this stimulated subsequently a great deal of research in Bengali linguistics. The fact is worth repeating lest Mm. Shastri's important discovery be altogether forgotten under the pressure of re-editions, improved or critical editions, and reprints of the same book undertaken by the present generation of scholars.

Besides these, the Sādhana literature of the Buddhists provided research scholars with ample material for the identification of Buddhist images discovered in Bengal. The *Sādhanamālā* published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series in the years 1925 and 1928 contained no less than 312 Sādhanas for the worship of Buddhist deities, and these not only provided material for the reconstruction of the Buddhist religious history of Bengal, but also gave almost a complete account of the state of the Buddhist Tāntric literature in Sanskrit, and details of numerous Tāntric authors who were connected with Bengal, and practised the Vajrayāna form of Buddhism.

When the *Sādhanamālā* was published, I remember to have been faced with a volley of criticism on its editing methods and other shortcomings, in leading journals. As a rule, I never waste my time in replying to critics, as it rarely, if ever, contributes to human knowledge. The rage of criticism is now over, but I cannot state without a feeling of disappointment that the

bhūti, all of whom must therefore be contemporaries. In the second volume of the Tangyur Catalogue of P. Cordier is given a succession of Gurus and disciples in the following order :—

(1) Padmavajra, *a.* of Guhyasiddhi
(2) His disciple Anaṅgavajra, *a.* Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi,
(3) His disciple Indrabhūti, *a.* Jñānasiddhi,
(4) His disciple Bhagavatī Lakṣmī or Lakṣmīṅkarā, *a.* Advayasiddhi,
(5) Her disciple Līlāvajra, *a.* Vyaktabhāvasiddhi,
(6) His disciple Dārika, *a.* Oḍḍiyānavinirgata Mahāguhyatattvopadeśa
(7) His disciple Sahajayoginī Cintā, *a.* Vyaktabhāvānugata-tattvasiddhi
(8) Līlavajra's disciple Ḍombī Heruka, *a.* Sahajasiddhi

This list has neither been prepared nor concocted by me. It is there in the Tangyur Catalogue for all to see, and has to be taken as a historical fact. No amount of verbal jugglery can unsettle this fact. That this *paramparā* of Gurus and disciples is correct is proved by the composition of the manuscript No. 13124 as preserved in the Baroda Oriental Institute. In this collection the original works mentioned in the Tangyur Catalogue against these authors are included in their logical sequence. The whole succession should cover the latter part of the 7th and the whole of the 8th century. There seems to be no escape from this position.

Tibetan-knowing critics have not yet turned their attention to the constructive work of tracing in the Tangyur numerous Sanskrit Sādhanas extant only in Tibetan translations, and thus add to our knowledge.[2]

To resume the authors of the Sādhanas were also the authors of the *Caryāpadas*, and many of them were connected with Bengal. Dr. Majumdar's *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, has taken all these factors into account, although in matters of detail there may be room for controversy.

Now it may be asked : Can we proceed a step further ? I think at this stage it will be possible for us to take a more synthetic view.

First of all, let us see where the Buddhist images of the Vajrayāna type were discovered. By this I mean only those images for the identification of which, a satisfactory Dhyāna can be cited from the Sādhanamālā, or other equally trustworthy evidence can be adduced. Then let us find out where these images were most prolific, that is to say where they first originated in order to find out how and where they migrated later.

This type of investigation has been made possible by the admirable production of Dr. N. K. Bhattasali, entitled, '*Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*' published in 1929. His methods were followed by R. D. Banerji in his monumental work '*Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture*' published by the Archaeological Survey of India in the year 1933. The original, scientific and accurate work of these two eminent Bengali scholars have opened up new lines of investigation, and the historians of this country have reasons to be grateful to them for their valuable contribution.

On referring to these works in addition to Dr. Majumdar's *History of Bengal*, Vol. I we find that Vajrayāna images and paintings are found in Bengal, Assam, Bihar, Orissa, parts of U. P., one place in central India, Nepal and Tibet. Among these Assam, Bihar and Orissa can be regarded as coming within the cultural influence of Bengal in pre-Muhammadan times. Vajrayāna images, however, are not found in other parts of India, such as Madras, Mahārāṣṭra, Gujarat, Kathiawad, the Punjab, Kashmir or even Central Provinces or Rajputana. Is it all a matter of chance that Vajrayāna images should be found round about Bengal, and in those places which were known to have been deeply influenced by Bengal and Bihar ?

Let us now examine more carefully the find spots of these sculptures. In Bengal proper, the following places and districts are known to have yielded

2. For instance, Sādhanas for the following deities still exist in Tibetan : (1) Ratipriyā, (2) Yakṣanaṭanaṭī, (3) Kilikila, (4) Hāriti, (5) Nāgī, (6) Manoharī, (7) Subhagā, (8) Ratirāgā, (9) Pūrṇabhadrā, (10) Bhūtisundarī, (11) Vimalasundarī, (12) Kṛṣṇapiśāca, (13) Alakā, (14) Alaguptā, (15) Kharamukhī, (15) Kṣuksuśrī besides many others. Even a bare description of their forms may be of great help in recognising un-identified sculptures.

Vajrayāna images which correspond mostly to the Dhyānas as given in the *Sādhanamālā*. In this list, I do not think I have exhausted the place names, but it will certainly give a fair idea of the distribution of the Vajrayāna sculptures throughout the country included to-day in the map of Bengal and Assam, which were together under the same administration until recently.

In Bengal Vajrayāna deities have been discovered in the district of Birbhum, Gauri (dt, Burdwan), Sagardighi and Ghiyasabad in the district of Murshidabad, Sonarang and Vikrampur in the Dacca district, Tipperah, Bad-Kamta, Paharpur, Mahasthan, Rajshahi, Faridpur, Malda, Sylhet, Barisal, Tripura State and the Chittagong district.

In Bihar, Vajrayāna deities have been found in Nalanda, Bihar Sarif, Patna and Gaya districts, Bodh-Gaya, Kurkihar, Hazaribagh, Patharghata (Bhagalpur), and various other small places. A good collection of these can also be found in the Patna Museum.

In the United Provinces, Sarnath is the only important place where a number of Vajrayāna deities have been found. Besides these, at Mahoba in British Bundelkhand were found a few specimens of exquisite workmanship. These have been described by Mr. K. N. Dikshit in an excellent manner in a special Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India. Mr. Dikshit places these images in the 11th—12th century A.D. on reliable palaeographical grounds.

Buddhism being a living religion in Nepal and Tibet, Vajrayāna images of all varieties are found in large quantities in these countries. When I visited some of the Nepal monasteries in 1922 they presented an appearance of veritable museums of Buddhist images of a bewildering variety. But I have not come across old images of the Tāntric school, and the majority of metal and stone images were of recent origin, mostly post-Muhammadan. Thus Nepal and Tibet are left out, since they have little to do with the origin of Vajrayāna, and because they were markedly influenced by the Vajrayāna of Bengal and Bihar. When the monasteries in Bihar and Bengal were devastated, burnt and looted at the time of the Muslim invasion of Bengal, the priests ran away to Nepal with their sacred texts, their Vajrayāna practices, and the images of their favourite gods over the difficult Himalayan passes to Nepal. Thus on the Vajrayāna of Nepal the stamp of Bengal is strongly marked. Most of the monasteries in Nepal according to their own traditions, originated in the 13th century A.D., and the Nepal MSS library contains a large number of manuscripts written in Bengali characters of the pre-Muslim period. It is also not difficult to prove that in the matter of Tāntric Buddhism Bengal exerted her great influence on Bihar. That influence is manifested not only by the Bengali scholars going over and teaching in Bihar monasteries, but also by the close resemblance existing between the art, sculpture and architecture of these two countries. Bengali Rajas often held sway over Bihar, and it is

not improbable that during the Pāla times the Tāntric religion permeated through this country.

In Bengal proper, Vajrayāna deities of different types come in large numbers from Vikrampur, Dacca, Tipperah, Faridpur, Rajashahi and to a certain extent from Birbhum. In other parts of Bengal only a sprinkling of such images is found. According to Dr. N. K. Bhattasali, Vaṅga and Samataṭa in Bengal were the two centres from which culture radiated to other parts of Bengal, in this particular case apparently through eminent Bengali authors, teachers, mystics and poets belonging to Vajrayāna. In the opinion of Dr. Bhattasali, Vaṅga included in the early days the modern districts of Dacca, Faridpur, Backerganj, while Samataṭa included the whole of the present Chittagong division and the plains of Sylhet and portions of the present Dacca and Mymensing districts. Can we take this Vaṅga-Samataṭa tract as the Home of Vajrayāna?

The celebrated author Śāntarakṣita belonged to Vaṅga, his birth-place being Zā-hor (modern Sabhar in the Vikramapura Paragana).[3] If this had not been correct, Dr. Majumdar would not have accepted him in Bengal history. Even so is the case with Śāntideva or Bhusuku, Padmasambhava, Dīpaṅkara-śrī-jñāna, and a host of other Siddhācāryyas, although Dr. Majumdar will not accept them all in Bengal without a grudge. That many of them belonged to Vaṅga, Eastern India, Vikramapuri, Jagaddala, Puṇḍravardhana, Pandubhumi, Somapuri and such like places in Bengal, is to-day a matter of common knowledge.

If that be so, can we not assert that Tāntric Buddhism originated in Vaṅga and Samataṭa? At least that should be the legitimate conclusion of the findings of Dr. Majumdar in his voluminous treatise. The Tāntric Buddhism or Vajrayāna and its associations are so intimately connected with Bengal that we are tempted to hold this part of Bengal as the place of its origin.

Vajrayāna images are found in considerable quantities in the Vaṅga-Samataṭa area, Vajrayāna authors are connected with this country. Vajrayāna paintings in Prajñāpārmitā manuscripts refer to Vajrayāna temples existing in this country. Many of the Siddhas or masters of Vajrayāna are connected with this country as also many of the Vajrayāna songs and their composers. This tract abounds in ruins of old Buddhist monasteries and cities. Dr. Bhattasali has also pointed out names of villages and towns in Vaṅga and Samataṭa which even to-day are of distinctly Buddhist flavour. Names of places like Vajrayoginī not only have Buddhist associations, since Vajrayoginī is a Buddhist deity of wide celebrity, but also signifies its connection with

3. Dr. Bhattasali has shown that Sabhar was a Buddhist centre of great antiquity. He fixed : "7th—8th century A.D. as the age of the ruins of Sabhar". *Iconography*, op. cit., Intro, p. vii.

Vajrayāna because the word 'Vajra' in Vajrayoginī means Śūnya which is the Vajrayāna term for the Ultimate Reality.

While talking of Vajrayoginī, I am tempted to refer to another problem connected with the identification of Uḍḍiyāna which was regarded as a place of great importance in Vajrayāna Buddhism. In fact, the Tibetans consider this as the place where Tāntric Buddhism originated. Thus the identification of this place becomes a paramount necessity. Mm. Haraprasad Shastri identified Uḍḍiyāna with Orissa, and in my earlier days I used to take that identification as correct. But later I found that the few details regarding Uḍḍiyāna obtained from various sources, such as the Tibetan authors, Sādhanas, paintings, etc. do not harmonize in case it is identified with Orissa. Moreover, Uḍḍiyāna being Pīṭha should only be a small but very important place and thus cannot be identified with a big country like Orissa. Although uncertain myself, I suggested that the identification of this place may have to be looked for in Assam because Uḍḍiyāna ought to be near Sabhar in order to fit in with the story of Śāntarakṣita and Padmasambhava. Moreover, Uḍḍiyāna being the place of Indrabhūti, a celebrated Buddhist author of the Vajrayāna school and the father of Padmasambhava, must be saturated with not merely Buddhist but Vajrayāna atmosphere of the *Sādhanamālā*, and also within reasonable proximity of the other old Pīṭhas like Kāmākhyā and Sirihatta in Assam.

Uḍḍiyāna is often mentioned in Tāntric literature, but it should particularly be noted that it is mentioned along with Kāmākhyā, Sirihatta and Pūrṇagiri in a group. In the *Sādhanamālā* it is mentioned twice in this manner. To all these four Pīṭhas or sacred spots worship is made and flowers are offered in token of reverence. These four Pīṭhas are mentioned in connection with the worship of a violent Vajrayāna deity, Vajrayoginī, who, as I have shown years ago, is the same as the Hindu deity Chinnamastā, one of the ten Mahāvidyās of the Hindu Tantra which borrowed it from Vajrayāna.

Again, in Professor Foucher's list of Prajñāpāramitā paintings Uḍḍiyāna (also spelt as Oḍḍiyāna and Oḍiyāna) is further connected with Mārīcī, another violent Vajrayāna goddess. The *Sādhanamālā* records that Oḍḍiyāna was also connected with the Sādhanas and worship of Kurukullā and Trailokyavaśaṅkara. These are manifestly Vajrayāna deities. According to *Sādhanamālā* Sarahapā was connected with Uḍḍiyāna and Mm. Shastri informs us that he composed several Tāntric poems and wrote extensively on Tāntric subjects. In the Tibetan tradition, Padmasambhava, Kambalapā, Luipā, Tailikapā and several others are connected with Uḍḍiyāna. But the most famous among them seems to be Indrabhūti, the king of Uḍḍiyāna, whose only extant work in Sanskrit '*Jñānasiddhi*' is styled in the colophon as 'Śrīmad-Oḍiyāna-vinirgata'. This work is already published in the Gaekwad's

Oriental Series as one of the *Two Vajrayāna Works*, which breathes an atmosphere of Vajrayāna through and through.

Under the circumstances the location of Uḍḍiyāna will have to be found in a purely Vajrayāna atmosphere, if not also in a Vaṅga-Samataṭa atmosphere, but certainly not in Swat, Kashmir, Kafiristan or Kashgarh or any other place on the slender ground of its inhabitants making 'the acquaintance of magical formulas their occupation'. Simply because eminent European scholars have committed a mistake in identifying the place, are we in duty bound to quote it and repeat it every now and then, or support it with all the ingenuity at our command to perpetuate that mistake? It is exactly on such occasions that modern research becomes a source of danger to truth and science.

Thus the location of Uḍḍiyāna is still to be searched for in Vaṅga and Samataṭa, which according to Dr. Bhattasali's most well-considered opinion were the centres of culture in Bengal in pre-Muslim times. Although it has not been possible to identify Uḍḍiyāna in spite of the efforts of the historians of Bengal and Assam, the search should by no means be abandoned. Perhaps the old name has been entirely replaced by a new one, and in that case the place will never be recognised for certain in the future without further discovery of new and relevant material. But one thing is certain: Uḍḍiyāna was connected with Vajrayoginī, and who can say that the present village of Vajrayoginī in the Vikrampur area is not spreading a mystic veil on the identity of the ancient Uḍḍiyāna of Tāntric fame? Certainly the name of the village is peculiar and demands an explanation.

I cannot say whether this identification is certain, but I am inclined to suggest it as very probable. We have instances where the original place names have been obliterated and replaced by the name of the deity installed in the locality. In Nepal, for instance, we meet with a similar example, and strangely enough, connected with the same divinity Vajrayoginī. At Śaṅku on the top of a hill reached by a flight of more than a thousand stairs, there is a temple of Vajrayoginī. In 1922 the locality was still known by two names, Śaṅku and Vajrayoginī, although the first was rapidly going out of use. The hill where the Svayambhū Caitya was built is now known by the name Śimbhu. In Bengal, the village where the Tārakeśvara temple was built is forgotten, and to-day it is known by the name of the deity Tārakeśvara. It is well known that the Uḍiyās know Puri by the name of Jagaḍanātha. Examples like these can be multiplied. The references in the *Sādhanamālā* make it evident that the four Pīṭhas, Kāmākhyā, Sirihatta, Pūrṇagiri and Uḍḍiyāna were specially sacred to Vajrayoginī, and, very probably, at all these places the deity was installed in a temple. Uḍḍiyāna must have received the name of Vajrayoginī because of this temple. At any rate, this small village of Vajrayoginī ought to receive careful attention of both historians and explorers.

Outside Bengal, people seem to have queer ideas about the Bengalis. People are heard to remark that the Bengalis are so very different from others. The name of Gauḍ-Vāṅgāla still excites terror in the mind of the layman, and many still believe that all Bengalis are magicians. Further, it is believed that the witches of Kāmākhyā can turn men into small little animals. Does the Tāntric Buddhism account for these and make the Bengalis different?

Many scholars have remarked that the Vaidya caste is peculiar to Bengal. This caste is not met with anywhere else. Has it any connection with Vajrayāna or Tāntric Buddhism? Is Vajrayāna in any way responsible for the creation of a new caste? The Yogis, now called Jugis, are indigenous to Bengal. To-day they call themselves Nāthapanthis—a *pantha* akin to Vajrayāna. How does it happen that the old strongholds of Tāntric Buddhism—Dacca, Faridpur, Tipperah, Chittagong—are still the strongholds of the modern Vaidyas

These and other problems are there for the clever scholar to investigate, but in my mind there is little doubt that Vajrayāna originated in Vaṅga and Samataṭa, and thence travelled to the rest of India. Vajrayāna in Bengal must have brought in its wake several new and perplexing problems to the Hindu society, and it will be most interesting to know how they were solved in mediaeval days until the Muslim sword got rid of many of the problems altogether including those concerning the distinction between the Buddhist and the Hindu.

Vajrayāna is great, but we should know more, and Dr. Majumdar has made it easy.

HISTORICAL PORTRAITS IN BĀṆA'S *HARṢACARITA**

By

Dr. U. N. GHOSHAL, M.A., PH.D., F.R.A.S.B.

In the wide range of his portraits of historical personages Bāṇa is unrivalled by any of his compeers. We have in the *Harṣacarita* living pictures of historical personages from bejewelled kings, queens and princes to bark-clad ascetics and from polished courtiers to wild foresters. To illustrate this point, we may begin with Bāṇa's charming pen-picture of the child-prince Harṣa when 'he could just manage five or six paces with the support of his nurse's finger' and 'could just utter a child's first indistinct cries.' Illustrative of the superstitions reigning even in high places at this time is the reference to the precautions taken to ward off from the precious child 'the evil eye' and the evil spirits. The Prince wore upon his head a mustard amulet, his form was stained yellow with *goracanā* (*scill.* a bright yellow pigment prepared from the excrements etc. of a cow), his neck was ornamented with a row of tiger's claws linked with gold.[1] Equally graphic is the picture of the boy Bhaṇḍi whom his father presented to court at this time for serving the little prince. The boy's coiffure, his ornaments and his carriage equally bespoke his high birth. Side-locks of curly hair (*kākapakṣaka*) in waving tufts (*śikhaṇḍa*) adorned his handsome head. He wore one earring of sapphire and another of pearl. A diamond bracelet was bound around his forearm. Curved bits of coral were tied to his neck-string. 'Though still a child he bore himself stiffly like a seed of the tree of valour.'[2]

Equally striking but more detailed is the picture of the two youthful Malwa princes Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta, as they appeared when king Prabhākaravardhana introduced them to his two sons to serve as lords-in-waiting. The elder Prince who was aged about eighteen years had a striking physique. He was neither very tall nor very short, and was gifted with a hard frame, with slim shanks, thick hard thighs, slender waist, broad chest and pendulous arms. His decorations befitting his high rank consisted of a

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* In the above *C* and *T* stand for the *Harṣa-carita* of Bāṇa, translated by E. B. Cowell and F. W. Thomas, London, 1897, while Kane stands for the *Harṣa-charita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, Uchchhvāsas I-IV, edited with an Introduction and Notes by P. V. Kane, Bombay, 1st ed. 1918, and Gajendragadkar is an abbreviation for the *Harshacharita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, Uchchhvāsas IV-VIII, edited with a Sanskrit commentary (*Bālabodhinī*) by S. D. Gajendragadkar and an Introduction, Notes (critical and explanatory) and Appendices by A. B. Gajendragadkar, Poona 1919.

1. *C.* and *T.* pp. 115-16 and Gajendragadkar, *Notes*, p. 86.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 116-17.

jewelled bracelet on his left wrist and a jewelled ear-ornament. His bearing was marked by graceful motions, downcast eyes and princely nobility. The younger brother had his breast anointed with sandal-paste and adorned with a necklace. He was as remarkable as his brother for his decorum, prowess and other qualities.[3]

It was not, however, always amid such happy surroundings that Bāṇa had occasion to describe royalty. Here is, for instance, a pathetic picture of Queen Yaśovatī as she issued forth from her apartments on the journey to the funeral pyre. She was dressed in vestments of death. Her body was wet through recent bath. She was wearing two robes reddish brown with saffron, along with her red veil. Her lower lip was tinged with the deep red of betel. A red neck-cord hung between her breasts. Her limbs were red with moist saffron paste. A garland of strung flowers hung round her neck and reached her feet. She was supported by aged women, attended by great noblemen and followed by aged chamberlains. She was bidding farewell even to birds and beasts and embracing the very trees about the palace.[4]

Coming to the great officers of State, we may mention Bāṇa's striking description, drawn no doubt from life, of General Siṁhanāda as he appeared when addressing Harṣa in the Council-chamber about the coming campaign against the Gauḍas. Stately and tall, stubborn in frame, with straight white locks and hanging eye-brows, with terrible visage brightened by thick white moustache, with a long white beard hanging down to his navel, the general bore the weight of his advanced years with ease. A veteran of many wars, he wore on his broad chest the scars of numerous wounds received in battle. 'His very voice, deep as the booming of a drum, inspired the warriors with thirst for battle.'[5]

In the same context Bāṇa gives an equally vivid description of the elephant-commander Skandagupta (evidently of an inferior courtly rank) whom Harṣa summoned to his presence for getting the elephants ready for the coming campaign. When the king's summons came, he was surrounded by various groups of people employed in the capture, tending and training of elephants. (Bāṇa's characterisation of these groups indicates actual experience of this arm of warfare. He mentions, besides elephant doctors, people carrying uplifted bamboos bedecked with peacock's tails, elephant riders displaying green fodder, superintendents of decoys, rows of forest guards, crowds of *mahouts* displaying leathern figures for practising manoeuvres, messengers sent by rangers of elephant forests and so forth). With his stout arms hanging down to his knees, his full and pendulous lower lip, his long nose, his soft and large eyes, his full and broad forehead, his profuse curly dark hair, Skandagupta must have presented a striking appearance. Beneath an aspect

3. *C.* and *T.* pp. 120-1.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 150-51.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 180-82.

of indifference he enjoyed an air of command due as much to his own unbending rigidity as to his master's favour.[6]

Another picture of a courtier in lower life is presented to us in the person of the chief door-keeper Pāriyātra who introduced Bāṇa into the king's presence at the first audience. He was a tall, fair, broad-chested narrow-waisted man. He wore a white turban and a clean jacket. As the insignia of his office he grasped in his left hand a sword with the handle thickly studded with pearls and in the right hand his burnished golden staff of office. His waist was bound by a girdle ornamented with rubies, he carried on his breast a necklace of pearls, he had two jewelled ear-rings.[7]

In so far as Bāṇa's pictures of ascetics and saints are concerned, we may begin with his remarkable sketch of Bhairavācārya as he looked when visited by king Puṣpabhūti one early morning in his hermitage. Punctilious in his observance of the daily ritual, he had thus early bathed, presented his eightfold offering of flowers and attended to the sacrificial fire. His seat was ceremonially pure. He was seated on a tiger's skin on ground smeared with cow-dung and bounded by a line of ashes. His appearance was sufficiently distinctive. He was just past fifty-five years and a few white hairs had appeared on his head. His hair was tied upwards in a lump and was somewhat matted. The hair-line of his skull was giving way to baldness. A natural frown connected his eye-brows. He had very long eyes, a curved nose, narrow cheeks, prominent teeth, hanging lips and tender-soled feet. His bosom was covered with very thick dark hair. His dress and equipment corresponded to his sectarian ritual. He was wrapped in a dark woollen garment in keeping with the colour approved in the Śivite ritualistic works. His broad forehead was marked with a line of white ashes. A pair of crystal earrings hung from his pendulous ears. He wore a bit of conch-shell on one forearm having an iron bracelet and bound with a charm-thread of various herbs. In his right hand he shook his rosary. Circling round him was an ascetic's wrap of white hue. He had at his side a bamboo staff with a barb of iron inserted at the end.[8]

Equally based on a living type is Bāṇa's striking picture of Bhairavācārya's disciple Ṭiṭibha as he looked when first presented to the king with a message from his master. His physical appearance was sufficiently impressive. He was a tall fellow with arms reaching down to his knees. Though emaciated by living on alms, he appeared to be fat on account of the stoutness of his bones. His head was broad, his forehead undulating with deep wrinkles, his eyes were round and ruddy, his nose was slightly curved, one ear was very pendulous. The rows of his teeth were prominent,

6. *C.* and *T.*, pp. 189-91 with corr : by Gajendragadkar, *Notes*, pp. 268 ff.
7. *C.* and *T.*, pp. 49-50 with corr : by Kane, *Notes*, p. 124.
8. *C.* and *T.*, pp. 263-65.

his lip was loose, his jaw elongated by a hanging chin. His dress and equipment were in keeping with his profession. A red ascetic's scarf hung from his shoulder, his upper robe consisted of a tattered rug knotted above his heart and stained with red chalk. His right hand grasped a bamboo stool, his left held a yokepole resting on his shoulder, to which were attached his dirt-scraper and sieve of bamboo bark, his loin-cloth, his alms-bowl, his waterpot, his slippers and a bundle of manuscripts.[9]

In striking contrast with the description of Bhairavācārya given above is Bāṇa's sketch of the Buddhist teacher Divākaramitra as seen by Harṣa in his hermitage in the Vindhya forest. The contrast reflects the difference between the cold hard formalism of the Śivite ritual and the Buddhist spirit of universal benevolence. Divākaramitra, as we learn from the context, had been a leading Brāhmaṇa teacher before he abandoned the Vedas for Buddhist teaching. The change of creed apparently lent a touch of greater earnestness and more cosmopolitan sympathy to the teacher's personality and character. At the time of Harṣa's visit he had around him disciples of various lands and of the most diverse persuasions. (The exhaustive list given by the author which may be consulted in the original, was evidently drawn up to emphasise the cosmopolitan character of the teacher's pupils). In words reflecting the intensely scholastic atmosphere prevailing in the teacher's hermitage, Bāṇa tells us that all his disciples were 'diligently following their own tenets, pondering, urging objections, raising doubts, resolving them, giving etymologies, disputing, studying and explaining.' What is more, even the birds and beasts of the hermitage, says the author with fine poetical conceit, responded to the Buddhist teaching and religious practices. (The striking similarity of the above account with Hieun Tsang's description of his experiences at Nalanda further corroborates our view that Bāṇa must have drawn his picture from contemporary life). Very characteristic of the quietist teaching of Buddhism was the pose of the saint at the time of the king's visit. Upon him waited some tame tigers, near his seat sat undisturbed some lion-cubs, his feet were licked by some deer. On his left hand was perched a young dove eating wild rice. His right hand poured water on a peacock standing near or strewed grains of rice for the ants. The very dress and appearance of the saint betokened his humility. He was clad in a very soft red garment, his gentle bright eye was bent down in humility. He was, as the author sums up in well-chosen words, one 'whom Buddha himself might well approach with reverence, Duty herself might worship, Favour itself show favour to, Honour itself honour, Reverence itself revere.'[10]

We may, lastly, refer to Bāṇa's account of the Śabara youth Nirghāta (Sanscritised no doubt from the vernacular name) whom Harṣa met in the

9. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

10. *C.* and *T.*, pp. 236-37.

Vindhya forest, as illustrating the type of aboriginal hillmen inhabiting that region down to our own times. With a true eye to the aboriginal rule of relationship through females, the author introduces the youth as the sister's son of a general of the Śabaras. His physical features were distinctive of the well-known aboriginal type. His dark forehead was furrowed with an involuntary triple frown, his bleared eye with its scanty lashes had a natural red lustre, his nose was flat, his lower lip thick, his chin low, his jaws full, his forehead and cheek-bones projecting, his neck a little bent down while one-half of his shoulders stood up. He had of course enormous physical strength. His brawny chest, we are told, was expanded by the constant exercise of bending the bow, his pair of arms was long, he had a thin belly but prominent navel, his brawny and fleshy thighs contrasted with his thin waist. He was of course a famous hunter. Though no mention is made of his dress which must have been of the scantiest, his personal get-up and ornamentation are described with minute accuracy and correctness in detail. His hair, we are told, was tied high above his forehead with a coil of dark creeper, he wore a tawny crystal earring which was coloured green with a parrot's wing used for ornament. On his forearm he wore a tin armlet decorated with white beads ; its back was covered with a bundle of roots (supposed to be an antidote against poisons) which were fastened with bristles of boars. His formidable loins were guarded by a sword of which the end was anointed with quicksilver and the handle was made with polished horn ; its sheath was adorned with spotted skins of snakes. The quiver he wore on his back was made of bear's skin and contained arrows with crescent-shaped heads. It was wrapped round his body with a spotted leopard's skin. On his left shoulder rested a formidable bow adorned with profuse pigment of peacock's gall, the sinews being fastened with tough roots of trees. From his stout arms was suspended a dead hare with its head hanging downwards. A freshly killed partridge was strung at the extremity of his bow.[11] The author's acquaintance with the Vindhyan aboriginal type is again illustrated in his vivid picture of the Śabara General Mātaṁgaka in the *Kādambarī*.[12]

A keen observer of different contemporary types, Bāṇa could not but be impressed with the regional differences among his countrymen. In a remarkable passage prefacing a long list of kings who came to a tragic end through overconfidence or carelessness, we are told, 'Thus do notional types vary like the dress, features, food and pursuits of countries, village by village, town by town, district by district, continent by continent and clime by clime.'[13] A striking illustration of this statement is furnished by Bāṇa's reference to the different propitiatory ceremonies resorted to at the time of Prabhākaravardhana's illness. There we are told of a Dravidian who was preparing to

11. *C.* and *T.*, pp. 230-32.

12. Ed. P. L. Vaidya, pp. 29-31.

13. *C.* and *T.*, p. 192.

solicit the vampire with the offering of a skull, while an Andhra man was holding up his arms like a rampart (or according to another reading, was exhibiting the entrails of a sacrificed animal) to conciliate the dreaded goddess Caṇḍī.[14] (For purpose of comparison reference may be made to the remarkable picture, or rather caricature, of the old Draviḍa ascetic at the temple of Caṇḍikā in Bāṇa's Kādambarī[15]).

14. *Ibid.*, p. 135.
15. Ed. P. L. Vaidya, pp. 226-8.

VEDIC CONCEPTION OF THE MOTHERLAND : A STUDY IN THE PṚTHVĪ SŪKTA OF THE ATHARVAVEDA

By

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माता भूमिः पुत्रो अहं पृथिव्याः ।

Feelings of attachment and love for the place where one is born are natural in man. This love develops as with the growth of years he begins consciously to realise the importance of the land of his birth for his earthly existence. The love for the place may at first be confined to a single village, town or district, but by the gradual lapse of time this horizon extends to the whole territory which forms the cradle land of all men having a common past.

Patriotism, as the feeling of love for one's country is called, must have a physical material basis to love and work for. It cannot hang in the air on the peg of mere idealism and sentiment. 'The possession of a common fatherland is preliminary to all national development, the growth of a common language, a people's literature, common traditions, common culture, which all put together have a marked distinctive individuality which should be preserved and independently developed as a valuable cultural unit.[1] In order that men may evolve a distinctive civilization, culture and religion, it is necessary that they should possess some common abode which they can call their own. That serves as a nucleus round which gather the formative forces which weld together the diverse elements and factors of life directed to one common goal.

The Aryan forefathers were able to evolve a great civilization when they permanently settled down in the valleys of the Indus and the Ganges. Here they found a physical basis of settlement, a land which they could love and worship, and for which they sang immortal songs in praise and reverence. These noble utterances have been preserved to us in the Pṛthvī Sūkta, Kāṇḍa XII, Sūkta 1 of the Atharvaveda, which embodies some of the finest poetry that flowed from the heart of the Vedic singers. The patriotic effusions of the Vedic bard bear the characteristic stamp of Indian culture and are cast into the distinctive mould of the Indian religious ideas. The motherland is loved not only for its material wealth comprising the botanical, zoological and mineral wealth that it contains but also for the moral and

1. *Fundamental Unity in India* by Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, M.A., PH.D.

spiritual ideals enshrined in the hearts and lives of its noble sons. The poet has taken note of both the physical and the spirituai ties that bound the people to their land.

Geographical Unity

The ancient Sanskrit literature gives evidence to show that the early inhabitants of the country had a perception and a consciousness of the geographical unity of the land which they had made their own. Their geographical horizon unfolds and expands in ever wider circles till it comprises the whole country. Starting from the limited extent of Brahmāvarta, this consciousness finds expansion into Brahmarṣideśa, Madhyadeśa and Āryāvarta between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas and lastly into the subcontinent of Bhāratavarṣa. This last appellation has reference to the supreme achievement of some kind of colonisation extending across the vast expanse and the entire stretch of the country which was looked upon not merely as a geographical unit, but also as a political unit under the sway of one king, be he Bharata, Aśoka or someone else. As Dr. Mookerji has put it: 'The territorial synthesis had shown itself into political synthesis'. The geographical data furnished in the river-hymn of the Ṛgveda shows that the Aryans at one time knew the Indus with its five tributaries, the Ganges and the Jumna. With the occupation of more land the geographical horizon extended, and the later works like the Manu-Smṛti, the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas, and the Artha-Śāstra of Kauṭilya testify to this expanded consciousness in respect of the land. The spirit of the river-hymn echoed forth in the couplet of the Purāṇa in which the poet includes even the names of the two southern rivers, the Godāvarī and the Kāverī. The subsequent location of the seven cities, the seven mountains, the twelve Śivapīṭhas, Devīpīṭhas and the Viṣṇu-pīṭhas, affords proof that belief in the territorial unity of the country had asserted itself in the popular mind on quite a broad basis. The diverse elements appertaining to the land were gradually fusing and merging in one common bond, the basis of which was the common country. This feeling, though not always apparent, made itself manifest when questions involving the Indians and the non-Indian foreign tribes touched the society in some vital manner.

Material Adoration

The popular mind develops love for a thing in terms of material advantage. The abstract notions of religion, philosophy or high moral principles do not go far in the mass mind. The Vedic poet expresses his love for the land by appreciating the value of its material contents. He builds on this solid basis and gradually rises higher into the domain of finer thoughts and the higher things which affect our religious and spritual being. Accordingly he feels inspired at the sight of the 'health-giving dawn which brings new life and vigour with the rising sun (येभ्यो ज्योतिरमृतं मर्त्येभ्य उद्यन्सूर्यो रश्मिभिरातनोति,

verse 15), the ever-flowing fountains of crystal water, high-peaked snow-clad mountains and broad plains, the botanical, mineral, agricultural, and zoological wealth. He bursts forth into admiration for the beauty of the wonderful cycle of the six seasons with their regularly recurring days and nights. The importance of good rivers is recognised as great for the material prosperity of any country, much more so for an agricultural country like India. 'In her the streams distribute themselves in all directions, flowing uniformly without pause or interruption. This land of plenteous streams, may she sprinkle her radiant lustre over us.' (यस्यामापः परिचराः समानीरहोरात्रे अप्रमादं चरन्ति। सा नो भूमिर्भूरिधारा पयो दुहामथो उक्षतु वर्चसा ॥ verse 9).

The snow-peaked hills which act as reservoirs to feed these rivers and the forests which abound in innumerable plants and herbs are possessions of inestimable value in which the people of a country take just pride. The Land is worshipped as the mother of many herbs (विश्वस्वं मातरमोषधीनां, 17) and the repository of numerous potent drugs (नानावीर्या ओषधीर्या बिभर्ति, verse 2).

Wealth in cattle is always considered a great asset and a veritable national wealth for any country. The poet rejoices to see the Land abounding in a variety of cattle useful for agriculture and dairy-farming, for supplying us with milk and serving as means of conveyance गवामश्वानां वयसश्च विष्ठा, verse 5).

The stock of animals in a country breeds on the soil in a very real sense like the race of human beings. The poet realises that the animals born in this land are marked by the characteristic 'smell' of the soil, and carry the stamp or the *genus loci* of the land of their birth (यस्ते गन्धः पुरुषेषु ......अश्वेषु मृगेषूत हस्तिषु, verse 25).

As for the domestic animals, so the poet has a thought for the wild beasts of the forests; although ferocious and dangerous they are none the less 'children of the soil.' He prays: 'motherland, may you protect us from the man-eating lion and the tiger, the jackal and the wolf, the stinging scorpion and the creeping reptile.'

The sight of the wide-stretching ploughed fields producing corn (यस्यामन्नं कृष्टयः संबभूवुः, verse 3), the increaser of vitality and giver of health (ऊर्जं पुष्टं बिभ्रतीमन्नभागं, verse 29), of paddy and barley in special forming the chief food of the people (यस्यामन्नं व्रीहियवौ, verse 42), profoundly touched the poet's heart and moved him into a joyous song of love for the land.

Again, his mind is lost in gratitude when he thinks of the enormous mineral wealth secreted in the bowels of his land, gold and jewels lying unexposed in the coffers of Hiraṇya-Vakṣā, the gold-breasted mother. Who is there, even the most materialistic of men, that will not be moved with affection for the mother-land that holds out such temptations for her sons?

Religious Basis of Love for the Fatherland

Although the temptations of material gain help in strengthening one's

love for his country, that love will not endure unless it be established on sound religious basis and actuated by higher principles of duty. Patriotism which is not enshrined on this noble pedestal of a universal moral order will only bring the Motherland down. None can afford to violate or depart from the moral law for any great length of time, either in an individual capacity or on a social scale. Our effort for the country's prosperity must conform to moral laws. In the very first Mantra the poet has given expression to this sentiment: 'Truth, rigorous universal Law, dedicated Life, Penances, Knowledge and Sacrifice—these things sustain the Earth.'

सत्यं बृहदृतमुग्रं दीक्षा तपो ब्रह्मयज्ञः पृथिवीं धारयन्ति । verse 1.

Mere physical forms are dead, inert masses of matter. To inculcate a true bond of union with the spirit of the motherland we should practise in life and thought higher virtues and purer motives. Truth should there be in the hearts of all the sons of the mother and their actions should bear a clear stamp of truth. One cannot aggrandise the motherland by recourse to untruth, for truth is greater and must in the end reveal itself. The poet next thinks of the immutable Supreme Law that governs both matter and man and is the surest foundation to build upon as it will neither bend nor relax. Dīkṣā, or consecrated action, is the third virtue that gives value to our lives in respect of the country. A fickle-minded person will fly from difficulties; only one of determined thoughts will persevere to the end. *Tapas* or disciplined life and Brahma or true knowledge are surer foundations to uphold the country firmer than anything else. The Earth verily prospects with true knowledge.

The idea of Yajña represents the great law of sacrifice, both in the individual and in the cosmos. It is a characteristically Indian conception involving a communion between gods and men, a synthesis of the human and divine worlds as affecting a particular action. It presumes that the visible and the invisible worlds, gods and men, work together for the prosperity of the Land. Kālidāsa amplifies the same idea when he writes that the king taxed the land for performing Yajñas, and Indra poured rain so that corn might grow; in this way the two sustained the two worlds by the reciprocity of their resources:

दुदोह गां स यज्ञाय सस्याय मघवा दिवम् । संपद्विनिमयेनोभौ दधतुर्भुवनद्वयम् । रघुवंश 1.26).

The Gītā also repeats the age-old Vedic idea: From food are born the creatures, rain causes production of food, rain is the outcome of sacrifice, and sacrifice arises out of action (III. 14). Manu also supports this cyclic law: 'The oblations thrown into the fire reach the sun, the sun causes rain, from rain grows food, and food sustains all beings.' (III. 76).

The idea of Yajña dominates the ancient Vedic literature, implying the Aryan point of view that the material welfare of man depends upon making friends with the different forces of nature. This *Cakra* or eternal cycle of

propitiating divine powers, and of in turn being propitiated by them, revolves on to mutual advantage and is an important factor in sustaining this Earth. The connecting link between gods and men is fire, *Havyavāh*, as it carries the offerings of men to gods. This link is present everywhere, ready to receive the mite of our selfless offering at each place and time. It is in earth, in plants, in waters, in stones, in men, in cattle, and in the rays of the sun.

(अग्निर्भूम्यामोषधीष्वग्निमापो बिभ्रत्यग्निरश्मसु । अग्निरन्तः पुरुषेषु गोष्वश्वेष्वग्नयः ॥ verse 19.

Another Mantra expresses the idea that the gods forever protect the land, without sleep and without falter (यां रक्षन्त्यस्वप्ना विश्वदानीं देवा भूमिं पृथिवीमप्रमादम्, verse 18), and that great lord Indra made it free from enemies because he thought it to be his own (इन्द्रो यां चक्र आत्मनेऽनमित्रां शचीपतिः, verse 10).

The poet then soars to a higher theme, a still finer and nobler conception of the motherland. She is the object of his love and worship, not only because she helps in his religious performances, but because above all she is the source of that immortal inspiration which has as its fountain-head the highest Being. Sons of the mother living thousands of years before were moved with the same divine spark of love for her as is experienced by the generations of today. Love of the land is an immortal virtue that does not grow less or fade with transitory objects. Men may come and men may go, yet the heart of the mother and the hearts of her sons remain fresh for ever, because the source from which each draws its inspiration exists eternally in the cosmic mind or in the highest heaven over us. The inspiration is felt alike in the midst of men and in wilderness. The vitality, unity and splendour in the *Rāṣtra* originate from the heart of the motherland:

यार्णवेऽधि सलिलमग्र आसीत् यां मायाभिरन्वचरन् मनीषिणः । यस्या हृदयं परमे व्योमन् सत्येनावृतममृतं पृथिव्याः । सा नो भूमिस्त्विषिं बलं राष्ट्रे दधातूत्तमे ॥ verse 8.

'She who was in the beginning submerged under the sea, whom the gods discovered with their prayers, whose heart, enveloped in truth and immortal, is established in the highest heaven, may that Earth bestow power and authority on the Supreme Rāshṭra' (verse 8).

The People and their relation to the Land

The existence of a living race in a country attached to its mountains and rivers, sandy wastes and watered plains is a prerequisite of history. The people mingle with the earth the feelings of their heart as they find the bounties of nature spread out before them for unrestricted use and undisputed enjoyment. So the poet first viewed the Land as one exclusively meant for the Aryans, the Dasyus finding no place in her (परा दस्यून् ददती, verse 37). She chose Indra of the Āryans in preference to Vṛtra of the Anāryans. The singer visualises before him the picture of an India in which Aryan gods are worshipped, Aryan rites and ceremonies performed, and

the Aryan culture predominates,—that is, a veritable Āryāvarta both in letter and in spirit. He visualises the descendants of Manu settled on the Land without over-crowding (असंबाधं बध्यतो मानवानाम्, verse 2) and prays : 'The extent of the Land should be stretched far and wide for us'. उरुं लोक पृथिवी नः कृणोतु, verse 1). 'May we continue to occupy a strong central position in the Land.' (यत्ते मध्य पृथिवि यच्च नभ्यं तासु नो धे धेहि, verse 12). 'May we be established on unfaltering feet, and live unconquered, unwounded and unharmed.' पद्भ्यां दाक्षिणसव्याभ्यां मा व्यथिष्महि भूम्यां, verse 28 ; अजीतोऽहतो अक्षतोऽध्यष्ठां पृथिवीमहम्, verse 11). Proudly does his heart, as that of a son of the motherland, pulsate at being conscious of the rare privilege of being one with the pioneers in the great and honourable process of the first land-taking or land-settlement :

अहमस्मि सहमान उत्तरो नाम भूम्याम् । अभीषाडस्मि विश्वाषाड् आशामाशां विषासहिः ॥

'Mighty am I, superior on this motherland of mine. Conquering am I, all-conquering, completely conquering in every direction.' (verse 54) In this elevated consciousness does the great truth reveal itself to him :

माता भूमिः पुत्रो अहं पृथिव्याः । (verse 12)

'Earth is the Mother ; I am the son of the Motherland.'

India of the poet had been the cradle of the Aryan race who for countless ages had been in possession of her. 'She is the mistress of our past and future' (सा नो भूतस्य भव्यस्य पत्नी, verse 1). In the days of yore did our ancestors defeat the Asuras here and achieve most wonderful things ; (यस्यां पूर्वे पूर्वजना विचक्रिरे यस्यां देवा असुरानभ्यवर्तयन्, verse 5). It is frankly admitted in this all-comprehensive hymn that the land is the home of diverse races, all enjoying equal liberties and rights, so that the diversity instead of proving to be a source of weakness only conduces to the might and solidarity of the nation. The unifying influence of the potent vibrations that arise out of the motherland is enormous (महान्वेग एजथुर्वेपथुष्टे, verse 18) and all differences of colour and speech without being the cause of mutual discord and animosity lose themselves in the concert of these forces. 'The land bears upon her, people speaking different languages, following different customs according to regional variations. She yields her produce to all without distinction in thousand-fold streams like an unfailing, unresisting milch cow :

जनं बिभ्रती बहुधा विवाचसं नाना धर्माणं पृथिवी यथौकसम् ।
सहस्रं धारा द्रविणस्य मे दुहां ध्रुवेव धेनुरनपस्फुरन्ती ॥

This unity and equality is emphasized in a very real manner when the poet speaks of the roads and high-ways of traffic being intended for the use of both the good and the evil, in perfect safety and freedom from the haunts of highwaymen and thieves ये ते पन्थानो बहवो जनायना ...यैः संचरन्त्युभये भद्रपापास्तं पन्थानं जयेमानमित्रमतस्करम् ॥ verse 47). These blessings of ordered, just and peaceful

life evoked the grateful prayer from a heart overflowing with devotion : "May my sight not fail me with advancing age, so that I could have a vision of you O Motherland for many more years to come with the sun as my friend."

The Eternal Mother.

The Prithvī-Sūkta puts before us the Vedic conception of the love of country. Patriotism according to it combines religion, philosophy, morality and everything else that is based on high principles of the spirit. It is here presented as a spiritual necessity, a thing indispensable for the completion of the law of the spirit. The Hindus lay equal emphasis on both matter and spirit, the outer and the inner man, the world celestial and the world human. He can view all things only in a spirit of friendliness with heaven that is in strict accordance with the laws of religion and morality. The Hindu mind is accustomed to think of earthly prosperity as bound by moral and religious laws. The poet while appreciating the beauty that is in the material splendour of the land, penetrates to the essential truth or Dharma that upholds her. 'She is supported by Dharma (धर्मणा धृतां, verse 17) and fixed on the stable rock of Truth, Law, Discipline, Knowledge and Sacrifice : (सत्यं बृहदृतमुग्रं तपो दीक्षा ब्रह्म यज्ञः पृथिवीं धारयन्ति, 1st mantra). Well established on this steady foundation (संभृता धृता, verse 26), the Motherland lives for all times (ध्रुवा).' She was there before the Aryans came to be in possession of her, and she shall ever be there even if the whole race were to forget her. Prior to her discovery both in the moral and material spheres she was submerged beneath the waters of the ocean यार्णवेऽधिसलिलमग्रआसीद्, verse 8) as a big mass of dust (रजसि प्रविष्टाम्, verse). But when the great Ṛṣis concentrated upon her with their miraculous powers of thought, she assumed form and became manifest as a loving, inspiring mother : (यां मायाभिरन्वचरन् मनीषिणः, verse 8 ; यदाविर्भोगेऽभवन्मातृमद्भ्यः, verse, 59). This form is revealed only to those who are MĀTṚMĀN, i.e. whose hearts are consecrated with the true devotion due to a mother.

A living reality for those who realise her, she is otherwise a mere gyrating orb devoid of the lustrous beauty which mind alone creates. The man who has obtained this wondrous vision of the motherland is her true son, worthy of the title *Mātṛmān*. His own land as compared to the vast globe sheltered under the sea is very small, but she is for him the epitome of the world, the whole Pṛthvī. He loves her without being exclusive, his heart opens out in wide embrace to welcome all living beings.

Besides discerning the spiritual basis of patriotism, the beautiful outer form of the Motherland is a thing to be praised and adored for its own sake. The charm of the concrete form is in no way less fascinating to the poet. He loves his country with a deep passionate love, singing the praises of her mountains (उद्वतः), rivers (प्रवतः), plains (समं बहु, verse 2), forests, animals

and minerals. These things invest the Land with beauty and value. Fixed permanently in their places, they provide us with contour lines for making immortal the traditions of our glorious past and for giving concrete touch to our historical associations.

The poet next speaks of the Land as the supplier of all our wants. Our food, water and every other article of human necessity comes out of the land, and therefore she is the natural object of devotion, not only of those who can take a philosophic view of things, but also of those whom material temptations alone can coax into love. The motherland is worthy of our choicest epithets, she is विश्वगर्भा and विश्वधायस, the container and sustainer of all. Again the Land is thought of as the nursery of the race. It is the home of many tribes (पञ्च मानवाः verse 15) speaking different tongues following different customs (जनं बिभ्रती बहुधा विवाचसं नानाधर्माणं पृथिवी यथौकसम्, verse 45). but all enjoying equal right of debate in assemblies, gatherings and councils याः सभा अधिभूम्याम् । ये संग्रामाः समितयस्तेषु चारु वदेम ते । verse 56). The highways are spoken of as thoroughfares thrown open for public use, without restriction and distinction (ये ते पन्थानो बहवो जनायनाः, यैः संचरन्त्युभये भद्रपापाः, verse 47). Every son of the mother is equally dear to her; she has to be the last resting place, both of the good and the evil, (मल्वं बिभ्रती गुरुभृद् भद्रपापस्य निधनं तितिक्षुः, verse 48).

This represents the essence and the highest ideal of tolerance prescribed for civic life. Its practice resulted in phenomenal amity between the diverse elements constituting the body-politic of the Hindu society. The different forces were welded together into a wide social system the members of which closed up their ranks in peace and in war and with one battle cry of beating drums they advanced, the descendants of Ilā and the descendants of Manu, against a common foe. (युद्धयन्ते यस्यामाक्रन्दो यस्यां वदति दुन्दुभिः, verse 41.)'

The motherland is also considered worthy of adoration as the place where our religious performances are carried out, the seat of resplendent national altars and sacrificial stakes, the abode where the thread of worship is spun out :

यस्यां वेदिं परिगृह्णन्ति भूम्यां यस्यां यज्ञं तन्वते विश्वकर्माणः ।
यस्यां मीयन्ते स्वरवः पृथिव्यामूर्ध्वाः शुक्रा आहुत्या पुरस्तात् । सा नो भूमिर्वर्धयद्वर्धमाना ॥
verse 13

This is a picture of the characteristic Vedic society, a cross-section from an age when Yajña was the nucleus of social, religious and intellectual expression.

Finally we may say that the land is the mother of all beings, she is verily the great mother—*Magna Mater* (मही माता), the giver of all that is wanted for the mind, body and soul. Only those who cherish such worthy feelings can love the Land with upright consciousness of her true greatness. Pure devotion, selfless and true spirit of service are pre-requisites of affection due to a mother. Those who have them they alone can serve the mother-

land. She made herself manifest for those who have this feeling. A true son wants that others also should render worship to his mother like him, and so a true patriot refrains from speaking or thinking ill of other countries. To those who have the eye of discernment the land is a spiritual entity; to others it is a mere clod of earth, without inspiration, without charm, without life. As the poet puts it in his own inimitable way : 'O Earth, thy smell permeates every man and woman, the youth and the maiden, the Gandharvas and the Apsaras : make me fragrant with that smell.' (Verses 24, 25).

We have seen how the Vedic poet starting from the appreciation of the natural scenery of the Land described her as the supplier of material wants, the abode of his religion, the cradle of his race and finally the inspiring mother of his countrymen. Love based on gross earthly things can disappear with the loss of those things. If any body were to love his country because it supplied him with wealth, that love would cease with his poverty. But patriotism rooted in the values of the spirit lasts much longer. Tagore has said in a kindred strain :

"I love India, not because I cultivate the idolatry of geography, not because I have had the chance of being born in her soil, but because she has saved through tumultuous ages the living words that have issued from the illumined consciousness of her great sons, सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं ब्रह्म, Brahma is Truth, Brahma is Wisdom, Brahma is infinite."

When in moments of spiritual exaltation gross worldly possessions cease to interest us, and material values no longer have their attraction, then also love of the Land waxes deeper and gains inspiration from our innermost ennobling thoughts. That is the sign of the higher culture of the soul. We then feel : May our Land, herself prospering, make us also prosper :

सा नो भूमिर्वर्धयद्वर्धमाना ॥

THE DAPHNE PAPER OF NEPAL

By

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One very striking fact about the history of paper making in Nepal is the high degree of technical excellence achieved in it by the country at a remarkably early age. At a time when Europe was raking her brain to find out the secrets of cheap paper with a view to meeting the growing demand for it among the civilised nations, Nepal had already learnt the art of transforming wood-pulp into paper and was flooding the Gangetic valley with an extensive supply of a very cheap writing material.

It is not easy to answer the question as to how and when the art of paper making was introduced in Nepal. Those in whose opinion the art was brought to India by the Mughals are inclined in favour of fixing a post Mughal date for this event. But there are certain difficulties in the way of accepting this theory. The researches of Sir Aurel Stein have definitely established that the industry was in a flourishing state in China and Central Asia as early as the 2nd century B.C.[1] Keeping, as India did in very intimate contact with these places, it seems highly unlikely that she could be completely ignorant of the art. There is one piece of positive evidence which shows that paper was in vogue in India long before the arrival of the Mughals. A 'letter-writer' by king Bhoja of Dhara proves its use in the Malaya country at least as early as the 11th century.[2] The earliest Ms. found in India cannot be dated later than A.D. 1223-4.[3] Even assuming the theory of 'Mughal origin' as true it will be difficult to prove any direct connexion between the Nepal paper and the Mughal Court. The special process by which the Nepalese produced their paper seems to have borne so little affinity to that followed in Kashmir and the Punjab, the two places where imperial patronage bore fruit, that it will be more to the point to trace the source of the Nepalese technique elsewhere than in the Delhi Court.

Is it not plausible that she derived her art directly from any outside people? We need only look at the peculiar ethnical, physiographical and political circumstances which determined the cause of her history and we shall cease to be struck by the suggestion. Ethnically and temperamentally

1. The oldest existing paper found by Stein is in the form of State-documents relating to the occurrences in the years 21-137 A.D. and apparently contemporary with the latest of these events. (Vide 'Invention of Printing' by Carter, p. 96).

2. R. L. Mitra's Notes, Gough's papers 16.

3. Buhler—Catalogue of MSS. from Gujarat etc. 1. 238 no. 147.

her people bears a closer resemblance to the Chinese and the Central Asiatic races rather than Indians, and her religion and arts bear deep Chinese and Central Asiatic impresses. Poised on natural bastions of the Himalayas, entered only by a few tortuous mountain passes, Nepal remained untouched by the main current of events that shaped the general history of India. But forming the southern extremity of a natural thoroughfare that penetrates into the heart of China, she could not maintain her isolation from that country, and to the constant intercourse with China must be attributed the general character of Nepalese arts and crafts. We have it from history that the establishment of Buddhism in China almost synchronised with its decline in India. It is only natural that Buddhist Nepal turned to the celestial Empire for religious and aesthetic inspiration. The succeeding centuries tended still further to narrow the intercourse between the valley and the Hindustan, until finally in 1204 A.D. the disused doorway was hermetically sealed by the Muslim conquest of Bengal and Bihar. From this time, religiously and aesthetically Nepal ceased to have any sympathies with India and became more closely attached to China. Must we then wonder if it be suggested that it was from China that paper made its way into Nepal? Strangely enough Mr. B. H. Hodgson whose writings on Nepal may be regarded as authentic is inclined to favour this view. 'I conjecture,' he says in his account of the Nepalese paper, 'that the art of paper-making was got by the Cis-Himalayan Bhoteahs via. Lhasa from China,[4] a paper of the very same sort being manufactured at Lhasa; and most of the useful arts of these regions having flowed upon them through Tibet from China; and not from Hindustan.'

The same writer is of the opinion that the industry was established in Nepal sometime during the 14th century. The reason which encouraged him to form this opinion may be summed up in his own words. Writing about 1831, he remarks "the Nepalese say that any of their books now existent which is made of palmyra leaves, may be safely pronounced on that account to be 500 years old: whence we may, perhaps, infer that the paper manufacture was founded about that time."[5] But the fallacy in Mr. Hodgson's argument consists in his failure to recognise the possibility of the vogue of both palmyra leaf and paper at one and the same time. It is a well-known fact that the introduction of paper did not necessitate the disappearance of the palm-leaf from the field of writing. So the existence of a palm leaf Ms. at a certain date does not preclude the possibility of paper remaining in use before that date. Moreover, assuming the theory of the Chinese origin of the Nepal paper to be true, it will be reasonable to place the foundation of the art rather in a period in which points of contact between China and Nepal

4. Pol. O. C. 13 Jany. 1832 no. 19.

5. Pol. O. C. See supra.

were many and intimate than the 14th century when intercourse between the two countries had lost all its intensity. In view of the above fact we shall be quite justified in assigning the introduction of the industry somewhere between the 7th and the 9th centuries, the very period when Chinese influences impressed themselves most deeply on Nepalese culture and civilisation.

We are however almost in the dark about the early history of the industry. Dr. Campbell who resided in Nepal for considerable time asserts in one of his letters[6] written in 1837 that the local Pandits and other persons in the habit of sacred writings assured him that "copies of books made on preserved Nepal paper, 400 years ago were still extant; and that the material was in perfect preservation." If any credence can be given to this, it must be admitted that the industry of paper making was in a thriving condition in the 15th century. Even if we dismiss this piece of evidence as mere heresay account, we cannot possibly treat in the same way a testimony offered by Dr. Campbell himself. He refers to a Sanskrit work which he inspected, the date of transcription of which was Sambat 1744 corresponding to A.D. 1687, and attests that it was in a perfect state of preservation, "having all the time withstood the ravages of insects and the wear and tear of use."[7] This proves conclusively that the Nepalese had attained a very high degree of excellence in the art of paper-making at least as early as the 17th century. On the condition of the industry in the 19th century, contemporary records of the Foreign and Political Department yield very interesting information. Writing in December 1831, Mr. B. H. Hodgson remarks "the paper of Nepal is very cheap and can be had in large quantities. As ordinarily prepared it is smooth enough to write on and it is from the uncommon toughness of the fibre of the plant which yields the material for making it, as well as from the little injury done to the texture of the fibre in the process of manufacture, as firm and durable as parchment. The manufactured paper of Nepal is, for office records incomparably better than any Indian paper being as strong and durable as leather and almost quite smooth to write upon."[8] Dr. Campbell fully endorses Mr. Hodgson's opinion in one of his letters to Mr. T. C. Scott, Deputy Secretary to Government (dated Nov. 15. 1837). He says: "the fibre of Nepal paper is so tough that a sheet doubled on itself can scarcely be torn with the fingers. The paper is so pliable, elastic and durable that it does not wear at the folds during twenty years; whereas English paper, especially, when eight or ten sheets are folded into one packet, does not stand keeping in this state uninjured for more than four or five years. I have now before me some records of this office, kept on Nepal paper of 1817, as fresh at the folds, as even at the edges, and in every particular as

6. *Transaction of the Agri Horticultural Society*, Vol. V.
7. *Transaction of Agri Horticultural Society*, Vol. V.
8. Pol. O. C. See supra.

undamaged as the newest sheet of papers to be had at Cathmandu. There are other records of the same date on English foolscap, which have been similarly lodged and looked after, the edges of which are completely worn through. A period of twenty years, however, is nothing to boast of in estimating the comparative durability of materials for public records, and far less is it worth mentioning in enumeration of the qualities of the Nepal paper. The natives of this country (Nepal) universally assert that the paper remains for 300 or 400 years unscathed by time or the ravages of insects. I believe that the Nepal paper may be considered as a safe material for committing records to for at least 100 years; and probably, for twice that time... As to the relative fitness of the Nepal paper for all office and stationery purposes, as well as parcel packing, box papering and every other purpose requiring durability, hardness of fibre, and exemption from the attacks of insects, there cannot, I believe, be a moment's doubt, that the Nepal paper is *an incomparably superior article not only to Indian but to any other known paper*."[9] Dr. Royle expresses the opinion that this paper was remarkable for both its toughness and smoothness. Some of it being sent to England in the form of bricks of half-stuff previous to the year 1829 was made into paper by hand. An engraver to whom it was given for trial is said to have stated that 'it afforded finer impressions than any English made paper, and nearly as good as the fine Chinese paper which is employed for what are called Indian paper-proofs.'[10]

The paper was generally manufactured from the inner barks of the species of Daphne. The plant most evidently used was Daphne cannabina, but it appears that other members or species of the same genus like Daphne involucrata, Daphne mezereum, Daphne oleoides etc. were also in use. Dr. Gimlelte in his account of paper making names another plant named *Edgeworthia gardneri* Meissn. and is of the opinion that the paper made from that plant is superior to that from Daphne cannabina. The figures of analysis published by Messrs. Gross Beran and King regarding *Edgeworthia* seems to confirm this view in a remarkable manner. Their analysis is as follows:— Moisture 13.6 p.c., ash. 3.9; loss by hydrolysis for 5 minutes in Soda alkali 21.6; for one hour 34.7; amount of cellulose 58.5 p.c.; mercerising 16.5 p.c. increase of weight on nitration 126; loss by acid purification 8.3; amount of carbon 41.8 p.c. These chemists however do not supply us with a similar analysis of the Daphne plant though they place it at the bottom of the list of Indian plants, since it possesses in their opinion the lowest amount of cellulose namely 22.3 p.c.[11] But a discussion of the relative merits of the two plants is not possible since we have the complete figures in one case.

9. *Transaction of Agri-Horticultural Society*, Vol. V.
10. *The Fibrous Plants of India* by Dr. J. Forbes Royle, M.D., F.R.S. (1855), p. 311.
11. *Dictionary of Economic Products*, Vol. III, pp. 20-26.

It is however to be noted that practical experience is in direct opposition to the verdict of the chemists that percentage of cellulose is the only safe criterion of the merits of a fibre as being used as a paper-material. There seems to be little room for doubt that the Daphne species in many respects are the best of Indian paper-materials, and it will not be reasonable to disregard this fact simply because the cellulose theory encourages us to hold a contrary view. It is not moreover certain that the chemical process by which the properties of the Dalphne fibre was examined was highly satisfactory. It is not improbable that treatment in a strong boiling alkali and under high pressure removed from the fibre those very properties which were essential to its strength as paper-material. This surmise gains additional strength when we consider the fact that the process by which the hill-tribes manufacture their Daphne paper is characterised by the very slight amount of alkali necessary to produce the pulp. A crude alkaline ash, with the boiling conducted for only half an hour and in an open vessel is all that is necessary.[12]

An attempt has been made to explain this riddle by holding that past writers who ascribed the high merits of the Nepal paper to Daphne cannabina were all in error as to the material actually used for the paper.[13] It may not be improbable that *Edgeworthia gardneri*, about the merits of which there is no difference of opinion, was the plant which has always been used for the manufacture of this paper. But while admitting that the finest varieties of the Nepal paper may have been made from this plant, we fail to see how this plant which is of comparatively rare growth than Daphnes alone could have yielded the total quantity of paper needed by the Gangetic valley and the hill territories. This plant is found only in Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Manipur and only between the altitudes of 4,000 and 9,000 feet whereas the Daphne cannabina may be found everywhere on the Himalaya from the Indus to Bhutan and between altitudes of 3,000 to 10,000 feet, as well as on the Khasia and the Naga Hills.[14]

The contributor of the article on paper in the Encyclopædia Britannica (11th Edition) offers three tests as to the usefulness of a plant for good white paper viz: (1) the strength and elasticity of its fibres, (2) the proportion of cellular tissue contained in them, (3) the ease with which this can be freed from the encrusting and inter-cellular matters. There may be some doubt as to the successful application of the second test to the Daphne plant. But all writers agree in expressing their complete satisfaction so far as the two other conditions are concerned. Dr. Cleghorn is of the opinion that the fibre is capable of being cleaned of woody integument and epidermis so easily that even women and boys can manage the manipulation. The same writer

12. *Dictionary of Economic Products* Vol. 111. p. 23.
13. Ibid. p. 24.
14. Brandies—For. Floras pp. 386, 577.
Gamble—Catalogue of trees, shrubs, and climbers of Darjeeling, p. 67.

pronounces the paper yielded by the fibre to be not only 'strong' but also 'supple', which can be explained by the strength and suppleness of the fibre itself.[15] 'It (the Daphne fibre) is of such tenacity' says he 'that the paper can be made very thin and yet of surprising strength and durability.'

But evidence of a more positive nature can be adduced in support of the view that Daphne was actually used as paper material. Dr. Campbell used this fibre in his experimental paper-factory at Darjeeling, and found it quite satisfactory. Dr. George Watt in his article on the Nepal Paper Plant states that some 40 miles north of Simla he came across a party 'carrying loads of Daphne bark and was told that it was being carried to the east where it was made into paper.'[16] The word 'East' evidently refers to Nepal. That the bark above mentioned was of the Daphne plant and not of *Edgeworthia gardneri* may be easily inferred from the fact that the latter flora does not grow west of Nepal. The statement thus establishes beyond doubt the extensive use of the Daphne fibre for the manufacture of paper. If Mr. Baden Powell is to be believed, some samples of Daphne fibre were sent to Europe and a fine letter paper admirably suited for foreign post was prepared from them.[17] Writing in 1911 Dr. Daniel Wright and Major General Henry Wylie, C. S. I. observe that paper made of the inner bark of the Daphne plant was one of the principal manufactures of Nepal about that time.[18]

What exactly the original process of paper-making in Nepal was cannot be definitely known. But the letter of Mr. Hodgson already referred to contains a very interesting account of the method widely pursued in the 19th century which we may be permitted to reproduce below :—

For the manufacture of the Nepalese paper, the following implements are necessary, but a very rude construction of them suffices for the end in view.

1st. A stone mortar, of shallow and wide cavity, or a large block of stone, slightly, but smoothly excavated.

2nd. A mallet or pestle of hard wood, such as oak, and size proportioned to the mortar, and to the quantity of boiled rind of the paper plant which it is desired to pound into pulp.

3rd. A basket of close wicker work, to put the ashes in and through which water will pass, only drop by drop.

4th. An earthern vessel or receiver, to receive the juice of the ashes after they have been watered.

15. *Handbook of the Manufactures and Arts of the Punjab*, Vol. III, p. 80.
16. *Dictionary of the Economic Products of India*, Vol. III, p. 22.
17. Baden-Powell, p. 82.
18. *Encyclopœdia Britannica*, 11th edition, p. 380.

5th. A metallic open-mouthed pot, to boil the rind of the plant in. It may be of iron, or copper, or brass, indifferently ; an earthen one would hardly bear the requisite degree of fire.

6th. A sieve, the reticulation of the bottom of which is wide and open, so as to let all the pulp pass through it, save only the lumpy parts of it.

7th. A frame, with stout wooden-sides, so that it will float well in water, and with a bottom of cloth, only so porous, that the meshes of it will stay all the pulp, even when dilated and diffused in water ; but will let the water pass off, when the frame is raised out of the cistern ; the operator must also have the command of a cistern of clear water, plenty of fire-wood, ashes of oak (though I fancy other ashes might answer as well) a fire-place, however rude, and lastly, a sufficient quantity of slips of the inner bark of the paper tree, such as is peeled off the plant by the paper-makers, who commonly use the peelings when fresh from the plant ; but that is not indispensable. With these "appliances and means to boot," suppose you take four seers of ashes of oak ; put them into the basket above mentioned, place the earthen receiver or vessel beneath the basket, and then gradually pour five seers of clear water upon the ashes, and let the water drip slowly through the ashes, and fall into the receiver. This juice of ashes must be strong, or a dark like red colour, and in quantity about 2 lbs. and if the first filtering yield not such a produce, pass the juice through the ashes a second time. Next, pour this extract of ashes into the metal pot, already described and boil the extract ; and so soon as it begins to boil, throw into it as many slips or peelings of the inner bark of the paper plant as you can easily grasp ; each slip being about a cubit long, and an inch wide ; (in fact, the quantity of the slip of bark should be to the quantity of juice of ashes, such that the former shall float freely in the latter, and that the juice shall not be absorbed and evaporated with less than half an hour's boiling). Boil the slip for about half an hour, at the expiration of which time the juice will be nearly absorbed, and the slip quite soft. Then take the softened slip and put them into the stone mortar, and beat them with the oaken mallets, till they are reduced to a homogeneous or uniform pulp, like so much dough. Take this pulp, put it into any wide-mouthed vessel, add a little pure water to it, and churn it with a wooden instrument like a chocolate mill, for ten minutes, or until it loses all stringiness, and will spread itself out, when shaken about under water. Next, take as much of this prepared pulp as will cover your paper frame, (with a thicker or thinner coat, according to the strength of the paper you need), toss it into such a sieve as I have described, and lay the sieve upon the paper frame, and let both sieve and frame float in the cistern : agitate them, and the pulp will spread itself over the sieve ; the grosser and knotty parts of the pulp will remain in the sieve, but all the rest of it will ooze through into the frame. Then put away the sieve, and taking the frame in your left

hand as it floats in the water, shake the water and pulp smartly with your right hand, and the pulp will readily diffuse itself in an uniform manner over the bottom of the frame. When it is thus properly diffused, raise the frame out of the water, easing off the water in such manner, that the uniformity of the pulp spread, shall continue after the frame is clear of the water and the paper is made.

To dry it, the frame is set endwise, near a large fire ; and so soon as it is dry, the sheet is peeled off the bottom of the frame and folded up. When (which seldom is the case) it is deemed needful to smooth and polish the surface of the paper, the dry sheets are laid on wooden boards and rubbed, with the convex entire side of the conch-shell ; or in case of the sheets of paper being large, with the flat surface of a large rudder of hard and smooth grained wood ; no sort of size is ever needed or applied, to prevent the ink from running. It would, probably, surprise the paper-makers of England, to hear that the Kachar Bhoteahs can make up this paper into fine smooth sheets of several yards square.[18a] A few words need to be said with regard to the geographical distribution of the manufacturies of the Nepal paper. Mr. B. H. Hodgson is inclined to think that the name of the paper has no reference to the place of its manufacture. "Though called Nepalese," says he, "the paper is not in fact made in Nepal proper. It is manufactured exclusively in Cis-Himalayan Bhote, and by the race of Bhoteahs, denominated (in their own tongue) Rangbo, in contra-distinction to the Trans-Himalayan Bhoteahs... Most of the Cis-Himalayan Bhoteahs east of the Kali River make the Nepalese paper ; but the greatest part of it is manufactured in the tract above Nepal proper, and the best market for it is afforded by the Nepalese people ; hence probably it derived its name... The manufacturies are mere sheds established in the midst of the immense forest of Cis-Himalayan Bhote ; which affords to the paper-makers an inexhaustible supply, on the very spot of the firewood and ashes, which they consume so largely : abundance of clear water (another requisite) is likewise procurable everywhere in the same region."[19] Mr. Atkinson only echoes Mr. Hodgson when he observes that the paper "is manufactured exclusively by the tribes inhabiting Cis-Himalayan Bhote, known as Murmis, Lepchas etc. or generically as Rongbo."[20] But it is just possible that the opinion of both the writers is based upon insufficient observation. Dr. Campbell refers to two Nepalese villages where paper-manufacture was in a highly flourishing state, and which produced the two finest varieties of the Nepal paper. He observes that the "paper" called Kimchat is reckoned the best ; the

18a. The pulp is dried and made up into the shape of bricks or tiles, for the convenience of transport. In this form it is admirably adapted for transmission to England.

19. Pol. O. C., no. 19 Jany. 13, 1832.

20. Atkinson—*Himalayan Districts*, pp. 378, 795-97.

manufacture of Dholoka is considered the second best.[21] Kimchat lies 20 miles west of Cathmandoo and Dholoka 30 miles east of the place. The two places at the time of Mr. Campbell's stay in Nepal were entirely inhabited by paper-makers. The fact that these two villages supplied the two finest varieties of the paper with their names confirms us in our conclusion that Nepal has greater claim to be proud of her excellence in the art of paper-making than her sister kingdom. We are told that the common size of the sheet of Kimchat paper was two feet long by 19 inches; and that of the Dholoka being somewhat less. But both sorts could be had to order of any dimensions, upto 30 feet long by twelve broad. These papers were procurable at Cathmandu in any quantity. What better proof could be adduced in support of the extraordinary skill of the Nepalese in manufacturing paper?

All writers who have left any account of the Nepal paper agree in observing that it once commanded a very extensive market. We are told by Dr. Hodgson that Kathmandu itself consumed a great quantity, but a much greater quantity was annually exported southwards to Hindusthan and Northwards to Sokya-Gumba, Digarchi and other places in Tremountane Bhote."[22] "It was invariably used" says a 19th century writer "all over Kumayun and was in great request in many parts of the plains for the purpose of writing *Misubnamahs* or genealogical records and deeds."[23] Dr. Campbell mentions the following markets for the article:—Patna, Kessarish in Sarun, Janikpoor, Darbhanga in Tirhoot, Poorneah, Govindgunge, Alligunge in Sarun, Nichloul and Lorun in Gorukpoor, and Toolsipoor, Bulrampoor, and Tandah in Oude.[24] According to Mr. Watt, the paper could be purchased throughout the greater part of India even as late as the Nineties of the 19th century.[25]

Something may also be learnt from the accounts left by different writers regarding the prices of the paper in different parts of India. About the time of Mr. Hodgson's stay at the Nepal Court, the paper sold at Cathmandu at 12 annas sicca per *dharni* of 3 seers and the bricks of the dried pulp at a price ranging between 8 to 10 annas sicca per *dharni*. Dr. Campbell reported in 1837 that the price then varied from 160 sheets per Nepalese rupee to 400; or from 9 to 13 Company's Rupee per maund. He estimated the cost of transport of the article from Nepal to Patna at about 1 Rupee 12 annas per maund, but the price there was almost equal to the Kathmandu price. Dr. Campbell explained the apparent paradox by the circumstance of these being a monopoly of the sale of paper kept up at Cathmandu by the Government whereas much of the paper reaching

21. *Transactions of Agri-Horticultural Society*, Vol. V.
22. Pol. O. C. no. 19. Jany. 13, 1832.
23. *Dictionary of the Economic Products of India*, Vol. III. p. 20.
24. *Transaction of the Agri-Horticultural Society.* Vol. V.
25. See 23 above.

Patna was exported from the hill manufacturies direct to the plains. The enormous demand for good quality paper among scholars and other men with reading habit partly explains the extensive nature of the market commanded by the Nepal paper. We have it on the authority of Dr. Campbell that the paper was held in high favour for all uses except that of letter writing, being most economical. But Mr. Baden Powell testifies to the possibility of a very thin and fine letter paper admirably suited for foreign post being prepared from the Daphne plant. He himself saw a specimen of this light paper which could only be torn with the greatest difficulty. Dr. Cleghorn also asserts that the paper can be made very thin and yet of surprising strength and durability.

But the use of the paper was not limited to the literary field only. Reference has already been made to its fitness for parcel-packing, box-papering and other rough uses. Dr. Campbell considered it much better adapted for packing medicines in, than any of the Indian papers or even the blue or brown paper of England used at the general dispensary at Calcutta for the purpose about the time he wrote. He also gathered from Dr. Davies of Patna that the paper was far preferable to any other in the manufacture of cold drawn castor oil, and that the latter used several maunds a month of it in this operation, the tenacity of its fibre preventing shreds of it from mixing with the oil, as was unavoidable when using the soft paper made from cloth or other less durable material than the inner bark of the paper tree from which the Nepal article was manufactured.

The same writer tells us that the Nepal paper was sometimes used as a lining to house roofs. The post office at Katmandu was thus lined presenting according to him a cleanly durable and pleasing canopy. The paper was laid on the rafters with the common floor paste. It was used as a cheap and efficient substitute suitable for wax cloth in the packing of letter mails and *bhangy* parcels for despatch by dak. This wax paper, he tells us, 'was prepared in a manner similar to wax cloth.' He himself used it for dak purposes but never heard a complaint against "wet mails" even in the height of the rainy season.

But the paper was not always used in its plain manufactured state. It is worth while to note that the Nepalese resorted to a very efficient method of prolonging the durability of the article. Dr. Campbell has collected the following outline of the method of preserving the Nepal paper which may prove to be of interest to all archivists:—

"To preserve 100 sheets of Kimchat paper, (two feet by eighteen inches) and have it of a straw colour, take two pounds of rice, and pound it well in eight or ten pounds of cold water; when the feculum has subsided, strain off the superincumbent solution, and place it on a brisk fire for ten or fifteen minutes, stirring it all the time from the bottom. When cool, give a coating of it with the hand to one side of the sheets of paper, hanging them in

the air (shaded from the sun) until dry: when quite dry, and you wish to colour and preserve one side only of the paper, give the other side a coating as before of the rice water, in which has been previously dissolved the following ball of arsenic—then, dry in the air as before. Take of the yellow oxide of arsenic (*Harital* of all the Indian bazars) 180 grains, (1 tola) and of the red sulphuret of arsenic (Munsil or *Munsila* of the Indian bazars) 180 grains; grind them carefully on a marble slab, or in a mortar, and when finely comminuted, form into a ball to be used as above. When a deep orange colour is wanted, and the object is to secure the paper most effectually from insects, the solution of rice is to be made somewhat stronger, and the quantity of both kinds of arsenic is to be doubled—thus, for 100 sheets, take 360 grains of the *Harital*, and the same of the *Munsila*. I have examined some books, the copying of 200 years date—the paper of which had been arsenicated in the latter mode, and found them damaged only to a very trifling extent by some insect (supposed to be a bug) but the texture of the paper, save where actually cut by the insect, was quite sound.

For papering trunks, this mode of preservation might be advantageously adopted. The paper so treated, however, has a disagreeable smell; and besides, it is not a settled question among the people who use it, how much of the practice is referable to fashion and taste, and how much to the object of guarding against insects: many persons assert, that *without* the arsenication the paper will last just as well as *with it*. Yellow paper is the fashionable style for transcripts of the sacred writings, without direct reference to the preservative powers of the arsenic. I am, however, inclined to think, that the arsenication is quite as useful as it is ornamental. The common objection among Englishmen to the use of Nepal paper is its roughness, compared with Indian and English paper. As sold in the bazars on a large scale this is valid, but it admits of being made as smooth as is necessary, and is so smoothed to a considerable extent here, previous to use.

The rice water prepared as above, is applied to the paper and then dried; all that is required to give the paper a gloss and polish, is to rub it well with a glass bottle, or a smooth stone, or even a piece of close grained wood, when it becomes as even as need be. The coloured, preserved, and polished paper, costs nearly what the plain article is noted at.

European interest in this paper may be stated to have originated in Lord Auckland's enquiry regarding it in the year 1837. But it had attracted the notice of English officials even before that date. We find from one of the records that on the 8th December 1831, Mr. B. H. Hodgson, then Resident at Khatmandu sent to Mr. H. T. Prinsep, Secretary to the Governor General some specimens of the Nepal paper for presentation to Lord William Bentinck.[26] In his letter to Mr. Prinsep, Mr. Hodgson regretted

26. Pol. O. C. No. 19 Jany. 13, 1832.

the evil of using 'common paper of Hindusthan as office records and highly recommended its complete substitution by the Nepal paper.' "I believe" he wrote "the Nepal paper needs only to be known to be very generally adopted in the plains for office records. These records are now committed to the common paper of Hindusthan, than which few substances are more perishable; and I suppose the loss of public records consequent upon the decay of the paper to which they are committed must be deemed a great evil. So I consider it one which might be prevented by the substitution of paper of Nepal for that of the plains." After pointing out the cheapness, durability and superior quality of the paper as also the success with which it had been adopted in some offices in the plains he expresses his opinion that the adoption of the paper for such records as it was peculiarly desirable to preserve was as expedient as feasible. To remove the difficulty of the relative scarcity of the paper in the plains, he recommended to the Government that the people of Kumayun who had plenty of the paper plant at their disposal should be entrusted with the art of paper-making. Dr. Campbell who was Assistant Resident of Nepal for some time showed himself to be equally interested in the matter. He fully endorsed the opinion of Mr. Hodgson and wrote a letter to Mr. Scott, Deputy Secretary to Government (Nov. 15, 1837) pointing out the advantage to be derived from the replacement of the paper of the plains by the Nepal paper in all Government offices.[27] Finding that there might be difficulties in the way of purchasing the article owing to the monopoly held over it by the Nepalese court, he made the following suggestion: "In the event of our Government directing the use of Nepal paper in all the offices of the plains, where it could be had at less cost than Indian paper and of its substitution for English and Indian paper and for permanent records, the requisite quantity could be purchased here annually during the rains and forwarded to the Ganges during the four cold months. But, with reference to the existing monopoly here (in Nepal) and such other obstacles as might be possibly put in the way of purchase by the Durbar or its agents, of the article in large quantity, I would recommend trusting to the markets of Patna, Kessariah in Sarun, Tanikpoor, Darbhanga in Tirhoot, and Poorneah, for such supply as might be wanted for Bengal; and to those of Govindgunge and Alligunge, in Sarun, Nichloul and Lohun in Gorakpur, Toolsipoor, Bulrampoor, and Tandah in Oude for what might be required for the Central and Western Provinces."

The recommendation of Dr. Campbell and Mr. Hodgson did not fail to impress the British Government. To meet their own needs they decided to open an experimental factory for the manufacture of paper from the Nepalese bark and Dr. Campbell, then Superintendent of Darjeeling, was

27. *Transaction of Agri-Horticultural Society*, Vol. V.

entrusted with the task. A factory accordingly was opened at Darjeeling in 1841. About the mode he adopted for the manufacture of paper he writes to Mr. G. A. Bushby,[28] Secretary to the Government of India (Political Department) as follows :—

"I found that the wire gauze sieves furnished by the Military Board of considerable use in enabling one to make a smoother paper and I regard the use of these sieves as a great improvement on the native method of preparing the pulp. The dingy colour of the paper depended much on the dark colour of the solution of potass used to dissolve the bark. With a view to making a white paper, I had the alkaline solution clarified by passing it repeatedly through washed sand. By this means it was *procured of* a very light straw colour and the paper produced by its use was many shades lighter than any I had previously succeeded in procuring.

Mr. T. Maddock, Secretary to the Governor-General (Political Department), sent in the year 1841, to Dr. W. B. O'shanghuessy, M.D., Chemical Examiner, for the purpose of bleaching two sample packages of the paper manufactured by Dr. Campbell. The samples were not however sufficiently white in colour. The following account[29] of his bleaching process is given by Dr. O'shanghuessy himself :—"The process consists essentially in using a solution of chlorine in water instead of chloride of lime generally employed. The lime of the latter with the colouring matter of the Darjeeling paper forms a substance very difficultly bleached but which yields at once to the simple watery solution."

"The materials employed are red lead[30] (350 grains), common salt (60 grains), sulphuric acid ($\frac{1}{4}$ fluid ounce), water (8 fluid ounces). These proportions are observed on any scale and instead of strong sulphuric acid a proportionately larger quantity of the weak acid abundantly manufactured in Calcutta may be employed."

The experimental paper-factory of Dr. Campbell at Darjeeling continued to work upto the 16th April, 1842 when it was closed by him, for the reason that he found it uneconomical to run the factory "unless the rude machinery of the country hitherto employed were changed for better and more expensive factory gear."[31]

An endeavour was made by the Military Board (Stationery Department) to have the paper-making industry renewed by Dr. Campbell at

28. Political O. C. 11 May, 1842, No. 70.
29. Political O. C, 29 Nov. 1841. No. 147.
30. Red lead is a common and cheap bazar article whose usual price is Rs. 8-4-0 per maund of 80 lbs. One great advantage in having recourse to this process is that it avoids the necessity of using the Oxide of manganese which is not found in the bazars. (Political O. C. 29 Nov. 1841, No. 147).
31. Letter to Mr. G. A. Bushby, 21st April, 1842. Political O. C. 11 May, 1842 No. 70.

Darjeeling. But he again objected to it on the ground of economy. "That at the present high rate of the wages of ordinary labour at Darjeeling, the paper from the barks of the *Daphne cannabina* cannot probably be made at a lower rate than Rs. 10 to 15 per ream, each sheet being 2 feet by 18 inches and calculated to make four letter-envelops." Dr. Campbell continued :—"It may be desirable to renew paper-making at Darjeeling for various reasons but at present I doubt that it would be profitable to do so."

From the preceding account it will be clear that Government made anything but a fair trial of the scheme, and its failure may reasonably be attributed to the lukewarmness of the high officials. It was essential for the success of the scheme that it should have been organised scientifically and put on a rationalised basis. But rightly or wrongly Government thought otherwise and the experiment ended in a hopeless failure.

The question which now remains to be discussed is whether the dying industry can be resuscitated under modern conditions and can be kept in a thriving state against the keen competition of machine made paper. The problem is not easy to solve and demands careful deliberation from experts. One thing however is certain. The days of hand-made paper are not over as some sponsors of complete mechanisation of industries would have us believe. So great an archivist as Hilary Jenkinson boldly expresses the opinion that hand-made papers are best for the purpose of records.[32] The contributor to the article on paper in Encyclopædia Britannica recognises that hand-made paper is indispensable for all special purposes such as bank note ledger, drawing or other high class paper—in one word in cases where great durability is the chief requisite.[33] So it is quite feasible that the hand-made Daphne paper may well exist side by side with machine-made rag- or wood-paper since the demand for the former has not been completely obliterated by the appearance of the latter.

The only cogent objection that may be raised against the use of the plant as a paper material is that of the chemist according to whom the rag-made paper is the best of its kind and the Daphne bark is chemically very poor. But experience tells us that so far as India is concerned, rag-made paper is highly inferior to the Daphne-paper. And before accepting the verdict of the chemist on the relative virtues of different raw materials for paper as gospel truth, we shall do well to bear in mind the warning pronounced by Mr. Jenkinson. "We should also while counselling the archivist to make the fullest use of any advice that the chemist can give him warning in regard to modern materials that no laboratory test can tell us what the effect of time will be on materials." The same writer observes that "good rag paper from Europe may, without any special mal-

32. Hilary Jenkinson—*A Manual of Archive Administration,* p. 159.
33. The article on *Paper Encyclopædia Britannica,* 11th edition.

treatment, decay in an extraordinary way if exposed to tropical climate. He himself admits that actual experience encouraged him to form this opinion."[34]

There is moreover one practical objection to the extensive use of rags for paper-making. The supply of rags is entirely uncertain, and there is often a corresponding uncertainty in the quality of the paper due to the uneven proportions of the mixture of materials.[35] It goes without saying that in the case of the Daphne paper a greater amount of certainty as to the supply of materials and uniformity in quality may be assured.

That there is ample scope for the development of the Daphne fibre as a raw material even for large-scale paper-making may be easily inferred from the extensive market for foreign paper as well as for foreign paper-material in India. The total import of paper in 1934-35 was 2,938,000 cwts valued at Rs. 2,73 lakhs as against the total aggregate production of the Indian Mills amounting to 892,000 cwts. a lamentably low figure. The import of wood pulp amounted in the same year to 19,000 tons valued at Rs. 26 lakhs.[36] The figures will conclusively prove what a vast field for the development of an important industry is still lying in India—a field which has hitherto been completely neglected. It is for experts to explore this field more deeply and to find out the possibilities, if any, of building up a big nationalist paper-making industry with a view to make India dependent on none but herself for her writing material.

34. Hilary Jenkinson—*A Manual of Archive Administration.*
35. *Paper-making in the Bombay Presidency*—R. T. F. Kirk, I. C. S. p. 9.
36. *Review of the Trade of India,* 1935-36.

BURMESE RECORDS CORROBORATE THE PURANIC DATE OF BUDDHA'S BIRTH

By

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1. There is a well-known verse in the Bṛhat-Saṁhitā of Varāhamihira about the Saptarshis (The Great Bear constellation) having been in a line with Magha Nakshatra when, at the close of the Mahabharata War, King Yudhiṣṭhira reigned at Hastināpur. It has proved to be a Delphic Oracle, as it has lent itself to several interpretations. (Bri. Sam., Chap. 13, verse 3). It runs thus :

> Āsan Maghāsu munayaḥ. śasati prithvīm Yudhiṣṭhire nṛpatau ;
> Shad drika pañca dvi yutah śaka kālah tasya rājanyasca.

There are two distinct statements made here. The first line tells us that the Great Bear was in alignment with the asterism of Makhā whose yoga-tara is Regulus. The astronomical implications of this statement have been discussed by me in my article on the Puranic interpretation of the Saptarshi cycle contributed to the *Gangānātha Jha Research Institute Journal,* Allahabad, (Vol. I). Kalhaṇa in his *Rajataraṅgiṇī* and Bhatotpāla in his commentary on the Bṛhat Saṁhitā have interpreted the second line to mean that King Yudhiṣṭhira lived 2526 years prior to the commencement of the Sālivāhana Śaka in A.D. 78. This assigns the date B.C. 2449-2448 to Yudhiṣṭhira, by which time 53 years of the Kali Yuga had already passed. Bhatotpāla quotes a verse of Vriddha Garga in support of the first statement, but not of the second. In verse *two,* Varāhamihira tells us that his exposition of the Saptarshi Cycle follows the lines laid down by Vriddha Garga. For several reasons, the second statement could not have been made by Vriddha Garga himself. There are at least three Gargas mentioned in Samskrit literature. The first Garga was the person to whom Śrī Rama gave away his wealth just before starting for the forest. (Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, Sarga 32). He must have been the formulator of the Garga Trirātra sacrifice described in the seventh Kāṇda of the Krishṇa Yajurveda. (T. S. vii, 1-5). As pointed out by P. C. Sen Gupta in his article on Hindu Astronomy in the *Ramakrishna Centenary Volume,* (Vol. 3) Vriddha Garga was a contemporary of the Pāṇḍavas and a great astronomer. He was visited by Balarama during his pilgrimage at the time of the battle. (*Mahābhārata,* Tīrthayātra Parva, Śalya Parv, Chap. 37, verses 15-18). He seems to have been the earliest commentator on the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa cycle of five years, and has been extensively

cited by Somakara, Varāhamihira, Bhatotpala, S. B. Dikshit and other astronomers. It is therefore clear that the second statement in the verse of Varāhamihira cannot be attributed to him. There was the third Garga, the astrologer, who has been assigned to the earlier half of the first century B.C. by Dr. Kern in his introduction to the Bṛhat Saṁhitā. He should have been a contemporary of the founder of the Vikrama Saṁvat Era. Thus all the three Gargas appear to have lived long before the Sālivāhana Śaka was started. Dr. R. Shamasastry points out that the term *śaka* as a synonym of the word *Era* came into use only after the close of the Andhra period. None of the Gargas could have employed it. It must be therefore attributed to Varāhamihira himself. In the same manner Āryabhaṭa declared that, at the time he composed his great work, sixty cycles of sixty years each had elapsed since the commencement of the Kali Yuga. Varāhamihira seems to have meant that at the time he wrote the Bṛhat Saṁhita 2526 years had been completed since the passing away of Yudhiṣṭhira. If we assume for Varāhamihira the date A.D. 505 mentioned in his Pañchasiddhāntika, the above interpretation assigns to Yudhiṣṭhira the date B.C. 2021. In my article contributed on this subject to the *Gaṅgānātha Jhā Research Institute Journal*, I have pointed out how this date is in complete harmony with the statement of the several Pūrāṇas. On the other hand, C. V. Vaidya opined that the śaka referred to should be the Buddha Nivāna Era, B.C. 543. (*The Mahābhārata*, A criticism, p. 80). His arguments are based on the assumption that the statement had been made by a Garga and could not therefore refer to Sālivāhana who was later than all the Gargas. So he agreed with Velandai Gopala Aiyar that the reference was certainly to Buddha's nirvāṇa. Varāhamihira lived in an age of Buddhistic revival represented by Buddhaghosa, Fa Hien, Bhartrihari, and Amarasimha. Vaidya interpreted the second line to indicate the number 2566. Add 2566 to 543 and we go back to B.C. 3109, which is very close to the traditional beginning of Kali Yuga B.C. 3102.

2. Even now scholars are not agreed about the date of Buddha's nirvāṇa. The Ceylonese chronicles, the Mahāvaṁsa and Dīpavaṁsa, and the Burmese chronicle, "Malla-linkara' Wouttoo uniformly assume the date 543 B.C. for the nirvāṇa of Buddha and base their chronology on it. Though these Buddhistic chronicles adopt the date 543 B.C. for the nirvāṇa, they state the interval between the nirvāṇa and the accession of Chandragupta to be only 162 years, whereas all the Hindu Purāṇas estimate the interval at about 260 years. This discrepancy has hitherto proved irreconcilable. The dates assigned by the Chinese chronicles vary from about B.C. 1200 to 600 B.C. Of them all, what is known as the Peguan date, B.C. 638 approximates to the Purāṇic date (Prinsep's essays, Vol. 2, p. 165). European scholars like Fleet, Cunningham and others have rejected both Hindu and Buddhistic traditions and adopted the date B.C. 478 as the most probable, as it accords very closely with the interval of 162 years stated by the Ceylonese chronicles

to have existed between the nirvāṇa and Chandragupta, whose accession is assigned to 320 B.C. There is no consensus of opinion regarding the date of Chandra-gupta's accession. It fluctuates between 324 B.C. and 311 B.C. The Burmese Chronicle, Malla-linkara, translated by Bishop Bigandet, is unique in itself. It furnishes the name of the week-day and the Hindu calendar date for some of the most important events of Buddha's life. Cunningham's date for the nirvāṇa, B.C. 478 agrees in the main with the provisions of the Malla-linkara. Dewan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai has shown in the first volume of his Ephemeris that six out of the eight events mentioned by the Burmese Chronicle fall on the week-days assigned to them, if the Nirvāṇa is assumed to have occurred on Tuesday, First April, 478 B.C.—the full-moon of Vaiśākha. The learned editor of the Mahratti Gyana-kosa, (Gyana-kosa, Vol. iv, p. 153) approves of the date.

3. The Purāṇas embody the traditions current in the land of Buddha's birth. A total summary rejection of all the data furnished by them, in favour of foreign testimony in which they themselves who adduced them had no full confidence, is rather unwarranted. The part played by Chanakya has been totally ignored. The reliability of the Purāṇas regarding the Andhra dynasty has been acknowledged by Rapson in his Catalogue of Indian coins. (Introduction, pp. xxvi and lxv). His statement that "there is no reason to doubt that the long period for which the testimony of inscriptions and coins scarcely exists, was actually occupied by the reigns recorded in the Purāṇas", can be equally true of the Mauryan and pre-Mauryan times. Inscriptional History begins with Asoka. The Purāṇas, the Jātakas, and scattered references in contemporary literature are the only data available for re-constructing the history of pre-Asokan times. It is unfair to dub them unreliable and ignore the whole lot. It is the duty of the conscientious historian to try and pierce through the outer shell of age-long accretions and reach the kernel at centre. Delicious water and sweet pulp will be found, though the quantity be small.

4. It is rather unfortunate that no evidences, inscriptional or numismatic, are available for the period preceding Asoka, except oral tradition committed to writing centuries later. Whereas the Purāṇas furnish details regarding all contemporary dynasties of pre-Mauryan times, the Buddhist chronicles mention only those kings that took an interest in their religion. The Burmese chronicle, Malla-linkara, mentions that Chanakya discovered, while he was yet young, signs of kingship in his palms. On the advice of his mother, he kept the knowledge to himself. (Bigandet, Vol. 2, pp. 125-123). Though all the Purāṇas agree in assigning a total of 100 years to the Nandas, some of them allot only 28 years to Mahapadma and 12 years to the eight brothers. The Purāṇas state that Chanakya also ruled for sometime after the Nandas and brought the total period to 100 years. It took him 12 to 16 years to dispossess the Nandas. It is not improbable therefore that some

years intervened between the dethronement of the last Nanda and the installation of Chandragupta. It is quite possible that the principles of state-craft so fully elaborated by Kautilya in the Artha-shastra reflected the experience gained by Chanakya during his own kingship. As Chandragupta was a candidate of his own creation, Chanakya might have fulfilled his boyish ambition of becoming a ruler in his own person, before he handed over the kingdom to Chandragupta voluntarily or otherwise. It should be no wonder if Chandragupta had sought the help of Alexander or Saleukos as stated by Justin. The period is shrouded in mystery. The Buddhistic chronicle allots only 22 years to the whole Nanda dynasty. Kalasoka and his nine sons are allotted 61 years. Where does the discrepancy lie? Experts have yet to discover.

5. There is a mention in Bigandet's translation (Vol. I, p. 13; Vol. II, p. 133) of a Kauzda Era which was in vogue at the time of Buddha's maternal grand-father, Eetzana, King of Devaha. At the time of its abolition by Eetzana, 8640 (eighty-six forty) years had elapsed. At a synod of astronomers convened by the king and presided over by the foremost astronomer of the times, Kala Devala (Asita Devala) it was decided to start a new era in honour of the King, and it was called the Eetzana Era. The year 8640 of the Kauzda Era was terminated on Saturday the new-moon of Māgha and the new Era began on the next day a Sunday, the first day of Sukla Paksha. Another interesting bit of information found in the Malla-linkara (Vol. II, p. 134) is that King Thamug-dara (Samuddhara) of Prome, an eminent astronomer himself, reformed the calendar in the year of religion 625 (A.D. 81) dropping away 622 years and began the reformed computation with *two*, equating it to A.D. 79. This is a remarkable coincidence with the Sālivāhana Śaka and probably its nucleus. In the declaration of the Samkalpa at the beginning of our religious functions, Sālivāhana Śaka and Bauddhāvatāra often go together. The association may not be accidental. The point deserves further investigation at the hands of experts.

The Asita-Devala who abolished the Kauzda Era is probably the Asita-Devala frequently cited by Bhatotpāla. This gives us a date for him in the 8th century B.C. The word Kauzda does not occur in any other context, if we remember that the Kosala kings traced their descent to Ikshvāku of the Solar dynasty, Kauzda may very well stand for Kakustha. It is remarkable that they should have preserved a tradition dating back 8640 years to 9300 B.C. Were they in any way an off-shoot or the main-stem of the Kassites and the Mitanni (Mitra Anu) tribes who invaded Assyria in the 15th century B.C.? It is a suggestion for Assyriologists to investigate. The name Tushratta (Dasaratha) borne by the Mitanni king might possess a significance of its own.

6. There is thus nothing inherently impossible in the suggestions of C. V. Vaidya and Gopala Aiyar that the Śaka referred to in the verse of Varāhamihira was the Buddha Nirvāṇa Śaka. If the number indicated in the second line is accepted to be 2526, as usually interpreted, by subtracting

this number from B.C. 3102, we get the date 576 B.C. for Buddha nirvāṇa. This date differs from the Buddhist tradition by only thirty years, and is in complete accord with the Purāṇic tradition. It satisfies all the conditions regarding week-days laid down in the Malla-linkara. All the eight events fall on the days allotted to them. A careful examination of the auxiliary tables furnished in the Indian Ephemeries reveals the fact that 98 solar years (Julian) constitute an exact cycle of the week-day and the day of the month of the Hindu luni-solar calendar. The lunar tithis occur on the same week-days, but are displaced three days forward in the Julian year. For example, the full-moon of Vaiśākha occurred in the year 576 B.C. on Tuesday the fourth of April, whereas it occurred in B.C. 478 on Tuesday the first of April. In this connection we have to remember that the system of intercalation in vogue at the time was that of the Vedanga Jyotisha, according to which one month was intercalated at the end of every thirty months. The intercalated months were according to Dikshit (Hist. of Astron., p. 91) Adhika Sravana and Adhika Magha. One of the five year periods ended in A.D. 80 according to Varāhamihira. The system of intercalation adopted in the Indian Ephemeries is that of the Siddhantas. When this difference in the mode of intercalation is taken into account, the two discrepancies inherent in the set of dates ending with 478 B.C. get themselves obviated in the set ending with B.C. 576. The proposed date is thus not only in harmony with both Purāṇic and Buddhistic traditions, but also in complete accord with the week-days assigned to events, a memory of which was carefully preserved by Burmese tradition for well over a millennium and a half. It is a truly remarkable feat of racial memory, worthy of the best Vedic traditions.

The chief events mentioned are the following :—

1 & 2. King Eetzana did away with the Kauzda Era 8640, on a Saturday, on the new-moon of Tabaong (March) and fixed the beginning of the new Era on the following day, that is to say, on a Sunday, the first day after the new moon of the same month. This happened in the year 691 B.C. (543 plus 148). Volume II, p. 133.

3. Buddha was conceived in his mother's womb, in the year 68 of the Eetzana Era, under the constellation Outtarathan and born (on the full moon day of Vaiśākha) under the constellation Withaka, on a Friday, Volume II, p. 71.

4. He went into the solitude in the year 96, on a Monday, at the full-moon of July, under the constellation, Oottarathan. Vol. I, p. 63; Vol. II, p. 72.

5. A little before break of day, in the 103rd year of the Eetzana Era, on the day of the full-moon of Katson, the perfect science at once broke over him : he became a Buddha. Pages 97 and 98 of Vol. I.

6. Buddha's father, gently breathed his last in the day of the full-moon of Wakhaong (August), on a Saturday, at the rising of the sun, in the year of the Eetzana, era 107, at the advanced age of ninety-seven years. Vol. I, pp. 208 and 206.

7. It was not quite full dawn of the day when he entered the state of Nirvāṇa (Neibban), in the 148th year of the Eetzana Era, on the full-moon of Katson, on a Tuesday, a little before day-break. Vol. II, p. 69.

8. In the year 148, the first day of the month of Tagoo (April), which fell on a Sunday, was fixed as the beginning of the new computation, emphatically called the era of religion, 543 B.C. Vol. II, p. 133, foot note.

N.B.—On page 216 of Volume I, Bigandet equates the full-moon of Tabaong to (February) and the new-moon of Taong to March, Vol. II. p. 133. So Tabaong corresponds to the month of Māgha which must end early in March so that Chaitra might have commenced before the 12th of April, when the solar year commences. In the absence of definite information about the method of intercalation adopted by the Burmese, it might refer to Māgha or Phālguna. (Vide last paragraph, pp. 9, 10).

Dates of important events in Buddha's life :—

	Dates :
1. Kauzda era ended on the new-moon of Tabaong or Māgha (ending) in B.C. 722. New-moon at the end of Māgha ended at ·95 of Saturday after Mean-rise i.e. on Saturday night 15-1-722 B.C.	Saturday : 15 Jan. 722 B.C.
2. Eetzana era began the next day, the first day of the waxing moon of month Tagoo, Sunday.	Sunday : 16 Jan. 722 B.C.
3. Buddha's birth on full-moon of Katson in Visākhā nakshatra, full-moon ended at, ·54 of Friday, Visākhā ended at ·92 same day Eetzana era—·68 current.	Friday : 8 April 655 B.C.
4. Buddha left Kapilavastu at midnight of full-moon in Uttara-ashādhā nakshatra. Full-moon of Adhika Śrāvana ended at ·23 day after sunrise on Monday 27th June. Ut.-Ashādha ended on Sunday midnight a few hours before Monday began. Era 96 current.	Monday : 27 June 627 B.C.
5. Buddha attained Buddhahood about sunrise on Wednesday, in Vishākhā nakshatra, on full-moon. Full-moon ended at ·33 of Wednesday ; Vishākhā ended at ·49 same day. Both current at sunrise. 11-4-620. Era 103 current.	Wednesday : 11 April 620 B.C.
6. Buddha's father dies ; Saturday, sunrise on full-moon of Wakhaong. Era 107 current. Full-moon of Śrāvaṇa (after Adhika Ashādha) began at ·23 of Saturday 24-7-616.	Saturday : 24 July 616 B.C.
7. Buddha Nirvāṇa on Tuesday night before sunrise. Full-moon of Vishākhā ended at ·99 or just before sunrise on the night of Tuesday 4th April ; Visākhā ended at ·66 day after sunrise. Both current at sunrise Era 147 current. Age seventy-nine complete.	Tuesday : 4 April 576 B.C.

7. Buddha died on his eightieth birthday, after completing seventy-nine years. A few months after his death, a conference of all the followers of Buddha was held, under the aegies of the king, Ajātaśatru, and presided over by Kasyapa. It lasted for seven months from the full-moon of Wakhaong to the full-moon of Tabaong. "It was at the conclusion of this council or Sangharana, that king Adzatathat, with the concurrence of the Buddhist patriarch, Kathaba did away with the Eetzana era, and substituted the religious era beginning in the year 148 of the said era ; that is to say, on the year of Gautama's death, on a Monday, the first of the waxing moon of Tabaong." (Bigandet, Vol. II, p. 11b). On the other hand, Bigandet's note on page 133 of Vol. II, declares that in the year 148, the first day of the month of Tagoo, (April), which fell on a Sunday was fixed as the beginning of the new computation, emphatically called the era of religion, 543 B.C It is adopted by all the southern Buddhists. The two statements are self-contradictory and somewhat ambiguous. Buddha's death took place on the full-moon of Katson (Vaiśākha). When did the new Era begin? Was the computation to begin from the month of Tabaong or Tagoo prior to the death or from those that followed his death, about the time of the conclusion of the first council? Was it from the waxing first of Tabaong a fortnight earlier than or from the waxing first of Tagoo which occurred a fortnight later than the conclusion of the council? The point has to be clarified before the exact week-day and date of the commencement of the era could be fixed. The same ambiguity appears in the case of the commencement of the Eetzana Era. The statement on page 13 of Vol. I, conflicts with that of page 133 of Vol. II. There is no ambiguity about the week-day ; it is only about the month. Dr. Fleet and Sir Alfred Irwin have clearly demonstrated in the Indian Antiquary for 1910 A.D. (Vol. 39) that the Burmese calendar possesses elements similar to those of the Hindu calendar but not identical throughout. There are twelve months in the year composed alternately of 29 and 30 days. The first or waxing half of the month always contains 15 civil days ; the second half, alternately 14 and 15 days. Seven months are intercalated for every nineteen years at an average interval of three years. The system is similar to that of Meton and to that explained in the Maitrāyaniya Saṁhita (I-10-8). Like the ancient Babylonians, the same month is intercalated by duplicating (Arakanese) or Watso (Burmese). With the ancient Vedic seers it was the month of Pausha that was duplicated. Though the months are supposed to correspond to the entry of the sun into the signs of the fixed Hindu zodiac, they agree neither with the

solar nor with the lunar months, except occasionally. The commencement of the month of Tagoo can fall on any date between the 19th of Wednesday and the 21st of March. Since the two halves of the Burmese month get out of step with the full and new-moons, the waxing first of Tagoo may not always coincide with Sukla Pratipad. The new-moon just preceding the waxing first of Tagoo may correspond with the new-moon ending either Hindu lunar Māgha or Phālguna. It is therefore clear that the assumption made by the author of the Indian Ephemeries that Tabaon coincides with Phālguna or Tagoo with Chaitra, is not always correct. In the present case the identification of the new-moon of Tabagaong with the new-moon ending Māgha yields the correct days of the week, for the commencement of the Eetzana and Nirvāṇa eras. I have therefore adopted it in my calculations. At the time of Buddha's birth, the calendarial system of the Vedāṅga-Jyotisha seems to have been in vogue. The year commenced with Māgha. So Tabaong might have been the first month of the year in those days. Later on, when the king of Prome, Samuddhara, adopted or inaugurated the Sālivāhana or Dandoratha Era the year was probably made to commence with Chaitra or Tagoo in 78 A.D. Tagoo certainly commenced the year, when the Pagan or Pouppazdau Era was started the first of Tagoo in 638 A.D. as Zero—Buddha's death occurred in the 147th year (current) of the Eetzana era and year 148 was current when the council adopted the Nirvāṇa Era. The Buddha Nirvāṇa Era commenced on the 22nd of January, 576 B.C. which was a Sunday. This date does not conflict with the Purāṇic, Singhalese or Burmese traditions. It is as it were a compromise between them and is in full accord with the data of the Malla-linkara-wouttoo regarding the chief events of Buddha's life.

UJJAINĪ IN MṚCCHAKAṬIKA

By

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"The intense life with which Śudraka animates action and personage gives illusion to reality, one believes oneself to be in the middle of beautiful Ujjainī, but a comparison with the literature of tales dispels this error. We are, as in the rest of Indian stage, amid full convention, and amid full fantasy." Thus says Professor Sylvain Lévi in speaking of the Mṛcchakaṭika in his "Théâtre Indien," and it has become an article of faith with modern scholars that in the Mṛcchakaṭika, as in other Sanskrit plays, we are dealing with a city of convention and a conventional society. An examination of the minute details of the feature of the city and of the society described in the Mṛcchakaṭika will however convince any impartial reader that the poet was dealing with an actual city and a living society, every feature of the life of which was familiar to him, though perhaps the name of the city might not have been Ujjainī and though the genius of the poet has certainly cast a radiant life over it.

FAMOUS UJJAINĪ

The celebrity of the city of Ujjainī had spread all over the country and its affluence, the amenities of its life, the amusements and diversions it afforded to the gay, the beauty, refinement and wealth of its courtesans had been magnified by travellers' tales and allured the curious and leisured people from distant parts of the country. Simple Saṃvāhaka who belonged to distant Pāṭaliputra and was left by his father in rather affluent circumstances,[1] was attracted to Ujjainī by tales heard from the mouths of travellers.[2]

GEOGRAPHY.

The city of Ujjainī covered a large area, the centre of the city was thickly populated, gradually thinning out towards the outer perimeter. Here were

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1. संवाहकः—पाडलिउत्ते मे जम्मभूमी। गहवइदालके हगे। (पाटलिपुत्रं मे जन्मभूमिः। गृहपतिदारकोऽहम्।)—Act. II.
2. संवाहकः—एशे णिजगेहे आहिण्डकाणं मुहादो शुणिअ अपुव्वदेशदंशणकुदूहलेण इह आगदे। (एष निजगृह आहिण्डकानां मुखाच्छ्रुत्वापूर्वदेशदर्शनकुतूहलेनेहागतः।)—Act. II.

situated large shady gardens[3] adorned with beautiful lakes, belonging to the wealthy inhabitants, and the king had an extensive garden called Puṣpakaraṇḍaka which was the most beautiful of all[4] and at a considerable distance from the city.[5] The gardens were separated from one another and screened off from the public road and were full of umbrageous trees,[6] throwing cool shadows over the road and people could walk from the city to the Royal Garden, Puṣpakaraṇḍaka in the shade of the overhanging trees without exposing themselves to the sun.[7] The boundary walls were however not always carefully maintained and king Pālaka's garden, Puṣpakaraṇḍaka at least had a gap large enough to admit of a carriage passing through over the débris of fallen bricks and for Śakāra to fly by leaping over.[8] It was otherwise neglected and large heaps of unswept dried leaves were blown about by the wind and gathered at the feet of trees.[9] On the other side there were temples with spacious compounds built by the citizens outside the busy part of the city and we hear of one such temple in which the image had not yet been installed.[10] Beyond this were the gambling houses and evidently the low quarters, the East-end of Ujjainī.

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3. विदूषकः—भो पेक्ख पेक्ख पुष्पकरण्डअजिण्णुज्जाणस्स सस्सिसरीअदाम्। (भोः पश्य पश्य पुष्पकरण्डकजीर्णोद्यानस्य सश्रीकताम्।)—Act. VII.
विटः—काणेलीमातः पशोद्यानस्य शोभाम्।—Act. VIII.
4. शकारः—एशे मम बहिणीवदिणा शव्वुज्जाणाणं पवले पुप्फकलण्डुज्जाणे दिण्णे, जहिं दाव शिआला पाणिअं पिअन्ति। हग्गे वि पबलपुलिशे मणुश्शके ण ण्हाआमि। तहिं तुमं पुक्खलिणीए। etc. (एतन्मम भगिनीपतिना सर्वोद्यानानां प्रवरं पुष्पकरण्डोद्यानं दत्तम्, यत्र तावच्छुनकाः शृगालाः पानीयं पिबन्ति। अहमपि प्रवरपुरुषो मनुष्यको न स्नामि। तत्र त्वं पुष्करिण्यां etc.)—Act. VIII.
5. आर्यकः—अहो नगरात्सुदूरमपक्रान्तोऽस्मि।—Act. VII.
6. आर्यकः—तत्किमस्मात्प्रवहणादवतीर्य वृक्षवाटिकागहनं प्रविशामि।—Act. VII.
7. विटः—यदि पुनरुद्यानपरम्परया पद्मामेव नगरीमुज्जयिनीं प्रविशावः।—Act. VIII.
8 शकारः—पगारखण्डेण पवेशहि पवहणम्। (प्राकारखण्डेन प्रवेशय प्रवहणम्।)—Act. VIII.
.........एदं अद्धपडिदं पाआलखण्डं उल्लङ्घिअ गच्छामि। (एतमर्धपतितं प्राकारखण्डमुल्लङ्घ्य गच्छामि।)—Act. VIII.
9. शकारः—एदिणा वादालीपुञ्जिदेण शुक्खपण्णपुडेण पच्छादेमि। (एतेन वातालीपुञ्जितेन शुष्कपर्णपुटेन प्रच्छादयामि।)–Act. VIII.
संवाहको भिक्षुः—इध वादालीपुञ्जिदे शुक्खवत्तसंचए पशालइश्शम्। (इह वातालीपुञ्जिते शुष्कपत्रसंचये प्रसारयिष्यामि।)—Act. VIII.
10. संवाहकः—हके विप्पडिवेहिं पादेहिं एदं शुण्णदेउळं पविशिअ देवीभविश्शम्। (अहं विपरीताभ्यां पादाभ्यामेतच्छून्यंदेवकुलं प्रविश्य देवीभविष्यामि।)—Act. II.
द्यूतकरः—एसो वज्जदि। इअं पणट्ठा पदवी। (एष व्रजति। इयं प्रनष्टा पदवी।)—Act. II.

STREETS.

The streets of Ujjainī were narrow, especially in the busy part, the merchants' quarters[11] where Cārudatta's large family mansion with its garden and orchard, now out of repair, was situated, so that there was hardly room for two carriages to go abreast, especially if one of them happened to be a lumbering country cart.[12] In the market place of Ujjainī, the shops were built close to one another, with only narrow lanes between, where the street dogs, who lived on the leavings and sweepings of the shops, comfortably ensconsed themselves at night from the inclemencies of the weather under the projecting eaves of the shop rooms.[13]

The streets were not lighted[14] and on dark nights citizens had to carry their own lights, lights strong enough to give confidence to the pedestrians that no bad characters were lurking about.[15] Indeed the streets of Ujjaini were infested by bravos, rowdies and revellers after night-fall and the favourites of the tyrannical king Pālaka added not a little to the insecurity of the streets.[16] Flushed with insolence and wine they pursued unprotected females and made fun of simple citizens any oddity in whose appearance or manners happened to attract their attention.[17] Thus were molested both Vasantasenā and Radanikā and poor Maitreya who was with Radanikā. There were no pavements for pedestrians apart from the high carriage-way and the houses gave right on to the streets. Pursued by the licentious importunities of Śakāra, Vasantasenā passes her hands over the boundary wall

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11. मदनिका:—सो क्खु चेट्टिचत्तरे पडिवसदि। (स खलु श्रेष्ठिचत्वरे प्रतिवसति।)—Act. II.
12. स्थावरकश्चेटः—कध गमशअलेहिं लुद्धे मगो। (कथं ग्रामशकटै रुद्धो मार्गः।)—Act. VI.
चारुदत्तः—किं यात्यस्य पुरः शनैः प्रवहणं तस्यान्तरं मार्गते।—Act. VII.
13. विदूषकः—आवणन्तररच्छाविभाएसु सुहं कुक्कुरा वि सुत्ता। (आपणान्तररथ्याविभागेषु सुखं कुक्कुरा अपि सुप्ताः)—Act III.
14. शकारः—बलिए क्खु अन्धआले माशलाशिप्रविट्ठा विअ मशिगुडिआ दीशन्दी ज्जेव पणट्ठा वसन्तसेणिआ। (बलीयसि खल्वन्धकारे माषराशिप्रविष्टेव मसीगुटिका दृश्यमानैव प्रनष्टा वसन्तसेना)—Act. I.
......विटः—अहो बलवानन्धकारः।—Act. I.
15. चारुदत्तः—राजमार्गविश्वासयोग्याः प्रज्वाल्यन्तां प्रदीपिकाः।—Act. I.
16. विदूषकः—एदाए पदोसवेलाए इध राअमग्गे गणिआ विडा चेडा राअवल्लहा अ पुरिसा संचरन्ति। (एतस्यां प्रदोषवेलायामिह राजमार्गे गणिका विटाश्चेटा राजवल्लभाश्च पुरुषाः संचरन्ति।)—Act. I.
17. विदूषकः—ता मण्डुअलुद्धस्स कालसप्पस्स मूसिओ विअ अहिमुहावदिदो वज्झो दाणिं भविस्सम्। (तस्मात्मण्डुकलुब्धस्य कालसर्पस्य मूषिक इवाभिमुखापतितो वध्य इदानीं भविष्यामि।)
—Act. I.

of Cārudatta's house and finds the door.[18] Houses of any pretension, as those of Cārudatta and Vasantasenā, had, besides the main entrance, a side entrance[19] also leading to a retired part of the house or to the garden and orchard which was situated on a side. Vasantasenā had a temple to Cupid in her garden[20] and Cārudatta had in his a beautiful pleasure house[21] which however was much the worse for want of repairs.

CITY POLICE.

There was arrangement for patrolling of the streets by the police, and thieves and bad characters were spotted, questioned or pursued, but under the lax administration of the tyrannical king Pālaka, the city-guards were negligent of their duties, especially in the early part of the night when rowdies moved about the streets and brawls with the followers of the king's favourites were to be apprehended. When Vasantasenā was pursued by Śakāra and her servants fled from fear, there was no city-guard to be seen anywhere.[22] The policemen came out later at night, when there was no danger of brawls and thieves and bad characters might be on their nightly prowls. When Cārudatta returns home, after escorting Vasantasenā to her place, he finds the city-guards astir,[23] and we find the robber Śarvilaka mighty afraid of the city-guards on his way back from his nocturnal adventure at the residence of Cārudatta.[24]

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18. वसन्तसेना—अम्भो भित्तिपरामरिसूइदं पक्खदुआरअं क्खु एदम् । जाणामि अ संजोएण गेहस्स संवुदं पक्खदुआरअम् । (अहो भित्तिपरामर्शसूचितं पक्षद्वारकं खल्वेतत् । जानामि च संयोगेन गेहस्स संवृतं पक्षद्वारकम् ।)—Act. I.

19. संवाहकः—एशे कश्श-वि अणपावुदपक्खदुयालके गुहे । ता एत्थ पविशिश्शम् । (एतत्कस्याप्यनपावृतपक्षद्वारकं गेहम् तदत्र प्रविशामि)—Act. II.

20. मदनिकाः—तेण हि तुमं इमस्सिं कामदेवगेहे मुहुत्तअं चिट्ठ । (सेव हि त्वमस्मिन्कामदेवगेहे मुहूर्तकं तिष्ठ ।)—Act. IV.

21. चारुदत्तः—आरामप्रासादवेदिकायां क्रीडद्भिः पारावतैः पातितं भवेत् ।—Act. V.

चारुदत्तः—स्तम्भेषु प्रचलितवेदिसंचयान्तं
शीर्णत्वात् कथमपि धार्यते वितानम् ।
एषा च स्फुटितसुधाद्रवानुलेपात्
संक्लिन्ना सलिलभरेण चित्रभित्तिः ॥—Act. V.

22. वसन्तसेना—(शून्यमवलोक्य) हद्धि हद्धि, कथं परिअणो वि परिब्भट्ठो । एत्थ मए अप्पा शअं ज्जेव रक्खिदव्वो । (हा धिक् हा धिक् । कथं परिजनोऽपि परिभ्रष्टः । अत्र मयात्मा स्वयमेव रक्षितव्यः ।)—Act. I.

23. चारुदत्तः—राजमार्गो हि शून्योऽयं रक्षिणः संचरन्ति च ।—Act. I.

24. शर्विलकः—अये पदशब्द इव । मा नाम रक्षिणः । भवतु । स्तम्भीभूत्वा तिष्ठामि ।—Act. III.

शर्विलकः—नरपतिबले पार्श्वायाते स्थितं गृहदारुवत् ।—Act. IV.

At convenient points in the city there were stations for the policemen[25] (gulma) and there were inspectors in charge of such police-posts. In case of alarm, all pedestrians and conveyances were stopped and searched.[26] Under king Pālaka, this inquisition was carried out with a good deal of unnecessary zeal and anybody who excited the suspicion of the police was searched, questioned and apprehended, whether he took the air in a garden, was seated in an assembly, was walking in the streets or was transacting any business in a shop.[27] If any citizen had the misfortune to be viewed with an evil eye by the police or any favourite of the king, he had no peace till he disappeared in the underworld of the city. Thus the policeman Candanaka, once he had a quarrel with Vīraka, the chief inspector of police, did not consider himself safe till he and his relations joined the rebel army of Āryaka.[28] The viṭa attached to Śakāra when he finally abandoned his patron after the strangling of Vasantasenā, to escape persecution, also had to join the rebel army of Āryaka.[29]

THE ŚMAŚĀNAM.

To the south of the city beyond the inhabited quarters, was the place of execution (dakṣminaśmaśānam). A place of execution is always a place of terror, but it was specially so during the reign of terror under king Pālaka, when executions were frequent and it was not an unusual sight to find the body of a person executed still hanging from the gibbet, half devoured by

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25. अरे रे दोवारिया, अप्पमत्ता सएसु सएसु गुम्मट्ठाणेसु होध । (अरे रे दौवारिकाः, अप्रमत्ताः स्वेषु स्वेषु गुल्मस्थानेषु भवत ।)—Act. VI.

26. वीरकः—(अवलोक्य) अरे पवहणवाहआ, मा दाव एवं पवहणं वाहेहि । कस्सकेरकं एदं पवहणम् । को वा इध आरूढो । कहिं वा वज्जइ । (अरे प्रवहणवाहक, मा तावदेतत्प्रवहणं वाहय । कस्यैतत्प्रवहणम् । को वा इहारूढः । कुत्र वा व्रजति ।)—Act. VI.

27. चन्दनकः—उज्जानेसु सहासु अ मग्गे णअरीअ आवणे घोसे ।
तं तं जोहह तुरिअं सङ्का वा जाअए जत्थ ॥
(उद्यानेषु सभासु मार्गे नगर्यामापणे घोषे ।
तं तंमन्वेषयत त्वरितं शङ्का वा जायते यत्र ॥)—Act. VI.

28. चन्दनकः—(नेपथ्याभिमुखमवलोक्य) अरे, णिक्कमन्तस्स मे पिअवअस्सो सव्विलओ पिट्ठदो ज्जेव अणुलग्गो गदो । भोदु । पधानदण्डधारओ वीरओ राअपच्चआरो विरोहिदो । ता जाव अहंपि पुत्तभादुपडिवुदो एदं ज्जेव अणुगच्छामि । (अरे निष्कामतो मम प्रियवयस्यः शर्विलकः पृष्ठत एवानुलग्नो गतः । भवतु । प्रधानदण्डधारको वीरको राजप्रत्ययको विरोधितः तद्यावदहमपि पुत्रभ्रातृपरिवृत एतमेवानुगच्छामि ।)—Act. VI.

29. विटः—(स्वगतम्) न युक्तमवस्थातुम् । भवतु । यत्रार्यशर्विलकचन्दनकप्रभृतयः सन्ति तत्र गच्छामि । (इति निष्क्रान्तः)—Act. VIII.

prowling jackals at night.[30] When a person is led to execution, it was the law that his name with ancestry and the crime for which he is condemned should be loudly proclaimed, after a flourish of the drum,[31] at five different fixed points in the city (ghoṣaṇāsthāna), the last point being the place of execution.[32] The proclamation with beat of drum and the strange appearance of the condemned—a garland of red flowers, smeared over with red sandal paste on which rice-powder and sun-dried rice had been sprinkled and carrying the gibbet on his shoulder,[33]—could not fail to attract a crowd of curious lookers-on.[34] In one of the rond-points where the execution party stopped to make their proclamations, reared up the proud palace of the king's brother-in-law Saṃsthānaka.[35] This palace had a terrace up at the top with perhaps a small

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30. चाण्डालः—(अग्रतो दर्शयित्वा) पेक्ख पेक्ख ।
अद्धं कलेवलं पडिवुत्त कट्टन्ति दीहगोमाआ ।
अद्धं पि शूललग्गं वेशं विअ अट्टहाशश्श ॥
(पश्य पश्य । अर्धं कलेवरं परिवृत्तं कर्षंति दीर्घगोमायवः ।
अर्धमपि शूललग्नं वेश इवाट्टहासस्य ॥—Act. X.

31. चाण्डालौ—इमं घोषणट्ठाणम् । आदणोध डिण्डिमम् । घोशेध घोषणम् ।
(इदं घोषणस्थानम् । आहत डिण्डिमम् । घोषयत घोषणम् ।)—Act. X.

32. चाण्डालः—इमं अ पच्छिमं घोषणट्ठाणम् । ता तालेध डिण्डिमम् । उग्घोशेध घोषणम् ।
(इदं च पश्चिमं घोषणास्थानम् । तत्ताड्यत डिण्डिमम् उद्घोषयत घोषणाम् ।)—Act. X.

33. चारुदत्तः—(सविषादम्) नयनसलिलसिक्तं पांशुरूक्षीकृताङ्गं
पितृवनसुमनोभिर्वेष्टितं मे शरीरम् ।
विरसमिह रटन्तो रक्तगन्धानुलिप्तं
बलिमिह परिभोक्तुं वायसास्तर्कयन्ति ॥

....

सर्वगात्रेषु विन्यस्तै रक्तचन्दनहस्तकैः ।
पिष्टचूर्णावकीर्णश्च पुरुषोऽहं पशूकृतः ॥

....

अंसेन बिभ्रत्करवीरमालां स्कन्धेन शूलं हृदयेन शोकम् ।
आघातमद्याहमनुप्रयामि शामित्रमालब्धुमिवाध्वरेजः ॥—Act. X.

34. चाण्डालौ—ओशलध अज्जा, ओशलध ।
(अपसरतार्याः, अपसरत ।)—Act. X.

35. शकारः—(सहर्षं) मए क्खु...............उप्पादिदे ताह दलिद्दचालुदत्ताह विणाशे । शंपदं अत्तणकेलिकाए पाशदवालग्गपदोलिकाए अहिलुहिअ अत्तणो पलक्कमं पेक्खामि । (तथा कृत्वा दृष्ट्वा च) ही ही, एदाह दलिद्दचालुदत्ताह वज्झं णीअमाणाह जणशंमद्दे । (मया खलु उत्पादितस्तस्य दरिद्रचारुदत्तस्य विनाशः । सांप्रतमात्मीयां प्रासादबालाग्रप्रतोलिकायामधिरुह्यात्मनः पराक्रमं पश्यामि । ही ही एतस्य दरिद्रचारुदत्तस्य वध्यं नीयमानस्यैतावान् जनसंमर्दः ।)
—Act. X.

room in which he had confined his slave Sthāvaraka[36] for fear lest he blurt out the truth about his master having himself strangled Vasantasenā. This was also his favourite resort[37] at idle hours from which he watched the crowd in the street below and what was happening in the city. Saṃsthānaka's palace opened right on the street and when his slave proclaimed that it was his master who had strangled Vasantasenā, the executioner with Cārudatta immediately went in and closed the door upon the crowd, with the object of enquiring into the slave's allegations.[38]

The large powers wielded by the police were somewhat justified by the large floating population of low characters who infested Ujjainī. Gambling was the favourite pastime of the people, high and low. When the jewel casket of Vasantasenā was stolen from Cārudatta's house by the robber, unwilling to admit the loss by theft, the excuse which readily suggested itself to Cārudatta's mind was that he had lost it in gambling,[39] the propensity to gambling being not regarded as in any way a blemish on his high character (cāritra) of the purity of which he was so meticulously careful. When Saṃsthānaka's slave detained by the obstruction on the road saw the muffled figure of Āryaka slinking away in the early hours of the morning, the simile that occurred to his mind was that of a gambler evading from the clutches of the keeper of the gambling house.[40] A crowd of habitual gamblers, some of whom had lost everything in that fatal amusement, prowled in the by-ways of the city and swelled the number of adventurers and criminals. Some of them were brahmins and of high families and could pretend to no small intelligence and education. Śarvilaka was one such character who was connected with the rich and accomplished merchant Revila, a great friend of Cārudatta and he left his newly-wedded wife Madanikā confidently in his

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36. शकारः—ममकेलकाए पाशादबालग्गपदोलिकाए चिट्ठ ।...........चेडं वि पाशादबालग्गपदोलिकाए विगलपूलिदं कदुअ थावइश्शं । (मदीयायां प्रासादबालाग्रप्रतोलिकायां तिष्ठ ।...... ....चेटमपि प्रासादबालाग्रप्रतोलिकायां निगडपूरितं कृत्वा स्थापयिष्यामि)।
—Act. VIII.

37. शकारः—तधा मणेशि जधा हगे अत्तणकेलिकाए पाशादबालग्गकवोदवालिआए उपविट्ठ शुणामि।
(तथा भणिष्यसि यथाहमात्मकीयायां प्रासादबालाग्रकपोतपालिकायामुपविष्टः शृणोमि ।)—Act. I.

38. चाण्डालौ—ओशलध देध मग्गं दालं ढकेध होध तुण्हीआ ।
(अपसरत दत्त मार्गं द्वारं पिधत्त भवत तूष्णिकाः ॥—Act. X.

39. चारुदत्तः—वक्तव्या च सा मद्वचनात्–'यत्खल्वस्माभिः सुवर्णभाण्डमात्मीयमिति कृत्वा विश्रम्भयात् द्यूते हारितम् ।—Act. III.

40. स्थावरकश्चेटः—(अवलोक्य) कधम्, एशे अवले शहिअं विअ मं पेक्खिअ शहश ज्जेव जूदपलाइदे विअ जूदिअले ओहालिअ अत्ताणअं अण्णदो अवक्कन्ते । (कथम्, एषोऽपरः समिकमिव मां प्रेक्ष्य सहसैव द्युतपलायित इव द्यूतकरोऽपवार्यात्मानमन्यतोऽपक्रान्तः ।)
Act. VI.

custody,[41] before himself plunging in the perilous adventure of Āryaka. He had still a lot of family pride in him,[42] though pursuing the profession of a robber and a frequenter of brothels. The beggarly rascal Darduraka was another such character whose impudence and cleverness redeem his abject poverty and whose well-ventilated *paṭa* was a well-known object in the gambler's quarters. That he at one time belonged to cultured society is evident from the Sanskrit language which he uses. Indeed gambling was a form of amusement licensed by the king and the Gambler's Association, (Dyutakara-maṇḍalī) wielded considerable powers over the life and person of the gamblers. When the gambling house-keeper Māthura declared that he was arresting Saṃvāhaka in the name of the Gambler's Association, Saṃvāhaka knew that he had no remedy.[43] Not only could the defaulting gambler be beaten and tortured in the most inhuman way,[44] but he could be even sold into slavery for the repayment of a gambling debt.[45] The last and extreme punishment was expulsion from the Gambler's Association, which made the expelled member a sort of outlaw in the gambling world. Darduraka was such an expelled member.[46]

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41. मदनिका—(सास्रमञ्जलिं बद्ध्वा) एव्वं णेदम् । ता परं णेदु मं अज्जउत्तो समीवं गुरुअणाणम् ।
(एव नेदम् । तत्परं नयतु मामार्यपुत्रः समीपं गुरुजनानां ।)
शर्विलकः—(चेटमुद्दिश्य) भद्र, जानीषे रेभिलस्य सार्थवाहस्योदवसितम् ।
चेटः—अध इं । (अथ किम् ।)
शर्विलकः—तत्र प्रापय प्रियाम् ।—Act. IV.

42. शर्विलकः—अहं हि चतुर्वेदविदोऽप्रतिग्रहकस्य पुत्रः शर्विलको नाम ब्राम्हणो गणिकामदनिकार्थमकार्यमनुतिष्ठामि ।—Act. III.

43. संवाहकः—(उत्थाय सविषादम् ।) कधं जूदिअलमण्डलीए बद्धो म्हि । ही, एशे अम्हाणं जूदिअलाणं अलङ्घणीए शमए । (कथं द्युतकरमण्डल्या बद्धोऽस्मि । कष्टम्, एषोऽस्माकं द्यूतकराणामलङ्घनीयः समयः ।)—Act. II.

44. दर्दुरकः—यः स्तब्धं दिवसान्तमानतशिरा नास्ते समुल्लम्बितो
यस्योद्धर्षणलोष्टकैरपि सदा पृष्ठे न जातः किणः ।
तस्यैतच्च न कुक्कुरैरहरहर्जङ्घान्तरं चर्व्यते
तस्यायतकोमलस्य सततं द्यूतप्रसङ्गेन किम् ॥—Act. II.
द्यूतकरः—जइ वज्जसि पादालं इन्दं शलणं च संपदं जासि ।
सहिअं वज्जिअ एक्कं रुद्दो वि ण रक्खिदुं तरइ ॥
(यदि व्रजसि पातालमिन्द्रं शरणं च सांप्रतं यासि ।
सभिकं वर्जयित्वैकं रुद्रोऽपि न रक्षितुं त्वरति ॥)—Act. II.

45. माथुरः—अप्पाणं विक्किणीय पअच्छ । (आत्मानं विक्रीय प्रयच्छ ।)
संवाहकः—अज्जा, क्किणिधं मं इमश्श शहिअश्श हत्थादो दशेहिं सुवण्णकेहिं । (आर्य्याः, क्रीणीध्वं मामस्य सभिकस्य हस्ताद्दशभिः सुवर्णकैः ।)—Act. II.

46. दर्दुरकः—अयमस्माकं पूर्वसभिको इत एवाभिवर्तते ।—Act. II.

SLAVERY.

Slavery was an established social institution in Ujjainī, and all well-to-do inhabitants had one or more slaves : We meet with one slave, Vardhamānaka, and a slave girl, Radanikā in Cārudatta's household, one slave Sthāvaraka, in Śakāra's and two slaves, Pallavaka and Karṇapūraka and at least three slave girls, Paravṛtikā, Mādhavikā and Madanikā in Vasantasena's household. The powers wielded by the slave-owners over their slaves were absolute extending even to death. Thus Sthāvaraka was prepared for any amount of beating, even death from Śakāra[47] and Vardhamānaka was philosophising whether he was not better off under a kind though poor master like Cārudatta, than under a rich but capricious master like Śakāra (Act III). Devoted and reliable slave maids like Radanikā exercised considerable influence in their master's household and accomplished slave girls like Madanikā were admitted to friendship and confidence[48] of their indulgent and kind mistresses. Such maids fetched a high price and Śarvilaka who was in love with Madanikā was driven to robbery to procure the means of paying the price of her liberty.[49] But as soon as a slave girl was liberated, she took her rank as a free citizen and could be married in gentle society, no reproach clinging to her on account of her previous condition of slavery,—as is seen in the case of Madanikā.

SYSTEM OF JUSTICE.

Among a heterogeneous and numerous people as the inhabitants of Ujjainī, cases of dispute were not infrequent and there was an elaborate system of justice. The court of justice was presided over by a judge (adhikaraṇika) assisted by a body of assessors,[50] among whom were a Kāyastha clever in recording the proceedings in court, a sreṣṭin or president of the merchants' guild expert in mercantile law and the practices of commerce,

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47. चेटः—पिट्टयदु भट्टके, मालेदु भट्टके, अकज्जं ण कलइश्शम् ।
(ताडयतु भट्टकः, मारयतु भट्टकः अकार्यं न करिष्यामि ।)—Act. VIII.
शकारः—मए क्खु एशे शुवण्णभण्डाले णिउत्ते शुवण्णं चोलअन्ते मालिदे पिट्टदे । ता जदि ण पत्तिआअध ता पिट्ठिं दाव पेक्खध । (मया खल्वेष सुवर्णभाण्डारे नियुक्तः सुवर्णं चोरयन्मारितस्ताडितः । तद्यदि न प्रत्ययध्वं तदा पृष्ठं तावत्पश्यत ।)—Act. X.

48. मदनिका—अज्जए, सिणेहो पुच्छदि, ण पुरोभाइदा, ता किं णेदम् ।
(आर्ये, स्नेहः पृच्छति, न पुरोभागिता, तत्किं न्विदम्)—Act. II.

49. शर्विलकः—मदनिके, किं वसन्तसेना मोक्ष्यति त्वां निष्क्रयेण ।
मदनिका–सव्विलअ, भणिदा मए अज्जआ । तदो भणदि—' जइ मम छन्दो तदा विणा अत्थं सव्वं परिजणं अभुजिस्सं करइस्सम् । (शर्विलक, भणिता मया आर्या । तदा भणति,–' यदि मम छन्दस्तदा विनार्थं सर्वं परिजनमभुजिष्यं करिष्यामि ।)—Act. IV.

50. ततः प्रविशति श्रेष्ठिकायस्थादिपरिवृतोऽधिकरणिकः ।
चारुदत्तः—हंहो नियुक्ताः, अपि कुशलं भवताम्—Act. IX.

perhaps one or more interpreters translating the various dialects used by the miscellaneous people who resorted to the court of justice etc. There does not appear to be any lawyer on behalf of either party in the suit and the practice of public crimes being tried with the king as the prosecuting party also did not prevail. In the trial of Cārudatta on the charge of murder of Vasantasenā, the Śakāra appeared as the prosecuting party,[51] and not as a mere witness. On the opening of the court, the usher loudly proclaimed if there was anybody with any petition to the judge praying for justice. The parties had then to step up and on being called upon stated their cases, the Kāyastha recording the statements. The accused and witnesses for the prosecution and defence were then called in and questioned about their knowledge of the facts of the case. Their statements were then recorded and we find the pampered brother-in-law of the king, Śakāra stepping up to the Kāyastha and rubbing out with his feet an inconvenient statement.[52] The judge's duty consisted in taking evidence, ascertaining the facts, applying the law of the case before him and giving his findings on the issues of the case. He however could not pass the final order which was the province of the king.[53] The judge could however submit his recommendations to the king.[54]

THE KING.

The king was the depository of all power and the system of administration was one of absolute monarchy. This power was exercised by king Pālaka with great harshness and capriciousness. The poet has shown some humour in giving the name Pālaka, lit. protector, to a king who punished young wives for any offence with the barbarous punishment of cutting off their hair[55] and brahmin offenders with decapitation,[56] against the dictates of Manu and the express recommendation of the judge. Persons of whom the king was afraid for political reasons were summarily caught hold of and

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51. चारुदत्तः—अधिकृत, केन सह मम व्यवहारः।
शकारः—(साटोपम्।) अले मए शह ववहाले। (अरे, मया सह व्यवहारः।)—Act. IX
52. शकारः—किं कोलाहल कलेध । (किं कोलाहलं कुरुत ।)-(इति पादेन लिखितं प्रोञ्छति ।)
—Act. IX.
53. अधिकरणिकः—निर्णये वयं प्रमाणम् । शेषे तु राजा ।...Act. IX.
54. अधिकरणिकः—तथापि शोधनक, विज्ञाप्यतां राजा पालकः—
'अयं हि पातकी विप्रो न वध्यो मनुरब्रवीत् ।
राष्ट्रादस्मात्तु निर्वास्यो विभवैरक्षतैः सह ॥—Act. IX.
55. सूत्रधारः—(सक्रोधम्) कदा णु क्खु तुमं कुविदेण रण्णा पालएण णवबहुकेसहत्थं विअ सुअन्धं कप्पिजन्तं पेक्खिस्सम् । (कदा नु खलु त्वां कुपितेन राज्ञा पालकेन नववधूकेशहस्तमिव सुगन्धं छेद्यमानं प्रेक्षिष्ये ।)—Act. I.
56. चाण्डालः—दोहाओ, अत्त लअणिओओ क्खु अवलज्झदि, ण क्खु अम्हे । (दीर्घायुः, अत्र राजनियोगः खल्वपराध्यति, न खलु वयम् ।)—Act. X.

thrown into solitary cells in torture-houses where they were to die, without trial, perhaps of starvation.[57] The keepers of such Bastilles often paid with their lives[58] for the crimes of their master. King Pālaka had a number of concubines and Śakāra, the brother of one of them plays a leading part in the drama. This worthless fellow was rewarded by the king with the gift of one of the finest royal gardens, Puṣpakaraṇḍaka, in the outskirts of the city,[59] and boasted that he could turn out the judge and have a new judge appointed who would be more compliant to him,—a threat which was not without foundation, as the judge immediately decided to take up the case brought by him.[60] The king was so superstitious that on hearing a report that a siddha had foretold to a cowherd boy Āryaka that he would be king, he had the boy thrown into strict confinement,[61] put him to torture with the object of killing him. But every part of the administration was lax under a tyrannical ruler, and it was not difficult for a scientific housebreaker like Śarvilaka to set Āryaka at liberty.[62] There was a good deal of discontent brewing against king Pālaka even amongst his immediate followers,[63] and his deposition was very largely facilitated by his discontented followers many of whom were secretly in Āryaka's party.

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57. आर्यकः—अहं खलु सिद्धादेशजानितपरित्रासेन राज्ञा पालकेन घोषादानीय विशसने गूढागारे बन्धनेन बद्धः ।—At. VI.
58. (नेपथ्ये) एसो अज्ज गोवालदारओ गुत्तिअं भज्जिय गुत्तिपालअं वावादिअ बन्धणं भेदिअ परिब्भट्टो अवक्कमदि ।
(एषोद्य गोपालदारको गुप्तिं भङ्क्त्वा गुप्तिपालकं व्यापाद्य बन्धनं भित्वा परिभ्रष्टोऽपक्रामति ।)
—Act. VI.
59. शकारः—एशे मम बहिणीवदिणा शव्वुज्जाणाणं पवले पुप्फकलण्डुज्जाणे दिण्णे । (एतन्मम भगिनीपतिना सर्वोद्यानानां प्रवरं पुष्पकरण्डोद्यानं दत्तम् ।)—Act. VIII.
60. शकारः—(सक्रोधम् ।) आः किं ण दीशदि, मम ववहाले । जइ ण दीशदी तदो आवुत्तं लाआणं पालकं बहिणीवदिं विण्णविअ बहिणिं अत्तिकं च विण्णविअ एदं अधिअलणिअं दूले फेलिअ एत्थ अण्णं अधिअलणिअं ठावइश्शम् । (आः किं न दृश्यते मम व्यवहारः । यदि न दृश्यते तदावुत्तं राजानं पालकं भगिनीपतिं विज्ञाप्य भगिनीं मातरं च विज्ञाप्यैतमधिकरणिकं दूरीकृत्यान्यमधिकरणिकं स्थापयिष्यामि ।)
अधिकरणिकः—सर्वमस्य मूर्खस्य संभाव्यते । भद्र, उच्यताम्—'आगच्छ, दृश्यते तव व्यवहारः ।'—Act. IX.
61. (नेपथ्ये) राष्ट्रियः समाज्ञापयति,—'एष खल्वार्यको गोपालदारको राजा भविष्यतीति सिद्धादेशप्रत्ययपरित्रस्तेन पालकेन राज्ञा घोषादानीय घोरे बन्धनागारे बद्धः ।—Act. IV.
62. आर्यकः—तस्माच्च प्रियसुहृच्छर्विलकप्रसादेन बन्धनात्परिभ्रष्टोऽस्मि ।—Act. VI
63. शर्विलकः—ज्ञातीन् विटान्स्वभुजविक्रमलब्धवर्णा
न्राजापमानकुपितांश्च नरेन्द्रभृत्यान् ।
उत्तेजयामि सुहृदः परिमोक्षणाय ।......Act. IV.

THE COURTESANS.

There appears to have been a large number of courtesans for whom a separate quarter (veśa) was assigned[64] and who were frequented by the gay and the dissolute.[65] The lady's-maid of Vasantasenā was glad when she heard from Maitreya's mouth that Cārudatta had gambled (Vasantasenā's jewelry away), considering a gambler to be a suitable companion to a courtesan.[66] The Courtesans were in many cases highly accomplished and association with them was, for rich men, considered a venial offence. Thus Cārudatta, when questioned in the court of justice by the judge about his friendship with Vasantasenā, though rather ashamed of it, thought it enough justification that he was a young man whose character in no way suffered by such association.[67] The position of the courtesans in some measure resembled that of the Hatæræ in Athenian society, where a man of the eminence of Pericles was not ashamed to be associated with Aspasia. The courtesans obtained a measure of protection from the king; they could not abandon their profession[68] or marry and become virtuous maids without the special dispensation of the king. One of the first acts of Āryaka when he became king was to recognise Vasantasenā as the married wife of Cārudatta.[69] It is noticed that the mutual acceptance of a man and a woman was considered valid marriage in Ujjainī society represented in the Mṛcchakaṭika. Thus Madanikā was recognised by her mistress, and Śarvilaka led her away as his legally married bride. Even an honoured and high-placed man like Revila would not refuse to accept her as a member in his household, her who was a public woman and a slave too. The union of Vasantasenā and Cārudatta in mar-

64. वसन्तसेना—हञ्जे, किं वेसवासदाक्खिण्णेण मदणिए, एव्वं भणासि ।
(चेटि, किं वेशवासदाक्षिण्येन मदनिके, एवं भणसि ।)......Act. IV.

65. विटः—साटोपकूटकपटानृतजन्मभूमेः शाठ्यात्मकस्य रतिकेलिकृतालयस्य ।
वेश्यापणस्य सुरतोत्सवसंग्रहस्य दाक्षिण्यपण्यसुखनिष्क्रयसिद्धिरसु ॥......Act. V.

66. चेटी—अज्जए, दिट्ठिआ वड्ढसि । अज्जो जूदिअरो संवुत्तो ।
(आर्ये, दिष्टया वर्द्धसे । आर्यो द्युतकरः संवृत्तः ।)......Act. IV.

67. अधिकरणिकः—आर्य, गणिका तव मित्रम् ।
(चारुदत्तो लज्जां नाटयति ।)
श्रेष्ठिकायस्थौ—अज्जचारुदत्त, भणाहि । अलं लज्जाए । ववहारो क्खु एसो ।
(आर्यचारुदत्त, भण । अलं लज्जया । व्यवहारः खल्वेषः)
चारुदत्तः—(सलज्जम्) भो अधिकृताः, मया कथमीदृशम् वक्तव्यम्, यथा गणिका मम मित्रमिति । अथवा यौवनमत्रापराध्यति, न चारित्र्यम् ।—Act. IX.

68. (सकरुणम् ।) वसन्तसेने,
अन्यस्यामपि जातौ मा वेश्या भूस्त्वं हि सुन्दरि ।
चारित्र्यगुणसंपन्ने जायेथा विमले कुले ॥—Act. VIII.

69. शर्विलकः—आर्ये, वसन्तसेने, परितुष्टो राजा भवतीं वधूशब्देनानुगृह्णाति ।—Act. X.

riage (Act X) is, apart from the sanction of the new king Āryaka, not marked by any religious ceremony; Cārudatta's married wife, the intelligent, well-bred and virtuous Dhūtā, also accepts Vasantasenā as a legally married co-wife, addressing her by the appellation my sister.[70] (It reflects no small credit on the author that though depicting a society with no very high sense of morality, he has nowhere depicted any scene of immorality or put any speech in the mouth of any character which smacks of it.) Though courtesans were suffered in Ujjainī society, they were not allowed to mix with well-born ladies or to enter the ladies'-quarter in a family. When Vasantasenā, pursued by Śakāra, took refuge in Cārudatta's house, and the latter, mistaking her for the maid Radanikā, asked her to take his sleeping son Rohasena to the inner apartments, Vasantasenā said to herself that she was so unfortunate (being a courtesan) that she could not enter into the ladies' quarter.[71] And after the union with Cārudatta on the night of the storm, when she woke up in the morning, her first thought was whether she had been admitted to the honour of the ladies'-quarter in Cārudatta's house as his accepted wife.[72] Indeed as compared with ladies in virtuous households, courtesans were regarded so very untouchable that even Cārudatta though deeply in love with Vasantasenā would not think of introducing jewelry worn by her, a courtesan, into the inner apartments of the house.[73] When Madanikā was accepted by Śarvilaka as his lawful wife, Vasantasenā could not help heaving a melancholy sigh, that as a virtuous wife, Madanikā had become an object of reverence, while she herself continued as an untouchable courtesan.[74] (These small inconsistencies of social etiquette and decorum characterise all living societies and would not have happened, had the author been dealing with a correct society of complete convention).

REFINED LIFE OF UJJAINĪ.

There appears to have been a high degree of refinement among the cultured classes in Ujjainī which was not confined to the courtesans alone. Cārudatta had come down to perhaps the lowest depth of poverty,—his house

70. धूता—(वसन्तसेनां दृष्ट्वा) दिट्ठिआ कुसलिणी बहिणीआ ।
(दिष्ट्या कुशलिनी भगिनी ।)—Act. X.

71. वसन्तसेना—(स्वगतम् ।) मन्दभाअणी क्खु अहं तुम्हे अब्भन्तरस्य ।
(मन्दभगिनी खल्वहं तवाभ्यन्तरस्य ।)—Act. I.

72. वसन्तसेनाः—हञ्जे, किं पविट्ठा अहं इह अब्भन्तरचदुस्सालअम् ।
(चटि, किं प्रविष्टाहमिहाभ्यन्तरचतुःशालकम् ।)—Act. VI.

73. चारुदत्तः—अलं चतुःशालमिमं प्रवेश्य प्रकाशनारीधृत एष यस्मात् ।—Act. III.

74. वसन्तसेना—संपद तुमं ज्जेव वन्दनीआ संवुत्ता ।
(सांप्रतम् त्वमेव वन्दनीया संवृत्ता ।)—Act. IV.

was dilapidated, the doors had huge cracks,[75] the pleasure-house in the garden was crumbling,[76] there was no oil even to light a lamp[77] and no food to offer to an honoured and beloved guest, like Vasantasenā.[78] But his drawing room was full of musical instruments,[79] he frequented musical soirées in the houses of his rich friends (like Revila) and as a conoisseur of music could be in ecstasy when he heard good music.[80] Scarves scented with delicately perfumed flowers like jasmine were used.[81] The use of golden and jewelled ornaments appears to have been the fashion both among men and women. The coxcomb Śakāra wore a profusion of jewelry,[82] and though Cārudatta had given away all his jewelry, we hear of his having worn golden bracelets and jewelled rings.[83] Women naturally used a lot of jewelry,

75. आर्यकः—इदं गृहं भिन्नमदत्तदण्डो विशीर्णसंधिश्च महाकपाटः ।—Act. VI.

76. चारुदत्तः—स्तम्भेषु प्रचलितवेदिसंचयान्तं etc.—Act. V.

77. विदूषकः—ही, ताओं क्खु अम्हाणं पदीविआओ अवमाणिदनिद्धनकामुआ विअ गणिआ णिस्सिणेहाओ दाणिं संवुत्ता । (आश्चर्यम्, ताः खल्वस्माकं प्रदीपिका अपमानितनिर्धनकामुका इव गणिका निस्नेहा इदानीं संवृत्ता ।)—Act. I.

78. वसन्तसेना—अज्ज का तुम्हाणं सुक्खरुक्खडिआ वुच्चदि । (आर्य, का युस्माकं शुष्कवृक्ष-वाटिकोच्यते ।)
विदूषकः—भोदि, जहिं ण खाईअदि ण पीईअदि । (भवति, यत्र न खाद्यति न पीयते ।)
—Act. V.

79. शर्विलकः—(समन्तादवलोक्य ।) अये, कथं मृदङ्गः । अयं दर्दुरः । अयं पणवः । इयमपि वीणा । एते वंशाः । अमी पुस्तकाः । कथं नाट्याचार्यस्य गृहमिदम् ।—Act. III.

80. चेटः—का वि वेला अज्जचारुदत्तश्श गन्धव्वं शुणिदुं गदश्श । (कापि वेलार्यचारुदत्तस्य गन्धर्वं श्रोतुं गतस्य ।)
चारुदत्तः—अहो अहो, साधु साधु रेभिलेन गीतम् ।—Act. III.

81. मैत्रेयः—एसो अ अज्जचारुदत्तस्स पिअवअस्सेण जुण्णवुड्ढेण जादीकुसुमवासिदो पावारओ अणुप्पेसिदो सिद्धीकिददेवकज्जस्स अज्जचारुदत्तस्स उवणेदव्वो त्ति । (एष चार्यचारुदत्तस्य प्रियवयस्येन जूर्णवृद्धेन जातिकुसुमवासितः प्रावारकोऽनुप्रेषितः सिद्धीकृतदेवकार्यस्यार्यचारुदतस्यो-पनेतव्य इति ।)—Act I.

82. शकारः—केलिशे शुकिदश्श पलिणामे । (कीदृशः सुकृतस्य परिणामः ।)
चेटः—जादिशे भट्टके बहुसोवण्णमण्डिदे । (यादृशो भट्टको बहुसुवर्णमण्डितः ।)
—Act. VIII.
......शकारः—(नानाभरणमवतार्य ।) गेव्ह एदं अलंकारअम् । गृहाणेममलंकारम् ।)
—Act. VIII.
शकारः—ण हि लअणकुम्भशलिशे हग्गे इत्थिअं वावादेमि ।
(नहि रत्नकुम्भसदृऽहं स्तियं व्यापादयामि ।—Act. X.

83. कर्णपूरकः—एक्केण सुण्णइं अहरणट्ठाणाइं परामुसिअ उद्धं पेदिसअ दोहं णीससिअ अअं पावरओ मम उवरि क्खित्तो । (एकेन शून्यान्याभरणस्थानानि परामृश्य ऊर्द्धं प्रेक्ष्य दीर्घं निश्वस्यायं प्रावारको ममोपरि क्षिप्तः ।)—Act. II.

especially rich courtesans like Vasantasenā.[84] Indeed Vasantasenā's jewels play a great part in the plot of the drama,—the deposit of the jewels with Cārudatta, the theft of the jewels by Śarvilaka, the return of the jewels by Śarvilaka after stealing them from the house of Cārudatta, the gift of the jewels to Rohasena in his clay-cart, Cārudatta's direction to Maitreya to return to Vasantasenā the jewels which she had stuffed into Rohasena's clay-cart, the discovery of the jewels with Maitreya (which he was taking with him for return to Vasantasenā) in the trial scene which led to Cārudatta's condemnation to death. Even the poor wife of Cārudatta, Dhūta, still had a magnificent pearl necklace,[85] the last remnant of an evidently large and expensive set of jewelry befitting the wife of a wealthy merchant like Cārudatta, and with this she redeemed the reputation of her faithless and spendthrift husband, by sending it to Vasantasenā in lieu of the latter's jewelry which was stolen. Dandies like Sakāra used to wear long and flowing hair which they used to perfume and dress in a variety of ways.[86] Drinking of wine appears to have been common, especially in the houses of courtesans.[87]

RELIGION.

In Ujjainī courtesans like Vasantasenā lived the life of householders surrounded by their mother and brother and performing the regular duties of householders. Thus we find Vasantasenā's mother requesting her to perform the daily worship of the domestic deity which is the regular duty of the

84. झणज्झणन्तबहुभूषणशद्दमिश्शं किं दोवदी विअ पलाअशि लामभीदा ।
(झणज्झणमितिबहुभूषणशब्दमिश्रं किं द्रौपदीव पलायसे रामभीता ।)—Act. I.
वसन्तसेना—अज्ज, जइ एव्वं अहं अजस्स अणुग्गेज्झा ता इच्छे अहं इमं अलंकारअं अज्जस्स गेहे णिक्खिविदुम् ।
(आर्य, यद्येवहमार्यस्यानुग्राह्या तदिच्छाम्यहमिमलंकारकमार्यस्य गेहे निक्षेप्तुम् ।)—Act. I.
दारकः—जइ अम्हांणं अज्जआ जणणी ता कीस अलंकिदा ।
(यद्यस्माकभार्या जननी तत्किमर्थमलंकृता ।)—Act. VI.

85. विदूषकः—मा दाव अक्खाइदस्स अभूतस्स अप्पमूलस्स चोरेहिं अवहिदस्स कारणादो चतुःसमुद्दसारभूदा रअणावली दोअदि । (मा तावदखादितस्याभुत्कस्याल्पमूल्यस्य चौरैरपहृतस्य कारणाच्चतुःसमुद्रसारभूता रत्नावली दीयते ।)—Act. III.

86. शकारः—खणेण गण्ठो खण्जूलके मे खणेण बाला खणकुन्तले वा ।
खणेण मुक्के खण उद्धचूडे चित्ते विचित्ते हगे लाअशाले ॥
(क्षणेन ग्रन्थि क्षणजूलिका मे क्षणेन बाला क्षणकुन्तला वा ।
क्षणेन मुक्ताः क्षणमूर्ध्वचूडाश्चित्रोऽहं राजश्यालः ॥)—Act. IX.

87. विदूषकः—पिवीअदि अ अणवरअं सीसकारं मइरा ।...इमे अवरे अवधीरिदपुत्तदारवित्ता मणुस्सा आसवकरआपीदमदिरेहिं गणिआजणेहिं जे मुक्का ते पिअन्ति । (पीयते चानवरतं ससीत्कारं मदिरा । इमे अपरेऽवधीरतपुत्रदारवित्ता मनुष्या आसवकरकापीतमदिरैर्गणिकाजनैर्ये मुक्तास्ते पिबन्ति ।)—Act. IV.

head of the household.[88] In rich households like that of Vasantasenā, there were regular priests employed for the worship, when the head of the house could not for some reason or other, perform it.[89] Poorer people did the worship themselves and we find Cārudatta meticulously observing the morning and evening worship of the family deity and distributing the offering at the cross-roads.[90] Pious householders also used to offer an oblation of water, with a prayer to the rising sun at early dawn, and the robber Śarvilaka found a part of the wall of Cārudatta's house worn out by the daily sprinkling of water to the sun at dawn.[91] This popular religion was buttressed by a number of superstitious like faith in Dakinī[92] (malignant female spirit), omens like the trembling of eyelids or throbbing of limbs,[93] the cawing of crows on dry branches of trees[94] or seeing snakes on the way.[95] The omni-

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88. प्रथमा चेटी—अज्जए, अत्ता आदिसदि—'ण्हादा भविअ देवदाणं पूअं णिव्वत्तेहि'त्ति।)
(आर्ये, मातादिशति,—'स्नाता भूत्वा देवतानां पूजां निर्वर्तय' इति।)—Act. II.

89. वसन्तसेना—हञ्जे, विण्णवेहि अत्तम्,—'अज्ज ण णाइस्सम्। ता बम्हणो ज्जेव पूअं णिवत्तेदु त्ति। (चेटि, विज्ञापय मातरम्—अद्य न स्नास्यामि। तद् ब्राह्मण एव पूजां निर्वर्तयतु' इति।)—Act. II.

90. चारुदत्तः—वयस्य, कृतो मया गृहदेवताभ्यो बलिः गच्छ। त्वमपि चतुष्पथे मातृभ्यो बलिमुपहर।......गृहस्थस्य नित्योऽयं विधिः। तपसा
तपसा मनसा वाग्भिः पूजिता बलिकर्म्मभिः।
तुष्यन्ति शमिनां नित्यं देवताः किं विचारितैः॥ —Act. II.
चारुदत्तः—तद्गच्छतु भवान्। अहमपि कृतशौचः सन्ध्यामुपासे।—Act. III.

91. शर्विलकः—नित्यादित्यदर्शनोदकसेचनेन दूषितेयं भूमिः क्षारक्षीणा मूषिकोत्करश्चेह। Act. III.

92. विदूषकः—अहो से कवड्डडाइणीए पोट्टवित्थारो।
(अहो, अस्याः कपर्द्दकडाकिन्या उदरविस्तारः।)—Act. IV.

93. वसन्तसेना—(दक्षिणाक्षिस्पन्दनं सूचयित्वा प्रवहणमधिरुह्य ग।) किं ण्णेदं फुरदि दाहिणं लोअणम्। अथवा चारुदत्तस्य ज्जेव दंसणं अणिमित्तं पमज्जइ स्सदि। (किं चिदम्, स्फुरति दक्षिणं लोचनम्। अथवा चारुदत्तस्यैव दर्शनमनिमित्तं प्रमाज्जेयिस्यति।)—Act. VI.
चारुदत्तः—(वामाक्षिस्पन्दनं सूचयित्वा) सखे मैत्रेय वसन्तसेनादर्शनोत्सुकोऽयं जनः। पश्य
अपश्यतोद्य तां कान्तां वामं स्फुरति लोचनन्।
अकारणपरित्रस्तं हृदयं व्यथते मम॥—Act. VII.
वसन्तसेना—फुरदि दाहिणं लोअणम्। वेवदि मे दिअअम्।
(स्फुरति दक्षिणं लोचणम्। वेपते मे हृदयम्।)—Act. VIII.

94. चारुदत्तः—शुष्कवृक्षस्थितो ध्वाङ्क्ष आदित्याभिमुखस्तथा।
मयि चोदयते वामं चक्षुर्घोरमसंशयम्॥—Act. IX.

95. मयि विनिदितदृष्टिर्भिन्ननीलाञ्जवामः स्फुरितविततजिह्वः शुष्कदंष्ट्राचतुष्कः।
अभिपतति सरोषो जिम्हिताध्मातकुक्षिर्भुजगपतिरयं मे मार्गमाक्रम्य सुप्तः॥—Act. IX.

potence of Fate[96] was a universal belief, as also belief in the predictions of siddhas.[97] Popular religion in all ages has been tinged with a local and even family colouring and this naturally was the case in Ujjainī. The prevailing religion appears to have been the Pauranic form of Brahmanism with the worship and invocation of various gods in the Hindu Pantheon.[98] Idols were worshipped in temples and we hear of an empty temple being ready for the installation of a god.[99] There were public temples frequented by all the citizens on festive occasions and it was at the sight of Cārudatta in such a temple that Vasantasenā fell deeply in love with him.[100] There was a ring of fatalism in the form of Brahmanism and a reliance on the gods. The educated and refined Viṭa when fearing lest Śakāra murder Vasantasenā, utters a resignation to the gods.[101] Mendicancy was still practised by religious persons and we hear of a Parivrājaka (Brahmanical mendicant) being attacked by the rogue elephant of Vasantasenā.[102] Buddhism though no longer the dominant religion was still prevalent and the monastic discipline of Buddhism was still very strict; thus when the gambler Saṃvāhaka expressed his desire to turn a Buddhist monk (Śākyaśramanaka), Vasantasenā in view of the hard discipline of a Buddhist monk's life warned him not to take the vow rashly.[103] They had to subdue all their senses, shave their heads, wear ochre-coloured scanty clothes, repeat prayers, dwell on the inconstancy of

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96. वसन्तसेना—भअवं कअन्त, पोक्खरदत्तपडिदजलविन्दुसरिसेहिं कीलसि तुमं पुरिसभाअधेएहिं।
(भगवन्कृतान्त, पुष्करपत्रपतितजलविन्दुसदृशैः क्रीडसि त्वं पुरुषभागधेयैः।)—Act. VI.

97. (नेपथ्ये) एष खल्वार्यको गोपालदारको राजा भविष्यतीति सिद्धदेशप्रत्ययपरित्रस्तेन पालकेन राज्ञा घोषादानीय घोरे बन्धनागारे बद्धः।—Act. IV.

98. चन्दनकः—अभअं तुह देउ हरो विण्हु ब्रम्हा रवी अ चन्दो अ।
हत्तुण सत्तुक्कखं सुम्भे सुम्भणिसुम्भे जधा देवी॥
(अभयं तव ददातु हरी विष्णुर्ब्रम्हा रविश्च चन्द्रश्च।
हत्वा शत्रुपक्षं शुम्भनिशुम्भौ यथा देवी॥)—Act. VI.

99. संवाहकः—हके विप्पडीवेहिं पादेहिं एदं शुण्णदेउलं पविशिअ देवीभविश्शम्।
(अहं विपरीताभ्यां पादाभ्यमेतच्छून्यदेवकूलं प्रविश्य देवीभविष्यामि।)
—Act. V.

100. शकारः—एशा गब्भदाशी कामदेवाअदणुज्जाणादो पहुदि ताह दलिद्दचालुदत्ताह अणुलत्ता ण मं कामेदि। (एषा गर्भदासी कामदेवायतनोद्यानात्प्रभृति तस्य दरिद्रचारुदत्तस्यानुरक्ता न मा कामयते।)—Act. I.

101. विटः—सर्वथा देवताः स्वस्ति करिष्यन्ति।...Act. VIII.

102. कर्णपूरकः—तदा तेण दुट्टहत्थिणा......समासादिदो परिव्वाजओ। तच्च परिब्भट्टदण्डकुण्डिआभाअण...। (ततस्तेन दुष्टहस्तिना......समासादितः परिव्राजकः। तं च परिभ्रष्टदण्डकुण्डिकामाजनं......।)—Act. II.

103. वसन्तसेना—अज्ज, अलं साहसेण। (आर्य, अलं साहसेन।)......Act. II.

worldly things, believe in Lord Buddha, not indulge in too much repose and occupy themselves with succouring the distressed as a dharma, an obligatory duty of their religion.[104] They were not unoften despised by the rich and aristocratic society and we find the king's brother-in-law treating the Saṃvāhaka turned mendicant with blows and relating how he treated Buddhist mendicants as bullocks by passing a nose-string through their nose and yoking them to the cart.[105] Though they were tolerated by high-minded persons like Cārudatta, the sight of a Buddhist monk was still considered inauspicious and avoided as far as possible.[106] The Buddhists still had their own religious establishments inhabited by monks and nuns and we find the Shampooer-mendicant leading Vasantasenā after she had regained conscious-

104. भिक्षुः—संजम्मद णिअपोड णिच्चं जग्गेध झाणपटहेण ।
विशमा इन्दअचोला हलन्ति चिलशंचिदं धम्म ॥
अवि अ । अणिच्चदाए पेक्खिअ णवलं दाव धम्माणं शलणम्हि ।
पञ्चजण जेण मालिदा इत्थिअ मालिअ गाम लक्खिदे ।
अवल क चण्डाल मालिदे अवशं वि शे णल शग्ग गाहदि ॥
शिल मुण्डिद तुण्ड मुण्डिदे चित्त ण मुण्डिद कीश मुण्डिदे ।
जाह उण अ चित्त मुण्डिदे शाहु शुट्ठु शिल ताह मुण्डिदे ॥

(संयच्छत निजोदरं नित्यं जागृत ध्यानपटदेन ।
विषमा इन्द्रियचौरा हरन्ति चिर संचित्तं धर्मम् ॥
अपि च । अनित्यतया प्रेक्ष्य केवलं तावद्धर्माणां शरणमस्मि ।
पञ्चजना येन मारिता अविद्या भारयित्वा ग्रामो रक्षितः ।
अवल क्क चण्डालो भारितोऽवश्यमपि स नरः स्वर्गं गाहते ॥
शिरो मुण्डितं तुण्डं मुण्डितं चित्तं न मुण्डितं किमर्थं मुण्डितं ।
यस्य पुनश्च चित्तं मुण्डितं साधु सुष्ठु शिरस्तस्य मुण्डितम्)...Act. VIII.
भिक्षुः—भिक्षु त्ति शुद्धे मम एशे धम्मे । (भिक्षुः इति शुद्ध मेमष धर्म्म ।)...Act. VIII.

105. भिक्षुः—एक्केण भिक्खुणा अवलाहे किदे अण्णं पि जहिं जहिं भिक्खु पेक्खदि, तहिं तहिं गोणं विअ णासं विन्धिअ ओवाहेदि ।
(एकेन भिक्षुणापराधे कृतेऽन्यमपि यत्र यत्र भिक्षुं पश्यति, तत्र गामिव नासिकां विद्धापवाहयति ।)—Act. VIII.
शकारः—चिट्ठ ले दुट्ठशमणका, चिट्ठ । आवाणअमज्झपविट्ठश्श विअलत्तमूलअश्श शीशं दे मोडइश्शम् ।)
शीशं दे मोडइश्शम् । (तिष्ठ रे दुष्टश्रमणक, तिष्ठ । आपानकमध्यप्रविष्टस्येव रक्तमूलकस्य शीर्षं ते मद्यामि ।) (इति ताडयति ।)............Act. VIII.
शकारः—एशे मेए णशिं च्छिदिअ वाहिदे । (एव मया नासां छित्त्वा वाहितः)–Act. VIII.

106. चारुदत्तः—कथमभिमुखमनाभ्युदयिकं श्रमणकदर्शनम् । (विचार्य ।)
प्रविशत्वयमनेन पथा । वयमप्यनेनैव पथा गच्छामः ।—Act. VII.

ness to a Buddhist nun in a vihāra close to the royal garden Puṣpakaraṇḍaka.[107] They quietly pursued their religious duty of succouring the distressed.[108] There was however no ban to Buddhists attaining high honours and position in state. Thus on the recommendation of Cārudatta, who was grateful to Saṃvāhaka-bhikṣu for preserving Vasantasenā's life, the Bhikṣu was made the chief abbot[109] of all the Buddhist monasteries in the kingdom, the king being evidently the head of all the religious endowments in the kingdom.

The above sketch of the picture of Ujjainī and the life of Ujjainī is enough to dispel the idea that Sanskrit dramatists were always delineating a conventional society and an imaginary city. Whether we call it Ujjainī or not, the author of the Mṛcchakaṭika was dealing with a real city which he knew intimately and the life in which he delighted in.

107. भिक्षुः—एदश्शिं विहाले मम धम्मबहिणिआ चिट्ठदि । तहिं शमश्शशिदमणा भविअ उवाशिआ गेहं गमिश्शदि । (एतस्मिन्विहारे मम धर्म्मभगिनी तिष्ठति । तत्र समाश्वस्तमना भूत्वोपासिका गेहं गमिष्यति ।)—Act. VIII.

108 भिक्षुः—एशा तलुणी इत्थिआ, एशो भिक्षु शुद्धे त्ति मम एशे धम्मे ।
(एषा तरुणी स्त्री, एष भिक्षुरिति शुद्धो ममैषधर्म्मः ।)—Act. XIII.

109. चारुदत्तः—तत्पृथिव्यां सर्वविहारेषु कुलपतिरयं क्रियताम् ।—Act. X.

THE STORY OF DHANIKA, THE POTTER'S SON, AS TOLD IN THE DIFFERENT VINAYAS

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The second pārājika commences with the story of the potter's son Dhaniya in the Pāli *Suttavibahaṅga.* Dhaniya was the first to be guilty of the charge of stealing and this was the occasion for Buddha's narrating the second pārājika in detail in order to warn the Bhikṣus against the offence of stealing The story occurs in all other Vinayas in more or less modified forms and a comparative study of the different versions will clearly show how each of the schools has developed the story.

I.

SUTTAVIBHAṄGA—PĀRĀJIKA II.

(Ed. Oldenberg, III, pp. 41 ff. ; translated by Horner, Book of the Discipline I)

The story in the Suttavibhaṅga may be summarised thus : Buddha was staying at Rājagaha on the Vulture's Peak. At that time the Venerable monks were in the habit of setting up temporary huts for residence during the rains. The Venerable Dhaniya, the potter's son, also set up a grass hut and not only passed the rains there but also the summer and the winter. Once when he had gone out to the villages for alms, the hut was demolished by the women gathering grass and firewood. Dhaniya on his return found that the hut had been demolished. He built a second hut but that also was demolished in the same way. He built a grass hut for the third time and this time also the hut met with the same fate.

Dhaniya then thought of building a hut with more durable materials. He said "I am well taught, experienced in my own craft, accomplished in the potter's craft. What now, if I, kneading mire myself, should make a hut consisting of nothing but mud ?" Dhaniya thereupon made a mud hut and collecting grass, wood and cow-dung baked it. It was a beautiful, lovely, pleasing red hut, just like a little *indragopa* and just like the sound of a small bell, so was the sound of this hut.

It so happened that Buddha while descending the slopes of the Vulture's Peak saw the hut and on enquiring about it learnt that it belonged to Dhaniya. He disapproved of Dhaniya's action in strong terms as it was unbecoming of a recluse to possess such a hut and ordered the monks to demolish it so that it might not bring downfall to those who would come after. So

was the mud hut destroyed. Dhaniya did not oppose and said : "Destroy it, reverend sirs, if the lord of dhamma causes it to be destroyed."

Dhaniya then thought of making a wood hut. The overseer in the wood-yard was his friend and so he resolved to go to him to beg some sticks. He then went to the overseer and asked for the sticks. The overseer replied : "There are no such sticks, honoured sir, that I could give the master. These, honoured sir, are sticks held for the king, serving to repair the city, laid down in case of accident. If the king has those dealt out, you might take them". Dhaniya said : "Your reverence, they are gifts from the king." The overseer could not disbelieve a Sakyaputta and allowed him to take away the sticks.

Now the chief minister of the king of Magadha named Vassakāra while inspecting the works in Rājagaha came up to the overseer in the wood-yard and spoke thus to him : "Look here, where are these sticks held for the king, serving to repair the city, laid down in the case of accident ?"

The overseer said : "Sir, these sticks were given by the king to master Dhaniya, the potter's son."

The Brahmin Vassakāra was very much displeased and not believing that the king could really give it went up to king Seniya Bimbisāra of Magadha and told him : "Is it true, sire, that the sticks held for the king, serving to repair the city, laid down in case of accident, were given by the king to Dhaniya, the potter's son ?

"Who said that ?"

"The overseer of the wood-yard, sire", he said.

"Then, brahmin, send for the overseer of the wood-yard", he said.

The overseer was then sent for. While he was being taken to the king bound, Dhaniya saw him and asked why he was being taken bound. He said : "Because of this business with the pieces of wood." Dhaniya then promised to follow him to the king.

Then Dhaniya went to the dwelling of king Seniya Bimbisāra and sat down on the appointed seat. The king asked him : "Is it true, honoured sir, that the pieces of wood held for the king, serving to repair the city, laid down in case of need, have been given by me to the master ?"

"It is so, your majesty"—he said.

"We kings are very busy, honoured sir, with much to do, having given, we may not remember. Come, honoured sir, remind me."

"Do you remember your majesty, when you were first anointed this phrase was uttered : Let the recluses and Brahmins enjoy, gifts of grass, wood and water ?"

"I remember, honoured sir, there are, honoured sir, recluses and Brahmins who are modest, scrupulous, anxious for training, there is only a little

worry with them. What was uttered by me was meant for those and that was: what was in the jungle not owned. So, you, honoured sir, think to steal wood not given (to you) by this trick. How could one like me flog or imprison or banish a recluse or a Brahmin living in the kingdom? Go, honoured sir, you are freed on account of your hair but do not do such a thing again."

The remaining part of the story is not of any special interest. When this incident was reported the people began to speak ill of the Sakyaputta Samanas. It reached the ears of Buddha. He had Dhaniya called before him. When Dhaniya admitted what he had done Buddha took him severely to task. He defined the act of Dhaniya as an act of stealing—a pārājika offence for which the punishment prescribed was not to be in communion.

II

Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya, Pārājika II.

(Chinese Tripiṭaka, Taishō ed. XXIII, pp. 3-4.)

Buddha was staying in the city of Rājagṛha. The Bhikṣus then used to pass the rainy season (varṣā) together in one place. A few of them used to live in cottages. They would beg grass and wood from their acquaintances and make huts to live in. When the Bhikṣus entered the city for alms the men who gather fire-wood demolished the huts and took away the wood. The Bhikṣus on returning from begging saw this and felt very sad. They said: We suffered great pains in begging. Sinful people have demolished our cottages and taken away the wood. We had to beg the grass and the wood from our acquaintances in order to make these huts to live in.

Amongst them there was a Bhikṣu named Dhanika who was the son of a potter. By means of his own art he made a mud hut with mud doors and mud windows. The lintels, the ox's head, the elephant's tusk, the supports, were all made of mud. He then collected grass and wood and burnt it. The hut took a fine red colour. He then left the hut in charge of other Bhikṣus and went out for two months on begging.

At that time Buddha was advising Ānanda to make rules concerning the huts. From a distance he saw this hut of beautiful red colour. Buddha knew what it was but still he asked Ānanda: What is this beautiful red thing? Ānanda replied: The Bhikṣus of the city of Rājagṛha lived in one place. Cottages were few. The Bhikṣus begged grass and wood from their acquaintances and made huts to live in. When they had been away to the city for alms people came to gather fire-wood, demolished their cottages and took away the wood. After begging for food they came back, saw it, felt sad and said: We had great pains in begging—sinful people came, demolished our cottages and took away the wood. Amongst them there was a Bhikṣu named Dhanika who was a potter's son. By means of his own art he made a mud cottage, collected grass and wood and burnt it. So it is beautiful like this.

Buddha then told Ānanda: Demolish this red mud cottage of the Bhikṣu Dhanika. Don't let the *anyatīrthikas* either blame or suspect us or laugh at us by saying: During the life time of Buddha the sin defiles the law. Ānanda followed the instruction, went and demolished the hut. The Bhikṣu Dhanika came back after two months' travelling and saw that his hut had been demolished. He asked the Bhikṣus in whose charge he had left it: Who has demolished my hut? The Bhikṣus replied: The great teacher Buddha ordered it to be demolished. Dhanika thought: When the custodian of the law orders it to be demolished we have nothing to say. The master of wood in the city of Rājagṛha is my acquaintance. It is possible for me to make a wooden hut.

After the night had passed Dhanika put on his robe, took his bowl and entered the city for alms. As he was begging for food he came up to the place of the master of wood (and told him): Do you not know that the king of Magadha, king Ajātaśatru, the son of Wei-ti-hi (Vaidehī) has given me wood? The master of wood replied: When the king has given you wood you may take whatever you like. There are some heavy sticks inside, used for protecting the city and difficult to be taken out or put in. You should not take them. He however took those sticks, cut them into pieces and collected them in one place. At that time the city chief saw that the heavy sticks for protecting the city had been cut into pieces and collected. When he saw this, he became horrified, his hairs stood on end and he thought: I shall be satisfied only when the brigand comes out. He then went to the master of wood and asked: These heavy logs are meant for the protection of the city. Who has cut them into pieces and stored the sticks in one place? The master of wood replied: The Bhikṣu Dhanika came and told me: King Ajātaśatru has given me wood. I then told him: If the king has given you wood take whatever you like. He himself must have taken the heavy sticks, cut them into pieces and collected them in one place.

The city chief then thought: I shall now ask the king if he has given the heavy sticks to the Bhikṣus. He then went to the king and asked him: Great king, your wood is missing. Have you given to a Bhikṣu the wood meant for protecting the city? The king answered: No, I have not given it. The city chief said: The king has given it to-day. (The king replied): Who says that I have given it? (The city chief said): The master of the wood says that you have given it. The king said: Ask the master of wood to come.

Following the king's instruction order was sent to the master of the wood to come. At that time the master of the wood saw the Bhikṣu Dhanika

on the way and told him : I am in this difficulty for you. The Bhikṣu said : You better go and I shall follow you. The king saw them from a distance and said : Leave the master of the wood and order the Bhikṣu to come. The city chief then left the master of the wood and ordered the Bhikṣu to come to the king's presence. The king asked : Well Bhikṣu, does your law teach you to take things that are not given? The Bhikṣu replied : Great king, I have not taken things that were not given. The king gave them previously. The king said : I do not remember to have given them. The Bhikṣu replied : Allow me to remind the king now. The king said : How? The Bhikṣu replied : The king should remember that when he was first installed king he had said this—I give to the Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas for their use all the grass, wood and water in my kingdom. The king said : When I said that I meant only the grass and wood that have no owner. The king then said : You have committed a great sin. The Bhikṣu said : I am a houseless person (parivrājaka) living in your kingdom. Why should you kill me. The king said : Bhikṣu, you may go.

III

Mahiśāsaka-Vinaya—Pārājika II.

(Chinese Tripiṭaka, Taishō ed. XXII, pp. 5-6.)

Buddha was staying in the city of Rājagṛha. At that time there was a Bhikṣu named Dhanika. He was the son of a potter. He lived in a grass hut on the Isigila hill. At that time, when once he had gone to the city for alms men who collect fire-wood came, destroyed the hut and took away the wood. Dhanika after returning from begging made it again. This happened three times. He then felt dejected and thought : My body is fortunately capable in the mud work. Why not make a tiled cottage and remove the anxiety? So he did it. It had a solid summit, the capitals of the columns beautiful, the supports, the transversal woods and the lintels were all decorated and the doors and windows were artistic and looked like something heavenly. He collected fire-wood, burnt it and made the colour red and beautiful. At the time of the wind blowing it made the sound of a guitar. Buddha was staying on the Gṛdhrakūṭa hill. He saw from a distance different kinds of engravings, paintings and the beautiful red colour of the cottage. He then asked Ānanda : What is this cottage. Ānanda told Buddha : Dhanika by his own industry has made it. Buddha said to Ānanda : This Dhanika has committed a sin. How can you call him a *pravrajita*? By this bad act he has gravely injured the living things. He is not sorry for it. I have previously spoken in different ways on the law of mercifulness. How could this Bhikṣu not have a merciful heart? The Venerable Ones will in various ways ridicule the Bhikṣus doing like this. You should go there and demolish it so that the Bhikṣu may get (proper) instruction. So he went up to the cottage. At that time Dhanika had gone out of the cottage. (On

his return) he asked the Bhikṣus : I did not commit any sin. What for did the people demolish my cottage. The Bhikṣus replied : The Exalted One ordered it. We did not do it. Dhanika said : The Chief of the law had it demolished. So I have nothing to say. The Bhikṣus then demolished it together and directed Dhanika to go to the place where Buddha was. For this thing Buddha was questioned. Buddha therefore assembled the community and Bhikṣus and asked Dhanika : Is this true or not. He replied : It is true, Lord. Buddha as before took the Bhikṣus doing so to task and said : If you, Bhikṣus, burn tiles you will commit the *T'u-lo-che* (Thullaccaya) sin. You will be guilty of *T'u-ki-lo* (Dukkaṭa).

Dhanika then thought : I had previously a grass hut. People coming to collect fire-wood demolished it. Then I had a tiled hut. It was a transgression of the law of the Chief of the Law and the *parivrājakas*. I should now seek for good wood in order to build a big cottage. I can certainly live in it without much trouble. He then thought : The officer of the wood-yard in the city of Rājagṛha is my acquaintance. I should go there to seek for it. He then went to him and said : I need some wood. The king has given me. The officer of the wood-yard said : If the king gives you then you can take it. Dhanika then took the big wood for the city rampart, cut it into pieces and took it away. At that time the Chief Minister named Vassakāra was on an official tour to all places. He asked the officer of the wood-yard : Who has given the big wood for the city ramparts to this Bhikṣu? The latter replied : I have not given it. He again asked : Who is it then? The latter replied : It is the king. Vassakāra then informed the king : Great king, without examining why have you given the big wood for the city ramparts to Dhanika? The King said : Who says I gave it? Vassakāra replied : It is the officer of the wood-yard. The king then ordered his guards to arrest the officer of the wood-yard. According to the instruction he was arrested. When he was being led to the king, Dhanika was entering the city for alms. He saw him on the way and asked him : Why have you been put in chains? He replied : It is for the Reverend one that I am having this punishment. You should now save my life. Dhanika said : You go first, I shall come after you.

When the officer of the wood-yard was taken to the place where the king was, the king asked him : Why have you given the big wood for the city ramparts to Dhanika? He replied : Great king, I did not dare to give it. Dhanika said that the king had ordered it to be given. When the king was giving orders Dhanika was waiting outside the gate. The king ordered him to come before him. When he came to his presence the king asked : When did I give the wood to the Bhikṣu? Dhanika replied : Does not the king remember that he gave at the time of his first anointment all herbs, trees and water within his empire to the Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas? The King said : What I then gave were not things which have a master. You

are a strange Bhikṣu. By this means you take away other peoples' things. I am an anointed king. How can I imprison or kill a Śramaṇa? You may now go away.

IV

DHARMAGUPTAKA-VINAYA, PĀRĀJIKA II

(Chinese Tripiṭaka, Taishō ed. XXII, pp. 572-573).

The Venerable One was then travelling on the Gṛdhrakūṭa hill in the city of Lo-yue (Rājagṛha). At that time there was in the city of Rājagṛha a Bhikṣu named Dhanika, the potter's son. He was living in a grass hut in an enclosed place. The Bhikṣu once went to the village for alms. At that time the people who collect fire-wood came, demolished the grass-hut where the Bhikṣu used to take shelter. On coming back from begging he thought: I was staying in an enclosed place and had made myself a grass-hut. I had gone to the village for food. The people who collect fire-wood came and demolished my hut where I used to live. I myself know my art. I can knead the mud and can make a tiled cottage. So the Bhikṣu kneaded the mud and made a tiled cottage. He then collected fire-wood, and cow-dung and burnt it. The cottage then assumed a red colour like the fire.

While the Exalted One was descending from the Gṛadhrakūṭa hill he saw from a distance this cottage red as fire. He knew what it was but still he asked the Bhikṣus: What is this red thing? The Bhikṣus told Buddha: There is a Bhikṣu named Dhanika, a potter's son. He used to live in a grass-hut within an enclosure. When he had gone for begging the people who collect fire-wood came and demolished the cottage where he used to live. On returning he saw that the cottage had been demolished. He then thought: I know my own art. I can now make a tiled cottage where I can live without any obstruction. So he made a cottage. It is that cottage which looks red like that. The Exalted One then took the Bhikṣus to task in numberless ways and said: You have done it in vain. It is not conduct. It is not the law of Śramaṇa. It is not a pure act. It is not in accordance with the proper practice, it should not have been done. Why did the Bhikṣu Dhanika, the potter's son make a big collection of cow-dung and fire-wood and burn it? I have constantly and in numberless ways spoken about kindness to living beings. Why has this foolish man himself made a mud hut and by collecting fire-wood and cow-dung burnt it? He should not have thus made the titles red and committed T'u-ki-lo (Dukkaṭa). The Exalted One then ordered the Bhikṣus: You should go there in a body and ask Dhanika to demolish this cottage. The Bhikṣus then according to the advice of Buddha went to get it demolished. When Dhanika saw them demolishing the cottage he told them: What sin have I committed that my cottage is being demolished? Sin or not sin, we do not known. We have no hatred towards you. We have come to demolish your cottage according to the instruction of the

Exalted One. Dhanika Bhikṣu then said: The order of the Exalted One must be right. At that time the king of Magadha, P'ing-sha (Bimbisāra), had a keeper of the wood, and this man was more or less a friend of the Bhikṣu Dhanika. The Bhikṣu Dhanika then went to the keeper of the wood and told him: Do you not know that king Bimbisāra has given me wood? As I now require wood you should give it to me. The other man said: When the king has given you then take whatever you like, good or bad, few or many. The Bhikṣu took the wood retained for the king and cut it into pieces. At that time one of the Chief Ministers (Mahāmātras) while directing the affairs of the city came to the wood-yard and saw that the wood retained for the king had been cut into pieces and thrown hither and thither. On seeing this he asked the keeper of the wood: Who has cut into pieces the wood retained for the king? The keeper of the wood said: The Bhikṣu Dhanika came and told me that the king had given him wood and that he was in need of it. I then told him: When the king has given you wood you may take whatever you like. He then entered the wood yard cut it into pieces, took it and went away. When the Mahāmātra heard it he doubted the king's orders and said: Why have you given these useful woods to the Bhikṣu? You should have given him other sticks. Why have you spoilt these good sticks? The king replied: I do not at all remember to have given wood to this man. If there is any record then tell me. The Mahāmātra then asked the keeper of the wood to come by the order of the king. The keeper of the wood saw the Bhikṣu Dhanika from a distance and told him: Reverend Sir, I have been arrested because you took away the wood. You must come to free me out of mercy. The Bhikṣu said: You go earlier. I shall go at the right time. The Bhikṣu Dhanika went there afterwards and in a short time stood in the presence of the king. The king asked: Reverend Sir, Did I really give you this wood? The Bhikṣu answered: You really gave me the wood. The king replied: I do not remember to have given you the wood. You should make me remember it. The Bhikṣu answered: Does not the king remember that at the time of his first installation he himself pronounced this gift: While I am king in my kingdom let the Śramaṇas, the Brāhmaṇas, the conscientious ones and those who happily practise the *śila* take that which is given, not take that which is not given, use that which is given and not use that which is not given. From to-day let the Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas use the grass, wood and water according to their own liking. Do not take that which is not given. Use that which is given. Listen, the Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas may use the grass, wood and water according to their own liking. The king said: At the time of my first installation I had really said so, Reverend Sir. The king then said: Reverend Sir, but I spoke about things that have no master. I did not speak of things that have a master. The reverend one must die. The king then remembered and said: I am a Kṣatriya king born from the race of anointed head (*mūrdhābhiṣikta*). How can I take the life of a parivrājaka for a small piece of wood? This must not

re. Then the king in different ways took the Bhikṣu to task and asked all his ministers to let the Bhikṣu go. The king allowed him to go. Then all the ministers spoke in a loud voice that it was a great injustice. The King asked—Why? They said: This man instead of being put to death has been simply taken to task and allowed to go.

VI

THE MŪLA-SARVASTIVĀDA-VINAYA, Chap. II

(Chinese Tripiṭaka, Taishō ed. XXIII, pp. 635-637).

Buddha was staying in the bamboo garden of the Kie-lan-to-kia (Kālandaka) lake. At that time there was a Bhikṣu named Dhanika. He was formerly the son of a potter. He used to live in an Ā-lan-jo (Āraṇyaka) grass hut. At the time when Dhanika entered the city of Rājagṛha and was going from place to place begging for food, the cow-boys, the people who collect fire-wood and grass, those who live in the right way and those who live in wrong way came after the Bhikṣu was gone, demolished his hut and took away the grass and wood. Dhanika on his return saw that his hut had been demolished and grass and wood taken away. He then built a new hut. In the same way he also built a third hut. All the people came as before and demolished his hut. Dhanika then thought: Alas, what profound misery; Alas, what great misery, at the time I go for alms, they come and demolish my hut. This has been done thrice. I have good knowledge of the art of my forefathers. Why not make a tiled cottage? Dhanika then dug the earth, mixed it with water which did not contain any insects and burnt the clay. He first made the foundation of the hut and then raised the walls. The roof was given to cover it. Elephants' tusks and posts were placed in different directions. Windows and doors were made of clay. The whole thing was given a white colour and decorated with drawings and paintings. Then cow-dung was collected and the hut was burnt. When it was very well burnt it got a red colour like the *jātika* flower. The Bhikṣu Dhanika then made the following reflection: My cottage is well made, has a good colour and is lovely. It should be looked after. Dhanika then entrusted it to the care of the neighbouring Bhikṣus, put on his robe, took the alms-bowl and went out for begging. The Exalted One, as was his constant practice, had not yet entered into Nirvāṇa. He held his body in good order (*yogakṣema*) so as to be able to convert the people at the right time. At that time he was seeing the habitation of gods, the demi-gods and other living beings near the end of the earth and the hell and was asking the people. He was seeing also the lan-jo (araṇya), the forest of dead bodies, the mountains, the oceans and other places of habitation. The Exalted One then wished to regulate the places of habitation and for that purpose told *āyusmān* Ānanda: Go and tell the Bhikṣus that the Tathāgata will now go to visit their places of habitation. The Bhikṣus will do well in following the law and

will be benefited by it. Ānanda then followed the instruction of the Exalted One and went to the different places either in the forest or under the trees, inside the monasteries, outside the cottages, on the roads etc. He told the Bhikṣus: The Exalted One today wishes to see your places of habitation. The Bhikṣus will do well in following the law and will be benefited by it. When the Bhikṣus heard these words each of them put on the robe in order to show it to the Exalted One. When the Exalted One, in the company of the Bhikṣus, was walking step by step along the road, he came to the place where Dhanika lived. The Exalted One saw Dhanika's cottage which was built of tiles, and had a red colour like the *jātika* flower. On seeing it he asked the Bhikṣus: Whose cottage is this? The Bhikṣus told Buddha: The Bhikṣu Dhanika, the potter's son, himself made this cottage. Buddha asked the Bhikṣus: Demolish this cottage, otherwise the *anyatīrthikas* will make light of my teaching and say: While the Śramaṇa Gautama is alive his Śrāvakas are defiling the law. What will happen after his death? The Bhikṣus then demolished the cottage according to the instruction of the Exalted One. The Exalted One after seeing the cottage demolished it, left it and went away. When the Bhikṣu Dhanika came back he saw the cottage demolished and asked his associate monks: Who has demolished my cottage? The Bhikṣus replied: The Great Teacher ordered it to be demolished. Dhanika said: When the Exalted One, the master of the law, ordered the demolition it must be good demolition. At that time there was in the city of Rājagṛha a Chief Minister (Mahāmātra) in charge of wood. He was a former friend of the Bhikṣu Dhanika. In course of conversation he remembered it. The Bhikṣu Dhanika then thought: The Chief Minister in charge of wood is my friend. I shall beg wood and make a wooden cottage. Upon this reflection he went to the Mahāmātra's place and said: Do you not know at present that the Prince of Emperor of Magadha, king Ajātaśatru previously gave me wood? I want to take it now for use. May I see it? The Mahāmātra replied: Reverend Sir, If the great king has given you wood it is good. Take it according to your own choice. All the wood is only for this city. So it is completely under the protection of king Ajātaśatru. It is well kept and protected to be used for the destroyed parts of the great city of Rājagṛha. The wood is collected for this difficult work. How could he give it to you? The Bhikṣu Dhanika then entered the place, took a stick, cut it into pieces and took it away. At this time the Chief Minister in charge of the city while proceeding along the road saw that a big stick of wood had been destroyed. On seeing this he was much horrified and made this reflection: Is it possible that while king Ajātaśatru of Magadha is ruling a discontented brigand could enter the city? This wood is preserved for the king. It could not have been given to him. How could it be cut into pieces? On seeing this he went to the minister in charge of the wood and said: Does the Mahāmātra know it? While proceeding along the road I saw that a big stick of wood has been cut into pieces. When I saw

it I was much horrified, my hairs stood on end. Is it possible that while king Ajātaśatru is ruling a discontented brigand could enter the city? Or the officer in charge of the wood has given it to another man? The Chief Minister replied: I have not yet given the wood to the man. I met the Bhikṣu Dhanika sometime ago. He told me: King Ajātaśatru has given me wood. So you should see that it is given to me. I then replied to him: If the great king has already given you wood you may go and use your own discretion. Is it possible that he has taken this wood? The Chief Minister in charge of the city then went to king Ajātaśatru and told him: King, do you know this? While proceeding along the road I saw a stick of wood. It is the wood which is preserved for the king to be used in difficult works. An intruder had cut it into pieces. When I saw it I was much horrified and my hairs stood on end. Is it possible that while the great king is ruling thieves have entered the city? I asked the chief minister in charge of the wood: Did you allow the wood to be given to somebody or not? He replied: I have not given it to anybody. Sometime ago I met the Bhikṣu Dhanika who told me that the king had given him wood. The officer in charge of the wood told him: The king has given you wood, then use your own discretion. The Bhikṣu then cut the big stick of wood into pieces. Is it possible that the great king has allowed the wood to be given to that man? The king said: I do not remember it. Send for the Chief Minister in charge of the wood. The Chief Minister then sent orders and wished him to come to the king. At that time the Bhikṣu Dhanika was entering the city of Rājagṛha for some business. The Officer in charge of the wood saw the Bhikṣu Dhanika from a distance and told him: Reverend Sir, Do you not know this? As you took the wood the king has sent for me. The Bhikṣu replied: You go first, I will follow you later. The Officer in charge of the wood went first. Dhanika went later. On coming up to the king's gate he waited. Then the envoy went to the king and told him: Great king, the officer in charge of the wood is waiting outside the gate. The Bhikṣu also, although not sent for, has come and is waiting at the gate. The king said: Let the officer in charge of the wood come in. Ask also the *parivrājaka* to come. The envoy then called the Bhikṣu. On entering he raised his hand and told the king: Oh Great king, be free from disease and live long. He then sat on one side. The king then asked the Bhikṣu Dhanika: Reverend Sir, did you take the wood not given to you and cut it into pieces? Dhanika replied: Not quite so. The king asked: Why then did you take my wood? Dhanika replied: The king gave it previously. The king said: I do not remember it. If you remember it then make me remember it. Dhanika replied: Does not the king remember that at the time of his first anointment he said in a lion's voice in the great assembly—let all the Śramaṇas, Brāhmaṇas, the people who practise śīla, those who are in the good path and those who do not commit theft within my kingdom, let all of them enjoy according to their own wish the use of grass, wood and water in

my kingdom. The king said: I meant by saying so only things that have no master. This wood is protected by another. Why did you cut it? Dhanika replied: The king meant things which have no master. But what about the king's things? The king, on hearing this, was extremely angry.... and said: Śramaṇa, you should die. But I cannot put you to death. You may now go away but don't do it again.

VI

The Mahāsāṅghika-Vinaya, Pārājika II

(Chinese Tripiṭaka, Taishō ed. XXII. pp. 238-240).

Buddha was staying at Rājagṛha and speaking at length as before. At that time the Sthavira Dhanika, the potter's son, had built a monk's cottage to live in, decorated it in various ways and furnished it with good and big sculptures. He had rubbed the ground with scented oil and it got the colour of blue Vaidūrya. He used to collect there various kinds of food and drink. At this time a Sthavira Bhikṣu came to Dhanika and enquired about his age. Dhanika having replied the newly arrived Bhikṣu said: You are younger than me and so I should live here. Dhanika allowed the elder monk to live there and built a second cottage for himself. Later on another Sthavira Bhikṣu came, did as before and got this cottage too from him. Dhanika built a third cottage for himself. Another Bhikṣu came and did as before. Dhanika now thought: Although I took great pains in making these cottages I was not allowed to live in them. Where can I get wood and artisans every time to make a cottage for me? Besides there is suffering on account of wind, rain, cold, heat and insects. Neighbours waited for the cottages that I first made just as cats wait for the mice. I do not see any place. What to do? Dhanika then thought: I am an artisan and have a strong body. I should go to the Ṛṣi's hill (Ṛṣigiri) on the black stone by the side of the cave and make a solid shelter of burnt tiles. Dhanika did as he thought. He built a house of tiles on the black stone by the side of the cave of Ṛṣigiri. In this house he had various kinds of engravings, designs and walls with doors. It had doors, windows, and brackets. Moreover as it had been burnt the house had a red colour like the Yu-t'an-p'o (Udumbara) flower.

At this time the Lord came after the rains to the Gṛdhrakūṭa mountain to stay and to go about (caṅkramaṇa). There is nothing which the Buddha Tathāgata cannot see, there is nothing which he cannot hear, nothing which he cannot know. In order to make the Sūtras and the Vinaya he asked the Bhikṣus: What is that thing of Udumbara colour on the black stone near the cave of the Ṛṣigiri? The Bhikṣus replied: O, Lord, the Bhikṣu Dhanika had built a Saṅghārāma sometime ago. It was embellished with sculptures, decorations etc. This was taken by a Sthavira. He built a second and a third, but all were taken by the Sthaviras in the same way.

He then built this house of burnt tiles on the black stone, by the side of the cave of the Ṛṣigiri. Its colour is beautiful like the Udumbara flower. This is what you see on the black stone by the side of the cave of Ṛṣigiri. Buddha then said to Ānanda : Bring my robe. Ānanda brought his robe, and gave it to the Tathāgata. Thereupon the Exalted One put the clothes on his self, and went towards the black stone near the cave of the Ṛṣigiri. The Exalted One performed great miracles.

Buddha then reached the tiled house of Dhanika. The gods and the divinities opened the door for him. Although the door was low the Tathāgata entered it without lowering his head. Although the door was low it did not obstruct him. So the Exalted One entered the tiled house of Dhanika. Joining the palms of his golden hands he told the Bhikṣus : You all see the house of Dhanika, it is well constructed, decorated and fine. Such is Bhikṣu Dhanika. Although he had given up the world he could not give up his original practice. He is not able to give up his craft. Then again by burning the earth you kill all sorts of living beings. The tiled house is cold in winter and very hot in summer. It destroys sleep and brings disease and pain. You should destroy this cottage. Or else all the Bhikṣus will follow this method of building houses. In future the Bhikṣus will say : During the life-time of the Lord the Bhikṣus made such houses to live in. So you must destroy it. Thereupon the Bhikṣus destroyed the house. After destroying the house the Exalted One returned to the Gṛdhrakūṭa.

The Sthavira Bhikṣu returned after begging and saw his house demolished. He asked : Who has destroyed this house? The Bhikṣus who were there told Dhanika : You have obtained great benefit. The Tathāgata condescended to turn his face to this house. By having this house you have acquired merit. The Exalted One knew the proper time and so he has destroyed this house. On hearing it Dhanika was much pleased and forgot to eat and drink during seven days.

After seven days he made this reflection : Where shall I go to procure wood for constructing a wooden hut? There is the Chief Minister (Mahāmātra), Ye-shu-t'o, the carpenter of king P'ing-sha (Bimbisāra) whom I knew formerly. He must have wood. He then entered the city with his bowl and went to the house of Ye-shu-t'o, and after exchanging words of greetings said : May you be hale and long-lived. I want to build a cottage but there is no wood. Can you not find some wood for me? The Mahāmātra replied : There is no wood in my place excepting the king's wood. I can give you wood sometime later. Dhanika said : Don't say so. Tell me where is the king's house and you speak of preserving his wood. The Mahāmātra said : Reverend Sir, If you don't believe, go and see for yourself. So Dhanika went to the place where the wood was kept. He found there the wood of five flying ladders. He took two of these and went to construct his house.

It was an ancient custom of the former kings to go out once in five days to inspect the arsenal, the treasury, the people of the palace, the horses, the elephants, the chariots etc. On coming to the place of wooden things he saw that his flying ladders seemed diminished and that two of them were missing. He told Ye-shu-t'o that two of the flying ladders were missing. Ye-shu-t'o said : O, Great King, all of them are there and none is missing. After the second and the third round the king said the same thing to Ye-shu-t'o, but the latter replied : Great King, all are there and none is missing. The king was then angry and said : You must have burnt my wood. You cannot get it again or you must have given it to somebody. He then ordered Ye-shu-t'o to be arrested. When Ye-shu-t'o was under arrest he remembered that when the Venerable Dhanika came, there was no wood. Did he take them? So he sent a message to Dhanika enquiring whether he had taken the two pieces of the flying ladders. The reply was that he had taken them. Another message was sent : I am in prison for having lost the flying ladders. So you must find out some means so that I may be soon freed. Dhanika replied : You only tell the king that the Bhikṣu Dhanika, i.e. myself, has taken the wood and that he can enquire from me. The king sent for Dhanika and the latter came to the king. The Sthavira Dhanika appeared as a straight man. He had fine appearance like a godly man. On seeing him the king felt very happy. He asked : Reverend Dhanika, have you taken the two pieces of flying ladders belonging to me? He replied : Yes, I have taken them. The king said : Reverend Sir, the houseless ones cannot take things that are not given. Dhanika said : O, King, it was formerly given, it is not that it is not given. The king asked—Who gave it? Dhanika said : The king has given it. The king said : Reverend Sir, I am the ruler of this country and have to attend to many things. I do not remember it. Why do you say that I have given it? Dhanika replied : O, King, do you not remember that you gave it at the very beginning. In this kingdom in the assembly of ministers you gave all rivers, lakes, fountains, medicinal herbs etc. while receiving the royal abhiṣeka on the white elephant's tooth. At the time of becoming king you said yourself : I am today king. I give the Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas all forests, trees, waters and springs within my kingdom. So I said that the king has given it. It is not not-given. The king said : Reverend Sir, in my kingdom I have given things that are not protected but not the things that are protected. My former words have been wrongly interpreted by you. The king then ordered Ye-shu-t'o to be released. All Brahmins, religious men and women became happy and thanked Dhanika. As they were all pleased they requested the king to condone the past.

VII

Conclusions

As may be expected, there is a fundamental agreement amongst the six

versions of the story. By a wrong interpretation of the first proclamation of the King of Magadha which the latter made at the time of his coronation, the Bhikṣu Dhanika took away the wood owned by the king. He was thus guilty of the offence of stealing (adattadāna). The king's law provided the punishment by death for such offences, but as Dhanika was a houseless monk, he was allowed by the king to go away unscathed. According to the law of Buddha it was one of the four grievous offences and the punishment prescribed for it was expulsion from the Saṅgha.

But a detailed examination of the different versions will bring into prominence their differences and throw light on their origin. The name of the king of Magadha is given in some of the Vinayas (Theravāda, Dharmaguptaka, Mahāsāṅghika) as Bimbisāra but in two of them (Sarvāstivāda and Mūla-Sarvāsāstivāda) as Vaidehīputra Ajātaśatru. In the Mahiśāsaka Vinaya no name is given. The name of the Chief Minister of the king is given as Vassakāra only in two versions (Theravāda, Mahiśāsaka). No name is given in other versions. In the Sarvāstivāda and Mūla-Sarvāstivāda versions he is called the "the city Chief" and the "Chief Minister in charge of the city", both probably meaning the same officer—the *nagara-vyāvahāṭaka-mahāmātra*. The Mahāsāṅghika-vinaya alone tells us that it was the king himself who was out on inspection. In this connection the same Vinaya gives us an interesting information that it was an old custom of the kings to go out once in five days to inspect the arsenal, the treasury, the palace, the horses, the elephants, chariots etc.

In regard to the causes which led Dhanika to build a tiled cottage on the Ṛṣigiri mountain the account of the first five Vinayas (Theravāda, Sarvāstivāda, Mahiśāsaka, Dharmaguptaka and Mūla-Sarvāstivāda) is unanimous. Dhanika built grass huts thrice but every time it was destroyed by the people who came to collect fuel-wood and grass and the wood taken away. But the Mahāsāṅghika-vinaya gives quite a different account. Dhanika built huts three times to live in but every time it was taken by more elderly monks on the pretext that they were old in age but Dhanika was young and capable of building a new hut for himself.

As may be expected, the Mahāsāṅghika Vinaya has introduced elements which are characteristic of the special leanings of the school. The followers of this school believed that Buddha was *lokottara*, supra-mundane, and that his divine powers were limitless. This doctrine had evidently its influence on all writings on the school. Thus the Vinaya of this school alone says that when Buddha came to the tiled cottage of Dhanika "the gods and the divinities opened the door for him" and that "although the door was low the Tathāgatha entered it without lowering his head".

But the Sarvāstivāda and the Dharmaguptaka vinayas which are supposed to follow strictly the conservative traditions (Sthaviravāda) are not quite immune from this influence. Both the Vinayas say that while Buddha

saw the tiled cottage of Dhanika from a distance, he came to know what it was, evidently through his supernatural power, but he still made enquiries about it from Ānanda according to the ordinary human custom. The Mūḷasarvāstivāda version betrays this influence to a larger extent. When Buddha intended to regulate the habitation of monks he started not directly with their dwellings but with the dwellings of the gods, demi-gods, etc. This was because he was the master not of this world alone but of all the three worlds (tri-dhātu).

One of the most important things which the Pāli Vinaya fails to state is the reason which guided Buddha to order the demolition of the tiled cottage of Dhanika. It is simply said that it was unbecoming of a recluse to possess such a hut and that it might bring downfall to those who would come after. The Sarvāstivāda and the Mūla-sarvāstivāda Vinayas are also silent about it. The former says that Buddha feared that the *anyatīrthikas* might ridicule the Buddhists and say "During the life time of Buddha the sin defiles the law". The latter almost reproduces the same sentence. None of these three Vinayas say why the construction of a tiled hut was unbecoming of a recluse and why by doing so a Buddhist monk exposed himself to the ridicule of the heretics. The three other Vinayapiṭakas, viz. the Mahiśāsaka-vinaya, the Dharmaguptaka and the Mahāsāṅghika, give a cogent reason for Buddha's ordering the demolition of the tiled hut. The Mahiśāsaka says that Buddha disapproved of Dhanika's act because it involved the killing of living beings. Buddha says: "By this bad act he has gravely injured the living things. He is not sorry for it. I have previously spoken in different ways on the law of mercifulness. The Venerable Ones will in various ways ridicule the Bhikṣus doing like this." Buddha then clearly says: "If you Bhikṣus, burn tiles you will commit the *T'u-lo-che* (Thullacaya) sin. You will be guilty of *T'u-ki-lo* (Dukkaṭa)". The Dharmaguptaka says the same thing. Buddha disapproved of Dhanika's act because it involved injury to living beings. Buddha says: "I have constantly and in numberless ways spoken about kindness to living beings. Why has this foolish man himself made a mud hut and by collecting fire-wood and cow-dung burnt it? He should have thus made the tiles red and committed *T'u-ki-lo* (Dukkaṭa)." The Mahāsāṅghika says that Buddha disapproved of the construction of the tiled hut for two reasons. Firstly because it involved injury to living beings and secondly because it was unhealthy. Buddha says: "Then again by burning the earth you will kill all sorts of living beings. The tiled house is cold in winter and very hot in summer. It destroys sleep and brings disease and pain." On this point therefore the Pāli Vinaya seems to be defective. With the development of the Saṅgha certainly a time came when the monks could not quite tolerate an injunction prohibiting the use of dwelling places made of tiles or burnt bricks. The Pāli, the Sarvāstivāda and the Mūla-sarvāstivāda-Vinayas in this regard seem to have suffered some alteration in the hands of their redactors.

The imperfection of the Pāli account can be noticed in another connection. While describing the tiled cottage of Dhanika it says that "it was a beautiful, lovely, pleasing, red hut, just like a little *indragopa* and just like the sound of a small bell, so was the sound of this hut" (*kuṭikā abhirūpā dassaniyā pasādikā lohitikā seyyathāpi indragopakā seyyathāpi nāma kiṅkinikāsaddo evameva tassa kuṭikāya saddo ahosi*). But the last part of the sentence—"just like the sound of a small bell, so was the sound of this hut" seems to be absurd. The Mahiśāsaka-vinaya is more complete on this point. It says: "At the time of the wind blowing it (i.e. the hut) made the sound of a guitar". The colour of the cottage is compared with different things in the different Vinayas. According to the Pāli Vinaya it was red like an *indragopa* which is according to the Pāli commentaries a coral-red insect. According to the Dharmaguptaka the colour of the hut was red like fire, according to the Mūla-sarvāstivāda it was like the *jātika* flower while according to the Mahāsāṅghika it was like the Udumbara flower.

On another point the accounts of the Pāli, Sarvāstivāda and Mūla-Sarvāstivāda Vinayas are less interesting than the accounts of the other Vinayas. It is about the wood which was taken from the wood-yard in charge of the royal officer on the false pretext. The Pāli Vinaya says that these were sticks 'held for the king, serving to repair the city laid down in case of accident" (*nagara-paṭisaṁkhārikāni āpadatthāya nikkhittāni*). According to the Sarvāstivāda it is "the heavy sticks used for protecting the city" and according to the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda it was wood "to be used for the destroyed parts of the great city of Rājagṛha." The Dharmaguptaka simply says that it was the wood retained for the king. But the Mahiśāsaka and the Mahāsāṅghika accounts attach greater importance to the wood taken away by Dhanika. According to the former it was "the big wood used for the city rampart", whereas according to the latter it was "two of the five flying ladders". Probably the last two accounts mean the same thing. The wood taken away by Dhanika was therefore of such importance as the king could not afford to lose it without a proper enquiry.

The comparative study of the different versions of the story of Dhanika therefore shows that in spite of their fundamental similarity in regard to the commission of the sin of stealing by a monk for the first time, there are important and significant differences between them. They raise problems which may be answered only from a thorough and comparative study of all the six Vinayas.

EARLY BUDDHISM AND THE TAKING OF LIFE

By

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The Indian genius we are often, and rightly, told is for religion; and when the religion we now call Buddhism arose in the sixth century B.C. in India, the tradition and exercise of religious thought, speculation and livelihood were strong, and they were protected. Kings were patrons of religion, and the men of religion commanded much respectful attention and enjoyed kindly and honourable treatment alike from kings, ruling chieftains, their ministers and the ordinary people. There abounded, as early Buddhist and Jain texts show, all kinds of ascetics, *tāpasas*, numerous wandering teachers and students, *paribbājakas*, and a diversity of sects, *titthiyas*, many of them brahminical. Among the most famous of all the religious groups were the Jains, whose doctrines were already well developed by the time of the rise of Buddhism.

In India in the sixth century B.C. there was thus much that went by the name of religion; and there was much besides that masqueraded under a religious guise. For example, there was the offering of sacrifices, partly made for temporal gains, and which might involve the taking of life. There were, on the other hand, various other habits and customs which, while no attempt was made to attribute their origin, observance or perpetuation to any religious source, yet also depended on the taking of life. Impelled, perhaps by a mixture of motives, the two greatest religious systems flourishing in these times, Jainism and Buddhism, both made an indelible impression not only on the India of their day but, in the case of Buddhism, on the lands where it has since spread, by the firm stand they took against the prevalence of practices which deprived creatures of life. The object of this paper is to discuss in a general way the attitude adopted by Early Buddhism to a practice which it deplored.

There is no doubt that in the lay world of the Early Buddhist epoch life was frequently deliberately and knowingly destroyed. Human life was taken by kings and their armies in battle. It was taken again by murderers who, after all, broadly speaking, do in an unorganised way what armies do in an organised way. Animal life was taken by kings and their attendants when out for the pleasure of hunting. It was taken, although unintentionally, by farmers ploughing and by agriculturists digging. It was taken by anyone who felled a tree,[1] or destroyed vegetable growth,[1] who trampled down

1. *Vin.* iv, 34.

crops and grasses[2] and who dug the soil.[3] For according to the Indian way of thinking, as this is expressed in the Pali canon, a certain form of life called "one-facultied", *ekindriya jīva,* inhabits trees, plants and the soil, and even water may have creatures, or "breathers", (*sappāṇaka udaka*) in it.[4] Again, animal life was taken by hunters and trappers, by butchers and fishermen for human consumption and other human needs. And it was taken by brahmin priests for sacrificial purposes, as was perhaps, although certainly to a lesser extent, human life.[5] Thus slaughter took place under four major forms: in battle, in agriculture, for eating meat and fish, and for sacrifice.

The emergence in India of the notion of *ahiṃsā,* non-harming, non-injury, is historically speaking not clear. Its origin cannot be attributed to a definite date or to any particular teacher, social reformer or law-giver. The problem of the birth of the idea of non-injury is indeed as obscure as that of "leaving the world",[6] of forsaking home for homelessness. Non-injury, which includes the principle of sparing life, of not taking it, of not depriving man or beast of it, receives much emphasis in the surviving Jain texts; but whether the notion actually sprang up under the Jains or whether they exploited some life-sparing tradition already there we do not know. Although the birth of the notion may be hidden to us, the magnitude of the stress the Jains lay on doing anything so calamitous as taking life has the appearance of a protest; a protest against an existent and more or less widespread slaughter of creatures of which it was impossible to be unaware.

Buddhism also was aware of this state of things, and was very much alive to the divers purposes for which life was destroyed. If it did not use the word *ahiṃsā* and the verbs connected with it as frequently as the contemporary Jains, it all the same fostered the scruple against the taking of life as much as they did. Other sects which inhabited the Valley of the Ganges at the same time, while not making such a mark on the thought and custom of the day, nevertheless contributed to this new or revived scruple and upheld it by themselves practising non-injury under the form of vegetarianism.[7]

But in spite of teaching, precept and example, the evil persisted for some two hundred and fifty years at least after Gotama's lifetime until it was given, not a mortal, but a severe blow by the Emperor Aśoka. His Rock Edict I is a revelation of the terrible slaughter of animals that went on daily

2. *Vin.* i, 137, 158, iv. 296. 3. *Vin.* iv, 32-33. 4. *Vin.* iv, 49, 125.
5. *Cf.* A. B. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads,* p. 347, and *C. H. I.,* vol. I, p. 106.
6. This latter problem is discussed by Mrs. Rhys Davids in Ch. II of *Poems of Cloister and Jungle.*
7. *M.* i, 80.

so that the royal kitchen could feed hundreds of people and the king's popularity thereby increased. But Aśoka, who became exceedingly sensitive to the taking of animal life, abolished this communal feeding, first of all reducing the number of animals to be slain daily to three, and for use only at the royal table itself, and then decreed on the rock that "even those three living creatures shall not be slain in the future." The Emperor's conviction of the sanctity of animal life culminated in his Pillar Edict V, assigned to the date 243 B.C. This lays down "an elaborate code of regulations restricting the slaughter and mutilation of animals throughout the empire. Those regulations were imposed upon all classes of the population without distinction of creed, social customs, or religious sentiment."[8] The broad principles of Buddhist teaching on compassion to all that lives and breathes here finds concrete, detailed and definite expression. Aśoka applied this teaching to his times, he lived it, and he spread it through the unusual medium of hard rock and polished pillar.

It may have been acquaintance of the fact that during the early Buddhist epoch some control was exercised over the unchecked slaughter of animals which emboldened Aśoka to restrict their destruction or mutilation on certain days: on holy days. Although we have little knowledge of any such previous interdictions, Aśoka's Pillar Edict would suggest in some form these had existed before his time, and that therefore he was continuing a practice, perhaps expanding it, but not innovating it. A brief reference is found in the *Vinaya* to a "non-slaughter day." In the story of the lay woman follower Suppiyā, it appears that before she cut a piece of flesh from her own thigh for an ill monk to whom she had promised some broth, she had a search for meat made throughout Benares. But she was told that none was to hand, "for today is not a slaughter day", *māghāto ajja.*[9] The *Jātaka* mentions the "drum of no-slaughter" being sounded through a town,[10] and as having been heard by kings of old,[11] and it mentions a zemindar who had laid an interdiction upon the slaughter of animals.[12]

It is tempting to suppose that some of these no-slaughter days coincided with the *uposatha,* or Observance days, days of the new and the full moons when monks in each "residence" recited their body of Pātimokkha rules, and when lay people were meant to abstain from some of their more congenial activities. And for such a coinciding there is support from a *Jātaka* in which it is said that a man was unable to get meat, not merely because it was a no-slaughter day but, with greater precision, because it was a "fast day on which there was no slaughter," *uposathamāghāta.*[13] This may well have been the case, but yet it throws little light upon any early connection made

8. Vincent Smith, *Asoka,* 3rd edn., 1920, p. 57.
9. *Vin.* i, 217. 10. *Jā.* iii, 428, 434.
11. *Jā.* iii, 428. 12. *Jā.* iv, 115. 13. *Jā.* vi. 346.

between such a restriction and special days. For the *Jātaka* prose is comparatively late, and was probably composed nearer to Aśoka's time than to Gotama's.

There is plenty of evidence however to show that, before Aśoka's reign, Gotama had protested against the taking of life. His surviving talks and prohibitions and "allowances" (*anujānāmi*) too—are addressed mainly to monks, and these after all formed his most malleable as well as his most vulnerable material since they were under the control and discipline of the Order, of which he was, as the canon shows particularly the *Vinaya*, the fountain head. Yet records are not lacking where Gotama is portrayed as either directly or by implication trying to drive home to lay people his abhorrence of taking life.

In one respect, he was not unsuccessful. For he was instrumental in bringing about a decrease in the popularity of great animal sacrifices. But in the three other ways—that is, in warfare, agriculture and meat eating with its attendant trades of hunting, trapping and butchery, it may be said that he met with only a limited success. There is no means of assessing the number of those who turned to the humaner way of life presented to them by Gotama. It would however be reasonable to suppose that some of his contemporaries responded to his gifts of persuasion, and, further inspired by a feeling for *ahiṃsā*, refrained from activities which involved destroying animal or human life. For this has been the case later and in other Buddhist lands. On the other hand, there is no doubt that even if warfare, agriculture and meat-eating diminished somewhat as lay occupations in Gotama's times, they were by no means abolished nor even largely renounced. And for this two chief reasons may be adduced : in the first place, kings and people did not want to give up these ways of ministering to their ambitions, livelihood or pleasure ; and in the second, since Gotama was not a temporal ruler, he had no actual power to impose a body of restrictive regulations and penalties on the laity as he had on his monastic followers.

With blood-sacrifice the case was different. The times were ripe for its virtual abolition ; and it only needed some authoritative lead, some champion, and the support of a strong-minded, convinced and articulate opponent for the perhaps already dying brahminical customs of animal sacrifice and of such human sacrifice as there was to fall into decay. Gotama entered the area ; and according to passages in the canon, however infrequent, he spoke with vigour. Of his protests, I will mention two : the one serious, the other revealing a delightful sense of humour. Both are well known. The serious protest is found in verses occurring in the *Saṃyutta, Anguttara, Suttanipāta* and *Itivuttaka*.[14]

14. *S.* i. 76, *A.* ii. 42, iv. 151, *Sn.* 303, *It.* 21.

The sacrifices called the Horse the Man,
The Peg-thrown Site, the Drink of Victory,
The Bolts Withdrawn, and all the mighty fuss :—
These are not rites which bring a rich result.
Where divers goats and sheep and kine are slain,
Never to such a rite as that repair
The noble seers who walk the perfect way.
But rites where there is no bustle nor no fuss
Are offerings meet, bequests perpetual, —
Where never goats and sheep and kine are slain.
To such a sacrifice as this repair
The noble seers who walk the perfect way.
These are the rites entailing great results.
These to the celebrant are blest, not cursed.
The oblation runneth o'er ; the gods are pleased.

This is serious and persuasive. Yet the half humorous way which is chosen to convey the protest made in the Kūṭadanta Suttanta[15] does nothing to militate against its fundamental earnestness. In his Introduction to this Suttana which, as he points out,[16] consists of a legend obviously invented *ad hoc*, Rhys Davids wrote : "having laughed the brahmin ideal of sacrifice out of court . . . the author or authors of the Suttana go on to say what they think a sacrifice ought to be. Far from exalting King Wide-Realm's (Mahāvijita) procedure, they put his sacrifice at the very bottom of a long list of sacrifices each better than the other, and leading up to the sweetest and highest of all, which is the attainment of Arahatship.[17] King Wide-Realm's sacrifice, although it never took place except in the half serious, half comic legend told for the sake of its moral, is, as described, typically Vedic in character. There would have been the slaughter of cows, goats, cocks and pigs. As it was, in the legend, only ghee, oil, butter, milk, honey and molasses were used, and largesse was distributed in the four quarters. Rhys Davids thinks that the battle over the Vedic form of sacrifice "was really won by the Buddhists and their allies. And the combined ridicule and earnestness of our Suttanta will have had its share in bringing about the victory."[18]

At all events it is sufficiently clear that strictures such as these did not fall upon deaf ears. The people were sympathetic, broad-minded and not completely dominated by priestly superstition. In a word, they provided excellent material on which to work in the matter of suppressing the destruction of animals for quasi-religious purposes, and the growing realisation that large-scale sacrifice was both spiritually and economically unsound will have played a decisive part in stamping it out.

15. *D.* i. 127 ff.
16. *Dial.* i. 162.
17. *Dial.* i. 164.
18. *Dial.* i. 165.

This potent stand against a mistaken custom may have been further backed by the feeling, even by the knowledge, that in India animals had not always been offered up on the sacrificial altar (*vedi*). There would appear to be a contrast between the religion of the Aryan invaders and the attitude adopted, in particular to the cow, by the cattle-breeding inhabitants of the overrun territory. Horse[19] and cattle sacrifices were characteristic of the Vedic tribes; and by their own religion they were enjoined to sacrifice cattle to their gods and to slay them for guests, the actual worship of the cow as such not being found in Rig-Veda.[20] But, on the other hand, it would appear as though among the indigenous population a certain reverence for the cow had gone back to a remote antiquity. The *Suttanipāta*, in a very remarkable Sutta,[21] speaks of the brahmins of old as having regarded the cow as their parents, brothers and kin, as their best friend and as the source of all healthful things. So in gratitude they never slaughtered cows.[22] But then there came a change. The brahmins became greedy and avaricious. Fired by the huge gifts they obtained from the king by instigating him to offer horses and human beings in sacrifice, their next choice fell upon cows. And Okkāka, the king, doomed hundreds and thousands of cows to be slain. A sense of the injustice and wickedness of this, felt by the teller of this story:

> The cows that do no hurt with horn or hoof,
> yes, gentle lamblike cows that fill the pail,
> he bade be taken by the horn and slain[23]

was shared by others at the time when of old this outrage (*adhamma*) began:

> 'Tis wrong! 'tis wrong! arose th'united wail
> of Brahmās, Indra, titans, demons too,
> as cows were butchered for the sacrifice[24]

as it was by other and still later people presumed to be the contemporaries of the story-teller:

> Thus, thus the wise condemn this ancient guilt,
> and folk condemn the sacrificers' crime.[25]

This outstanding Sutta doubtless refers in its thirty-two verses to some ancient tradition of brahmin degeneracy. Instead of their former life of zeal and rectitude which needed no animal sacrifices to abet it, later, in the lust for wealth, brahmin priests procured the sacrifice of horses, men, and finally of cows. But sacrifice in its turn succumbed to the force of public opinion. Substantiation for such popular disapprobation may be found in the outcry the people made at the prospect of the sacrifice of elephants, horses, bulls

19. *RV*. I. 162, 163 were used at horse-sacrifices in Vedic ritual.
20. A. B. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, p. 191.
21. *Sn. Brāmaṇadhammikasutta* (No. 7 in *Cūḷavagga*).
22. *Sn*. 295-297.
23. 309.
24. *Sn*. 310.
25. *Sn*. 313.

and other four-footed creatures, and which is recorded in a *Jātaka* story.[26] The evidence provided by Pali "literature" for the suppression of great animal sacrifices suggests that outside brahminical circles, this practice was not one particularly cherished by the ordinary people.

This degeneration from harmless rites to bloody sacrifices is noticed by Buddhaghosa in the *Samyutta Commentary*[27] and by Dhammapāla in the *Itivuttaka Commentary*,[28] in their exegesis on the verses beginning: "The sacrifices called the Horse, the Man," already quoted. Formerly, these Commentaries tell us, the *assa-medha*, horse-sacrifice was *sassa-medha*, a corn or crops festival; the *purisa-medha*, human sacrifice, took the form of a six months gift of food and wages to great soldiers; the throwing of the peg, *sammāpāsa*, was then called a bond to bind men's hearts; people addressed one another in affectionate language, *vācapeyya*, the word being later altered to *vājapeyya*, a sacrificial drink;[29] and people were so pleasant that there was no need to bolt the doors of the houses.[30] But, so the commentaries go on with no doubt the *Suttanipāta* in mind, in the time of the former king Okkāka (who is there regarded as in part responsible for the brahmin ascendancy) the brahmins upset all this happy arrangement, and the "four bases of popularity" and contentment in the realm took on the aspect of sinister sacrifices and orgies.[31]

In speaking of human sacrifice, *purisamedha*, which in the verses quoted is mentioned with *assamedha*, horse-sacrifice, and three other rites which did not involve death for the victim, the question should be borne in mind of whether it was in early times ever more than a symbolical ceremony. No reference to the practice can be established in the Rig-Veda;[32] the Brāhmaṇas do not describe a rite of an actual slaying of a man;[33] "there is in the Śatapatha and Taittiriya Brāhmaṇas and their Sūtras merely the symbolic offering of men," as is the case in the Yajurveda.[34] Indeed evidence for a human sacrifice on the lines of the horse-sacrifice appears to be provided only by two of the later Sūtras.

This does not mean however that on occasion a man may not have been

26. *Jā*. No. 433.
27. *SA*. i. 144 ff.
28. *It. A*. i. 93.
29. On Vājapeya, or Drink of Strength, see A. B. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, p. 339; and for mention of the *assamedha* and the "*Vājapeya* (soma sacrifice), associated with secular Brahmanism" as being "two forms of sacrifice having a political significance, see B. C. Law, *India as described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p. 205.
30. *Cf*. Megasthenes, *Fragm*. XXVII (McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 70): "their houses and property they generally leave unguarded."
31. *Cf. G. S*. ii. 50, n. 1, to which I am indebted.
32. A. B. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, p. 347; and *C. H. I.*, vol. I, p. 106.
33. A. B. Keith *Religion*, p. 347.
34. A. B. Keith, *C. H. I*, vol. I, pp. 123, 136.

slain for some sacrificial purpose. In the *Takkāriya Jātaka*[35] one brahmin proposes the slaughter of another so as to make an oblation with his flesh and blood when a new gateway for a town was to be built. Rouse, in his translation of this *Jātaka*,[36] has an interesting note on the persistence of traditions about human sacrifice at the founding of a building and so on, so as "to propitiate the spirits disturbed by the digging," and he refers to the rumours current at the time of many young children being immured in the foundations of the Hooghly Bridge at Calcutta. Keith, in discussing the later Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas, alludes to the building of an altar for the sacred fire. He says, "in one sense no doubt this was an ancient and simple rite, accompanied as so often by the slaying of a man in order to secure the abiding character of the structure."[37] Even if there was some tradition, as the Pali Canon and commentaries may suggest, for a full scale Human Sacrifice similar to the Horse Sacrifice, evidence is lacking for any actual slaying of a human victim or victims. The more casual, and far less costly, sacrifice of one man on occasions when buildings were being erected appears to be better attested. There is no ground for believing however that it was customary to offer human beings on such occasions ; there are more grounds for believing that in early Buddhist times any form of human sacrifice was much less common than animal sacrifice. Yet however progressive and enlightened was the bulk of the population, there was always a backward element to contend with, the element which, for example made oblations (*balikamma*) of deer and swine to *yakkhas*.[38]

It would moreover seem as if animal sacrifice had been superimposed, partly as a royal and priestly undertaking, on an older tradition of harmlessness, breaking it, cutting into it, it is true, but not crushing it into oblivion. The survival, the memory, of this tradition, denying to animal sacrifice the status of an unbroken custom, must be regarded as a further reason why any difficulties which the Early Buddhists may have met in fighting for the abolition of the sacrifice of horses and cattle, in particular, were by no means insuperable.

The Early Buddhist attitude to warfare, agriculture and meat-eating was more mixed than was its attitude to blood-sacrifices. It made no wholehearted condemnation of these three practices although they all entail the taking of life. But it did what it could to lessen their incidence and popularity. The most fertile field for reform was the monastic Order. Monks were forbidden to have more than a minimum to do with armies[39] on pain of committing offences which needed confession as their expiation ; and no one who was a soldier, subsumed under the heading "in a king's pay," was

35. *Jā.* iv. 246.
36. *Jā. Tranl.* iv. 155.
37. *C. H. I.*, vol. I, p. 142.
38. *Jā.* iv. 115.
39. *Vin.* iv. 104-108, *Pāc.* 48-50.

allowed to "go forth"[40] from home into homelessness, that is, to take the first step to becoming a monk. Further, monks were forbidden to dig the soil or to get another to do so,[41] a rule which presumably could have been companioned by another to cover ploughing. But because monks were entirely supported by the laity, and because apparently they had not attempted to plough, there was no occasion to formulate such a prohibition. But a different set of considerations was entailed in regard to eating meat, the result of which was that monks were allowed to eat meat and fish provided that it was "pure" in three respects, which means a monk had neither seen, heard nor suspected that it had been killed on purpose for him ;[42] and further, provided that it was not the flesh of certain animals which it was made unallowable to eat.[43]

I will say a little more about these three practices in turn and will begin with warfare. But I have written about the early Buddhist views on this subject elsewhere.[44] I will here only point out that Gotama is represented neither as having glossed over nor as having passed by its existence without a word of censure. On the contrary, he faced the fact of fighting openly and frankly, and in three main ways. In the first place, there are verses attributed to him, depicting the utter futility and inconclusiveness of war,[45] and more verses contrasting the use of force with the exercise of *dhamma*,[46] conscience, what ought to be done because it is right. Yet, although the love of fighting is deeply embedded in the human heart, there were apparently some people in the times to which the *Vinaya* purports to refer who regretted that they had to have anything to do with an army.[47] It was their *karma* which drove them to this means of livelihood, and in a vicious circle this means of livelihood set up a new bad *karma* for them. Many classes of people, as the *Suttanipāta* enumerates, including the farmer, *kassaka*, the fighting man, *yodhājīva*, and the sacrificer, *yājaka*, are what they are because of their deeds, *kammanā*.[48]

Again, it is interesting to notice that public opinion[49] and the opinion of the pious monks,[50] as well as that ascribed to Gotama,[51] was against monks talking *tiracchānakathā*,[52] low, inferior talk concerned with mundane matters, and that two out of its twenty-seven specified forms are talk about armies and talk about fights. Such talk is said to be connected with the

40. *Vin.* i. 74.
41. *Vin.* iv, 33, *Pāc.* 10.
42. *Vin.* i. 238, ii. 197, iii. 171, *M.* i. 369.
43. *Vin.* i. 219 f.
44. *Ceylon Daily News, Vesak Number*, 1939 ; and (briefly) *B. D.* ii, Intr. p. xxxii.
45. *S.* i. 85.
46. *Dhp.* 256, 257.
47. *Vin.* iv. 104, 105, 107.
48. *Sn.* 650-652.
49. *Vin.* iv. 164.
50. *Vin.* i. 188.
51. *A.* v. 128-129.
52. Also mentioned at *D.* i. 7, 178, iii. 54 ; *M.* i. 513, ii. 1, 23. In all these passages, except *D.* i. 7, wanderers are spoken of as talking *tiracchānakathā*.

goal nor to tend to the highest form of godly life.[53] In substituting ten topics of conversation Gotama is made to say to the listening monks that if they would engage in these they would outshine in brilliance the moon and sun—not to mention the wanderers, followers of other sects and who, as other records show, were prone to indulge in *tiracchānakathā*.[54]

In the second place, it adds greatly to Gotama's fame as a leader of humanitarian thought and practice that he was able to eliminate warfare as an occupation for his monastic followers who, after all, formed a considerable proportion of the population. In this respect Eastern monachism differs strikingly from Western, where monks not only regarded themselves as soldiers of Christ but saw nothing wrong or incongruous in resorting to arms. Fighting was automatically closed to Buddhist monks by their third Pārājika rule : if they deprived a human being of life or incited him to commit suicide or instigated another person to murder him, they committed an offence of the utmost gravity whose penalty was expulsion from the Order. They were further debarred from fighting by other rules which made it an offence, although of a lesser kind, knowingly to take animal life.[55] And since two of the four "wings" of an army consisted of elephants and horses, these were inasmuch danger as the infantry (*patti*) of being targets for destruction in battle.

The third way in which Gotama faced the fact of fighting was, however strange this may seem, by expressing a certain admiration for the soldier. Although metaphors from warfare are less frequent in Buddhist than in Christian literature,[56] there are several similes which are military in nature, their point usually being to encourage monks to be steadfast in endeavour as soldiers are steadfast in battle and to wage spiritual battles as they wage armed ones. Discipline was the aim for both. On the other hand unstable monks are likened to the (five kinds of) warriors who lose heart : as the latter falter at various (preliminary) stages of the battle so the former falter if they are unable to steer quite clear of women.[57] Thus soldiers, even cowardly ones, have their uses as pegs on which to hang various aspects of Buddhist teaching for monks.

And the same may be said of the soldiers' various battle adjuncts : the warrior elephant and horse. The former especially is used in metaphor. But it is interesting to find that the ways in which a monk is compared to a battle elephant represent as a rule quite initial stages in his spiritual training. For example, when monks are compared to elephants who falter when

53. *S.* v. 420. 54. *A.* v. 129.
55. *Vin.* iv. 33, 35, 49, 125.
56. *Pss. Breth.*, p. 144, n. 1. But see T. R. Glover, *The Disciple*, 1942, who, in his chapter on The Soldier points out that in Paul's Epistles the soldier and the athlete are "sometimes confused by English readers".
57. *A.* iii. 89, 100.

going forth to battle because each of their five senses is afflicted by disagreeable sensations—a metaphor which resembles that of the soldiers who lose heart almost before the battle begins—it is to show that such monks are not yet immune to the lure of the five senses.[58] Again, as the elephant, entering battle, destroys all parts of the fourfold army and endures the blows of weapons, so should a monk destroy all sensual thinking and endure physical discomfort.[59] Both these metaphors point to stages where a monk is not far advanced in his training.

A verse from the *Theragāthā*[60] further suggests that only the early stages of the training were envisaged where warrior-elephant similes are used. This verse is ascribed to the former soldiers, Soṇa, Poṭiriya's son.[61] After having gone forth, he remained so sluggish and did not apply his mind to meditation that Gotama had to admonish him. He thereupon reflecting upon his shortcomings and working for insight[62] uttered this verse :

> If in the fight my warrior elephant
> Advanced, 'twere better, fallen from his back,
> Dead on the field and trampled I should lie,
> Than beaten live a captive to the foe.

This is a verse which comes well from a former soldier ; and it may be only accidental that Soṇa compares his own almost desperate state after he had turned monk with his imagined desperate state in battle due to being dislodged from his elephant. But, on the other hand, this comparison may be deliberate since in other similes battle elephants are apt to be connected with weak or elementary attainments in the life of religion.

Agriculture does not involve the taking of human life, but in the process of ploughing and digging small animals and insects may be destroyed. Now in regard to taking life, Early Buddhism drew two distinctions. In the first place, there was a distinction between taking it deliberately and taking it unintentionally. Thus if monks took human or animal life in the latter way there was no offence for them.[63] But if they took it knowingly and intentionally there was, as I have already indicated, the most serious penalty in the case of human life, and a penalty also, although less severe, in the case of animal life. For in the second place, Early Buddhism recognised a dis-

58. *A.* iii. 157. 59. *A.* ii. 116, iii. 161. 60. *Thag.* 194.
61. *Thag.* and *Vin.* evince some discrepancies. This is one, for *Vin.* i. 74 forbids monks to allow anyone in the king's pay to go forth. Again, *Vin.* i. 79 decrees that monks shall not let a youth under fifteen years of age go forth. But six "boy-theras" are mentioned in *Thag.*, all of them recorded in the *Comy.* to have "gone forth" when seven years old, including Sīvali, who lay in his mother's womb for seven years before being born, but who "went forth" on the seventh day after this event (*Thag. A.* i. 147).
62. From *Comy.* on *Thag.* 194.
63. *Vin.* iii. 79 ff., iv. 33, 35, 49, 125.

tinction between men and animals. But since this was in degree rather than in kind, it therefore held it as principle of right behaviour for monks that they should destroy neither the one nor the other.

Agriculture certainly opened the door to the danger of taking life. A farmer could hardly avoid killing or maiming small creatures in the soil. Yet, because he did not destroy them of set purpose, the evil of taking life was not the point of Gotama's famous ploughing talk with the farmer Bhāradvāja.[64] The point was that *his* kind of ploughing—that of the mind and spirit—was richer in result than the farmer's ploughing of the land, and it was meant to show how much finer were the activities of those who were able to devote themselves to a spiritual instead of a mundane way of life.

But agriculture had been practised from time immemorial. Moreover, it was, in the India of Gotama's days as it had been for centuries previously, not only the economic mainspring of the people and by far the greatest industry, but its results were vital to the life, health and prosperity of the entire population. So vividly had this been realised even in remotest antiquity, and in lands wide apart, that ceremony and ritual had come to be connected with the chief agricultural operations of the year.

Everything depended on the fertility of the crops. These therefore had to be sown in an atmosphere of the rite and festival. It is true that this may have dwindled by the Early Buddhist epoch, even if it had not disappeared altogether. Yet certainly the tradition remained. The *Jātakanidāna*, the Introduction to the *Jātakas*, a collection of stories of the past, contains a valuable description of a Festival of Sowing or of Seed-time, called a *vappa-maṅgala*.[65] This was a ploughing festival, in which the king played a leading part. The people decorated the city like a *deva's* mansion and all the servants and workmen, in spotless white clothes and adorned with scented garlands, collected at the king's house. A thousand ploughs, *naṅgala*, were yoked "for the king's work". He himself had a golden plough ornamented with red gold, and the horns, reins and goads of the oxen were ornamented with gold. Of the thousand ploughs, a hundred and seven (or seven hundred and ninety-nine[66]) were adorned with silver as were the yokes and reins of

64. *S.* i. 172, *Sn.* 76-80. 65. *Jā.* i. 57.

66. *Jā.* i. 57. The Pali is *ekena ūnaṃ aṭṭhasataṃ* and *ekoūnaṭṭhasataṃ*. Rhys Davids, *Bud. Birth Stories*, 1880, p. 74 renders "a hundred and eight minus one", and A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Ṛg-Veda as Land-náma-Bók*, p. 14 as "a hundred and seven". At some time 108 certainly came to be regarded as an auspicious number: 108 marks on the soles of the Buddha's feet, 108 "books" in the Tibetan canon, 108 beads on a Buddhist rosary. On the other hand *aṭṭhasata* has the meaning of "a great number" and as such is 800. This is the meaning which *C. P. D.* ascribes to this passage. Moreover *ūna* is generally prefixed to round numbers. But '799 ministers' was large in proportion to the then 200 ploughmen, unless this was an intentional device used to emphasise the importance of the occasion.

their oxen; and these were used by the ministers. The ploughmen took the remaining ploughs and ploughed from this way and that, *ito c'ito*, perhaps up and down, while the king went *orato paraṃ parato oraṃ*, from the hither to the further (side) and back again, perhaps across the field, on the analogy of *orato paraṃ* when crossing a river. There is no doubt that once this was a most important festival and things were done on a lavish scale.

The *Jātakanidāna* relates that while the ritual ploughing was in progress the shadow of the Jambu-tree stood steady and circular.[67] This incident provides a clue to the time of the year when the festival was held, for it relates to a solar solstice, and as the seed will have been sown at the turning of the year, it is reasonable to assume that the spring equinox was intended.

The *Saṃyutta Commentary*[68] and the *Suttanipāta Commentary*,[69] in passages very similar to one another, discriminate between a wet-sowing and a dry-sowing,[70] and in elucidating the verses addressed to Bhāradvāja say that here the latter is meant. This is the first sowing of the year in a land fertile enough to bear two sowings annually, and it is done before the ground has been watered by the rains of the monsoon (June-September). It would therefore have taken place about the same time of year as the *maṅgalavappa* of the *Jātakanidāna*.

The *Saṃyutta Commentary* goes into a good deal of detail, as does the *Suttanipāta Commentary*, as though recalling a ceremony no longer customary and therefore in need of recapitulation. Both say that they are describing a *maṅgalavappa* or Sowing Festival, a ritual sowing, which took place on the first day (of the sowing). After this the sowing went on in the ordinary way and without any ritual. Each of the three thousand oxen was adorned with golden hooves and silver horns, and all had sweet smelling white garlands. Their bodies were coloured with signs or marks (*lakkhaṇa*): some black, some white, some red, some variegated. The fronts of the ploughs, the yokes and goads were decorated with gold. The leading plough was yoked with eight oxen, the others with four each. There were five hundred ploughmen, all clad in white, and they were adorned with scented garlands and arrayed with bunches of flowers on their right shoulders; their limbs were dyed red and yellow and they got the ploughs into teams of ten. No king is spoken of as taking part in the sowing here, but the brahmin farmer Bhāradvāja.

He had his beard attended to, he bathed,[71] he was smeared with sweet-

67. *Jā.* i. 58. 68. *SA.* i. 242 f. 69. *Sn. A.* 137 f.

70. *Cf. VA.* 550, *udakavappa*, sowing in water, and *thalavappa* (v. l. *thūla-*), sowing on the dry ground. *Cf.* Megasthenes, *Fragm.* XI (McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 55) and Strabo, *Geography*, 15. 1. 13.

71. Probably meaning ceremonially here.

smelling unguents; he clothed himself in costly garments, put many rings on his fingers, the "lion's earrings"[72] in his ears, folded the brahmin's turban on his head, and placed a golden garland round his neck. His wife too, having had rice milk cooked in a hundred assorted vessels, had these placed in great wagons. She then bathed herself in scented water, and put on all her ornaments and went off to the ploughing accompanied by a crowd of brahmin women. Nor was the house neglected: it was sprinkled with corn and decorated with full pitchers, plantains, flags and banners. Flags and banners were likewise erected here and there on the field. Then came the oblation to the plough, *naṅgalabalikamma*: the brahmin had a golden bowl washed, he filled it with rice milk, then mixed ghee, honey and molasses into this and had the oblation made. The brahmin lady, having had vessels of gold, silver, copper, bronze and brass given to the five hundred ploughmen, took a golden spoon and stayed beside the rice milk. When the brahmin had made the oblation and had put on his red-gold sandals, he took up a red-gold stick and said: "Give rice milk here, ghee here, sugar here." This, says the *Saṃyutta Commentary*, is how the business, or the ploughing, *kammanta*, proceeded: *ayaṃ tāva kammante pavatti.*

It will be noticed that a woman (the brahmin's wife) took part in the festival. She, like the furrow, *sītā*, was a symbol of fertility, and as such was a necessary feature in the ceremony. In the Rig-Veda there is a plough-ing hymn in one verse of which[73] Sītā is venerated as a kind of deity of agriculture and prosperity. The Sītā of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, according to legend, was not born in the ordinary way but sprang from a furrow as Janaka was ploughing.

The *Jātakanidāna* and these two Commentaries thus supply good evidence of a great ploughing and sowing festival held in times gone past. I think however that no such minute descriptions of any festival held at the ripening of the corn survive, although this too was an important time in the agricultural year. It seems we have in fact not much more than the reference in the *Saṃyutta Commentary* and the *Itivuttaka Commentary*[74] to the *sassamedha*, corn or crops festival, as having been the original of the *assamedha*, Horse Sacrifice. Monier Williams gives *sasyeshṭi* as "sacrifice offered on the ripening of new grain." So there is some faint tradition. But the Pali canon pays no special attention either to the time when the crops are ripening or are being harvested. Various measures are taken to protect the growing corn,[75] and we hear that in the last month of the hot weather cows must be kept off all crops,[76] and again that deer must be herded away

72. *Sīhakuṇḍala. Sn. A.* i. 138 has the v. l. *sīhamukhakuṇḍala* as at *Jā.* v. 438 which has the shorter form as well.
73. *RV.* IV. 57. 6.
74. *SA.* i. 144, *It. A.* i. 93.
75. *Vin.* i. 137, 138, iv. 47, 205, 266, 296. *Sn.* p. 15.
76. *M.* i. 116.

"at the time of crops," *sassasamaya*.[77] It looks as though any ancient festi-val to celebrate the ripening of the grain had given place to the practical and careful attention which by common consent was bestowed upon the growing crops, but which had nothing ritual about it. The dying out, if this were indeed the case, either of this festival or of that held at showing time in no way impaired the popular determination to keep the land productive. Crops were regarded as supremely valuable by the lay contemporaries of the early Buddhist monks, and agriculture was ranked in the *Vinaya*, which was intended principally and one might say almost exclusively for monks, as one of the three "high works" or activities.[78] It was not therefore an occupation which would yield easily or extensively to Gotama's deprecations of it.

He realised that while people remained in the world, no radical alteration could be made in many of their activities. It was only when any member of the laity felt the call to come apart and decided to renounce the world and to become a monk that prohibitions, made partly for the sake of protecting living creatures and partly for the sake of the monks' moral welfare, could be enforced and made fruitful. The monk world had a different code from the lay world, for it was one of as complete non-harming as it was possible to achieve. But in the completeness of this there was a curious anomaly connected with some of the foods that a monk might eat.

The eating of neither fish nor meat was banned for monks; and if not positively encouraged was likewise not positively discouraged. Indeed fish and meat formed two out of the five permissible "soft foods," the other three being different cereals.[79] It looks as if, because the laity were neither stopped from growing grain, which after all did not involve the intentional taking of life, nor from occupations which made the eating of meat possible, so similarly the monks were allowed to partake of cereals, fish and meat. But we have seen that in the case of the last two, certain restrictions were imposed: meat, and fish, had to be "pure" in the three respects, and meat had to be "the meat of those (animals) whose meat is allowable."[80] Gifts to the Order were made allowable, *kappakata*, by the donor uttering some phrase to the effect that he was giving, for, with a few minor exceptions, it was an offence to take anything not given.[81] But, especially in times of scarcity, monks had a right to ask, and in fact incurred an offence of wrong-doing if they did not, whether the meat that was being given to them was that of certain animals: of an elephant, horse, dog, serpent, lion, tiger, leopard, bear or hyena.[82] For the meat of these animals came to be un-allowed. But the reasons for this ban do not in the least imply that for

77. *Jā.* i. 143.
78. *Vin.* iv. 6.
79. e.g. at *Vin.* iv. 83.
80. *Vin.* iv. 88.
81. Pārājikā II.
82. *Vin.* i. 218 ff.

monks or laity meat-eating was thought to be wrong in itself. Elephants and horses are attributes of royalty; dogs and serpents are revolting and disgusting; while to eat any of the wild animals mentioned, including again the serpent, might involve the monks in personal danger.

Many other passages show, although almost incidentally, that the eating of meat was thought of as customary, and monks are recorded to have done so often enough to give meat the appearance of having been a fairly constant article of their diet. There was the monk to whom Suppiyā promised broth, already referred to, and to whom she sent a piece of her own thigh, having prepared it, *sampādetvā*. There was the nun Uppalavaṇṇā who got as a gift some meat from a cow killed by a robber chief, and which having prepared, *sampādetvā*, she wished to present to Gotama.[83] And there were the monks who were allowed to take and eat the kills of wild animals, which of course would be other animals,[84] and they had these cooked, *pacāpetvā*, before eating them. Only in the case of a strange non-human disease were monks allowed the remedy of the raw flesh and blood of pigs.[85] These are instances taken only at random.

While injunctions survive showing which animals' flesh was forbidden, there are none specifying which was allowed. Thus, in the absence of any definite rulings, we have to piece together our knowledge of those early times from any source that seems helpful or suggestive. We have just seen that if monks ate beef or the kills of wild animals or, in certain circumstances, the raw flesh of pigs no objection was made. Similes which depict the cattle-butcher and his apprentice displaying piecemeal at the cross-roads the carcass of the ox they have slain,[86] hacking at the inwards,[87] or flinging a bare bone to a famished dog who has made his way to the slaughter house,[88] all indicate the cattle-butcher to have been a well known part of the existing social fabric, ministering to the needs of those who had no objection to eating beef. There is too the simile which compares the life of man, insignificant, trifling and full of ill and trouble, to the cow about to be slaughtered, and who with every step she takes while being driven to the shambles, comes nearer to her death and destruction.[89]

References to sheep, although often to their wool and the purposes which this served,[90] point to these animals as forming a useful part of the animal population of India then as now. And from further references to the cattle-butcher, the sheep-butcher, the pork-butcher, the deer-hunter and the fowler,[91] and also to the fishermen, all selling their wares,[92] it would seem beyond

83. *Vin.* iii. 208.
84. *Vin.* iii. 58.
85. *Vin.* i. 202-3.
86. *D.* ii. 294, *M.* i. 58.
87. *M.* i. 244, *S.* iv. 56, *A.* iii. 380.
88. *M.* i. 364.
89. *A.* iv. 138.
90. E.g. *Vin.* iii. 225-7, 233, 234.
91. *Vin.* iii. 104 ff. = *S.* ii. 254 ff.
92. *Ibid.*, and *A.* iii. 301 ff.

all doubt that the laity ate the flesh of cows, sheep, pigs, deer and game-birds, and fish. Such are the animals which (not including fish) perhaps yielded "the meat of those whose meat is allowable", and hence might be eaten by the monks if offered them, so long as the other necessary conditions were fulfilled.

There is a verse in the *Theragāthā*[93] which speaks of snaring a monkey by means of some sticky stuff, *lepa*, glue or pitch. The process is explained in the *Saṃyutta*[94] where finally the hunter, having caught the monkeys, spits him then and there and prepares him for eating, *avasajjeti*, over charcoal embers. We hear of a monk keeping a female monkey,[95] and of another monkey which was confined in captivity.[96] But there is no evidence that monkeys ever formed any part of a monk's diet. They were probably only eaten by such low people as hunters.

Although the eating of meat by laity and monks alike is tacitly condoned, the bloody trades which bring animals to destruction for this purpose by no means escape condemnation. Verses ascribed to the nun Puṇṇā[97] speak of sheep-butchers, pork-butchers, fishermen and trappers, together with executioners and thieves, as evil-doers who cannot be freed from their evil deeds by the rite of ablution.[98] For then all aquatic creatures would go to heaven, which is clearly absurd. She is speaking to a brahmin who believes in the efficacy of purification by water, but her verses plainly show the conviction that butchers, fishermen and trappers are doers of wrong. The Anguttara, in knitting beings to their deeds,[99] posits one of two bourns and uprising for those who make onslaught on creatures (restraint from which is the first of the moral habits or *sīlas*), who are hunters, bloody-handed, given over to killing and slaying: either downright woe in hell, or rebirth in the womb of an animal. Again, horribly painful consequences in after-lives are ascribed to those who in this life had been butchers, hunters and trappers.[100] But similar painful consequences for their cruel deeds here are also ascribed to animal tamers, slanderers, frauds, adulterers and fortune-tellers. It is therefore impossible to say that slayers of animals, although considered as wrong-doers and liable to very uncomfortable rebirths, were worse thought of than the other wrong-doers here named.

But monks did not, or should not, themselves actually take animal life. They did not act as butchers, they did not fish, hunt or trap. All their food was provided for them by the laity. But they were able, unlike those recluses and brahmins who are recorded to have lived on jujube fruits, sesa-

93. *Thag.* 454.
94. *S.* v. 148 f.
95. *Vin.* iii. 21.
96. *Thag.* 125 f.
97. *Thag.* 241-2.
98. *Cf. M.* i. 39, *Kd.* p. 6 for (heretical) notion of purification by water.
99. *Vin.* iii. 104 ff. = *S.* ii. 254 ff.
100. *A.* v. 288; and *cf. M.* i. 387 ff., iii. 203.

mum, beans or uncooked rice,[101] to receive gifts of fish and meat, provided they observed the restrictions and safeguards of not receiving more food than their one begging bowl would hold ;[102] of not eating more than once a day ;[103] of establishing that the fish and meat was "pure" ; and that it was not the meat of certain prohibited animals.

But the broad principle remained whereby monks aroused no criticism or contumely if they ate meat. A variety of causes may have led to this leniency where we might have expected a greater stringency. For example, a difference was made between oneself killing and oneself eating what another person had killed. Moreover Gotama advocated an adequate diet for his monks, and was as opposed to fasting and bodily mortification as he was to greed and luxury, for he saw in these no true way to achieve the highest goal, *paramatta*. Since cereals, in particular rice, with some meat, fish, fruit and dairy products formed the staple foods of the population, these were most likely to have been bestowed by them upon monks. Monks, therefore, since none of these foods was prohibited to them, obtained sufficient "to keep themselves going" and did not go short of almsfood. And, in addition, by accepting an offering of food, by not rejecting it, they would neither have appeared rude to the donor nor would they have spoiled his chance to acquire merit by his gift. To have rejected an offering of food would moreover have opened the door to picking and choosing, not only between what went into the begging bowl,[104] but between the houses visited on the alms round.[105] This in its turn would have prevented some of the laity from getting up merit, and it would have given a handle to greedy and gluttonous monks to indulge their tastes and preferences.[106]

Again, it is possible that the habits of other sects were taken into consideration. There were, on the one hand, the Jains, ultra-scrupulous in their avoidance of taking life ; and no doubt the bovine ascetics ate,[107] or affected to eat only grass.[108] There was, on the other hand, the important class of Naked Ascetics, called Ājīvikas, and who apparently were not strict vegetarians,[109] but who abstained from fish and meat now and again with a view to "schooling their bodies", or "making to become by bodily means", *kāyabhāvana*, rather than from humanitarian reasons or because they saw in such a diet anything intrinsically wrong.

Yet perhaps the reason which weighed most heavily in the condonation of fish and meat-eating was the strong conviction that it was not material things which made or marred a man. Early Buddhism did not agree with

101. *M.* i. 80.
102. *Cf. Sekhiyas* 28, 30, 32.
103. *Vin.* iv. 85.
104. *Cf. Sekhiyas* 34-36, where however (in 34, 35) monks choose what they most fancy from what is already in the bowl.
105. *Cf. Sekhiya* 33.
106. *Vin.* iv. 88.
107. *M.* i. 387.
108. *MA.* iii. 100.
109. *M.* i. 238.

the supposition that purity comes through food.[110] Purification comes, it held, by restraint over such bodily, mental and moral conduct as could defile a man, and with the possession of moral habit.[111] It did not consider it to be his outward signs : his wearing his hair matted in the braids of an ascetic, his birth or his clan which made a man a true brahmin.[112] It was not these things, nor his abstinence from fish and meat, which cleansed a man who had not crossed over doubt.[113] For it was not the eating of meat, *āmaṃ hi maṃsabhojanaṃ*, which sullied him and was his defilement, *āmagandha*, but any one out of a long array of wrongs which he might perpetrate by conduct, thought or speech.[114] He was neither defiled nor purified by what he ate, nor was he cleansed by fasting.[115]

In conclusion, it need only be said that no clear picture of the world in which Early Buddhist monasticism flourished can be obtained if the feature of life taking is ignored. And nor can a clear picture of this monasticism be obtained if its attempt to crush the desire to destroy life are left out of account. There was a strong movement to remedy, even to eradicate, what was regarded by several leaders of contemporary religious thought as an undesirable practice. The remedy was a life-sparing scruple. To the birth of this there is no historical clue. We only know that it was strong under Jainism, fostered by Early Buddhism, observed by some contemporary sects, and that it then culminated under Aśoka.

Early Buddhism's advocacy of non-injury cannot, I think, be attributed to any one cause, for there were monks, laity, brahmins and other sects as well as the animals to consider. And no doubt a mixture of motives operated. Such championship may have seen in non-harming a way to increase the moral welfare of the monks ; it may have been part of a disinterested social reform movement ; it may have been, as in the case of sacrifice, polemical in nature, anti-brahminical ; and it may have been due to the presumption that animals have as much right to their lives, and to compassion, as have human beings.

Whatever the motives which led Early Buddhism to stand firm in the cause of non-injury, the results are in the main sufficiently clear. Some control was imposed over monks in the matter of meat-eating, but they were not made to give it up. Warfare and agriculture were however entirely ruled out as monastic occupations. Sacrifice, as ordinarily understood, seems never to have been practised by monks, for they had no gods to whom to make offerings : "Only within burneth the fire I kindle."[116] Therefore their

110. *M.* i. 80.
111. *A.* i. 221.
112. *Dhp.* 393, and *cf.* 141.
113. *Sn.* 249.
114. *Sn.* 241-247.
115. *Dhp.* 141.
116. *S.* i. 169. *Cf.* A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, p. 56, for this being the Internal Agnihotra of the Brahminical *Āraṇyaka*.

discipline does not comment on outward sacrifice one way or the other. The laity, on the other hand, continued in meat-eating, warfare and agriculture, although the killing of animals for human consumption was probably restricted, at all events on certain days, before Aśoka's reign. Agriculture could not be so strongly condemned as warfare, since in its operations creatures are not killed deliberately. The surprise is that not more opportunities were taken roundly to condemn fighting. It is likely that no way to its eradication was seen, that no tide was turning in this direction as it was to abolish blood sacrifices. The suppression of the great organised sacrifices had the popular support : the ordinary people knew that they were the losers and not the gainers through them. But any effective blow dealt to their trades, industries and occupations would have spelt a blow to their livelihood. Householders therefore continued to practise meat-eating, warfare and agriculture, and to indulge in many "pleasures of the senses" which, because of their different way of life, came to be denied to monks.

THE LINGA CULT IN ANCIENT INDIA

(Its proto-Indian origin and early development)

By

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Mainly on account of its close association with Śiva, the phallic cult has assumed a significant role in the religious history of India. The Linga worship has been of wide prevalence in the ancient world. We find the traces of it in India, ancient Egypt, Syria, Babylon, among the Assyrians, in Persia, Greece, Italy, Spain, Germany, Scandinavia, among the Gauls, and in different parts of Armenia, Mexico, Peru and Hayti.

In India itself the Mohenjo Daro discoveries have thrown a flood of light on the early prevalence of the cult of the Linga and Yonī.

Diverse opinions have been expressed in regard to the origin and antiquity of the Linga cult. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar expresses the view-point that, 'the Linga worship had, it appears, not come into use at the time of Patañjali for the instance he gives under Pāṇini v. 3.99 is that of an image or likeness (Prakṛti) of Śiva as an object of worship and not of any emblem of that God. It seems to have been unknown even in the time of Wema Kadphises, for on the reverse of the coins. . . . there is no Linga or a phallus.'[1]

Creuzer represented it as, next to that of the Trinity, the most ancient religious form of India.[2] Stevenson is of opinion that it was originally prevalent amongst the Dravidians alone. Some scholars point out that the cult must have first originated in the western nations and even among the Greeks.[3]

But the curt manner in which the Ṛgvedic bards refer to the phallic god (*Śiśna-dēvāh*—from the Dravidian word *Śunni*) clearly proves the non-Aryan nature of the phallic cult. The Mohenjo Daro inscriptions also corroborate this view-point.

THE LINGA IN THE MOHENJO DARO PERIOD.

Both the Archaeological data and the Mohenjo Daro inscriptions point out the unique phase in the history of the phallic cult in ancient India. It is proposed to deal here with the main results below.

1. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and other minor religious Systems*. p. 115.
2. *Symbolik*, t.i. p. 575, 2nd Ed.
3. Cf. F. Kittel, *Uber den Urspring des Linga Kultus in India*, p. 46.

Archæological Data.

Sir John Marshall distinguishes three types of cult-stones at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa, namely, the bætylic, the phallic and the *yoni* ring stones. To say in the words of Marshall,[4]

"The first class comprises those of the type illustrated in Plates XIII, 3, and IV, 2, 4 and 5. Two of these (Pl. XIV, 2 and 4) are unquestionably phallic, more or less realistically modelled, and for all of the fantastic theory that it was introduced into India by the Greeks or other western invaders. Further evidence on the same point is furnished by two realistic specimens of the same kind, one a *linga* or phallus (Pl. XIII) and the other a *yonī* or vulva (Pl. XIII, 7), which Sir Aurel Stein found on the Chalcolithic sites in Northern Baluchistan, the former at Mughal Ghuṇḍāi, the latter at Periāno Ghuṇḍai. The other objects are rather conventionalised in shape.

"Indeed, the only explanation applicable to them all is that they were sacred objects of some sort, the larger ones serving as aniconic agalmata for cult purposes, the smaller as amulets to be carried on the person, just as miniature *lingas* are commonly carried by Śaivas today.

"The stones of the second class are like many of the *lingas* seen in Śiva temples today. They equally resemble the bætylic stones which have recently been unearthed in the temple of Mekal at Beison[5] ... The only reason, therefore, for interpreting Mohenjo Daro examples as phallic rather than bætylic is that their conical shape is now commonly associated with that of the linga.

"The third class of these stone objects comprises ring-stones of the types illustrated in Pls. XIII, 9-12, and XIV, 6 and 8 in large numbers at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa. An explanation of these ring-stones that has been suggested to me by Mr. Henry Cousens is that they were threaded on poles to form columns, but this suggestion leaves out of account the smaller specimens some of which are no bigger than finger rings and obviously could not have served as architectural members.—Nor can they be similar to the stone wheel-money in use on the island of Uap in the Carolines.

Finally, he concludes, "whether these three types represent three distinct cults is uncertain; but it is not unnatural to suppose that *linga* and *yonī* worship may have been associated then, as they were later under the *aegis* of Śaivism. On the other hand, it is probable that they were originally quite distinct from bætylic worship, which is found frequently connected with the cult of the Mother Goddess among the oldest tribes, whereas phallism is rarely, if ever, found among these aboriginal people."

Inscriptional evidence.

Besides the archaeological evidence, the inscriptions of the period also supply us with an interesting data. We are here summarizing the main results arrived at by Father Heras, which are still regarded as being of tentative value.

4. Marshall. *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization*, I, p. 59 ff.
5. *Daily Telegraph*, 13th April, 1929.

The early Worshippers.

The inscriptions relate that the early worshippers of the *linga* were the Kāvals and the Bilavas. The Bilavas evidently were the Bhils and the Kāvals the same as the robber caste of the North and the South.[6] They were probably Kolerian in origin and they brought this cult from far-off Eastern Islands.[7] Their symbol consisted of the linga.[8] That the linga cult was originally in vogue among the Kāvals and the Bilavas is proved by the following inscriptions :

(1) "In the dark growing half of the moon, when the sun was on high, the Bilavas pulled down the four houses of the Linga."[9] (According to this inscription the Linga among the Bilavas had houses the rent of which was used for fostering the cult).[10]

(2) "The linga of the eight villages of the Velvel Bilavas (is) the high sun of the harvest."[11]

(3) Kāvals—"The old linga of the Kāvals."[12]

Its early introduction.

The inscriptions indicate, in the opinion of Father Heras, that the cult was first introduced in the Mohenjo Ḍaro region by the Mīna king. One of the inscriptions relates "the imprisoned illustrious ruler of the Linga."[13] Another inscription designates him as 'Cunni Mina.'[14] Probably on account of this the king seems to have been deposed and imprisoned by a popular rising. An inscription says "(the object of) the hostility of the Mīnas is the imprisoned illustrious ruler (who is) a priest."[15] Other inscriptions describe "the end of the power of Mīna"[16] and "of the death of Mīna."[17] Later on an inscription carved after his death seems to commemorate the bitter feeling of the Mīnas towards their old king in a sarcastic way. "The tree of the canalized united countries of the Kāvals of (dedicated to) all the gods, whom Mīna who was in the house has reached.[18]

Linga and the Sun.

Some of the inscriptions relate how the Linga was identified with the sun, who was identified with Āṇ originally e.g. (1) "The Linga of the eight villages of the Velvel Bilavas (is) the high sun of the harvest,"[19] and (2) "The lustrous linga of the high sun."[20]

6. Heras, 'Religion of the Mohenjo-Daro People acc. to Ins.' *J. U. B.*, V. I, p. 16.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Cf. Heras, Mohenjo Daro, the People and the Land, *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, No. 4.
9. Marshall, *M. D.*, No. 406.
10. Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
11. Marshall, *Harappa*, No. 99.
12. *Ibid.*, *H.*, No. 118.
13. *Ibid.*, *M.D.*, No. 132.
14. *Ibid.*, *M.D.*, No. 40.
15. *Illustrated London News*, 4-10-24.
16. Marshall, *H.* No. 153.
17. *Ibid.*, *H.*, No. 127.
18. Marshall, *M.D.*, No. 11.
19. Marshall, *H.*, No. 99.
20. Marshall, *H.*, No. 45; Cf. *Ibid*, *M.D.* Pl. XVI, No. 337; *Ibid. H.* No. 99, etc.

The cult seems to 'have been connected with a house divided on account of the rites of the two suns.'[21] One of the inscriptions says "those (are) the high suns."[22] As Father Heras observes: "At the present state of our knowledge, it is impossible to say how this sect originated, but it seems to have been the cause of division of a house or family, as the inscription avers. Perhaps this expression refers to an event similar to the revolution caused in Mīnāḍ by the introduction of the cult of the Linga."[23]

The Linga and Āṇ.

Consequently, in the opinion of Father Heras, it was during this period alone that the Linga was identified with Āṇ. Āṇ was supposed to be creator of the world. And when once the Linga was given the sublime position by its identification with the Sun it was but natural that it should be identified with Āṇ also. One of the inscriptions relates: "The moon (is) over the white mountain of Velan of the *Linga* of the divided house of the two high suns.[24] The white mountain referred to in the inscription is the Kailāsa mountain. And Velan is the name of Subrahmaṇya or Mūrugaṇ. Evidently, the *linga* must stand for Āṇ. Because, to whom did the Kailāsa mountain belong?"[25]

Early References

Side by side with the Mohenjo Daro period, the earliest reference made to the Linga cult is in the Ṛgveda. The Vedic bards prayed that, 'let not the *Śiśnadēvāḥ* enter their sacrificial pandal.' To quote the exact stanza itself;

"Na yātavaḥ Indra Jūjuvaḥ nah na
Vandanā viśiṣṭatvētyābhiḥ,
Sa—śardhan Aryaḥ viṣuṇajya Jantōh mā
Śiśna-devāḥ asiguh ṛtam naḥ"[26]

The expression occurs once again in the Ṛgveda.[27]

But what should be the meaning of this expression? Almost all the scholars, up till now, interpreted the word as meaning '(those) who (have the) Phallus as their deity.'[28] But under the present circumstances, especially in the light of the new evidence that has become available in Sumer (Khafaje) and Mohenjo Daro, we may definitely say that the above interpretation is wrong, and that the expression *Śiśna-dēvāḥ* must mean those (Gods) possessed of a *Śiśna* (*Śiśna-yuktāh-Devāḥ*), which is rather a curt manner of abusing the Gods of the indigenous people of India, whose Śiva

21. Heras, 'The Velāḷas in Mohenjo Daro,' *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 54.
22. *A. S. of I. Report*, 1929-30, Pl. XXVIII, No. 11466(4). Cf. Marshall, *op. cit.*, *M.D.*, No. 490.
23. Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
24. Photo, *M.D.*, 1930-31, Dk. 10551.
25. Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
26. *Ṛgveda*, VII, 21.5.
27. *Ibid.* X. 99.3.
28. Cf. *Vedic Index*: Sāyaṇa interprets the word as meaning '*abrahma-cāriṇaḥ*.'

was perfectly nude. The standing figures of Ān are to be found in Khafaje (Sumer) also. That is an instance how the God of the Mohenjo Daro had later travelled there.

This kind of interpretation is also in keeping with the learned scholarship of the Vedic singers. If they really wanted to refer to the Śiśna-worshippers then we may say that vocabulary was not wanting for them so as to use the expression in such a round about fashion—as the later critics and commentators want them to do. Further this also agrees with the version how the Rudras who were not allowed to have any share in the sacrifice, were later on offered the share in the oblations. The story of Dakṣa and Śiva also shows how mythology developed itself later on.

That the word Rudra conveyed the meaning of a standing figure of Śiva in an *Ūrdhva-linga* posture is directly conveyed by many of the Purāṇic passages, which have tried to give the meaning of the word Sthāṇu. The word Sthāṇu occurs once in the Ṛgveda but in a different sense. But the expression as indicating Śiva is of free and common occurrence in the Purāṇic period.[29]

The Atharvaveda describes the Skambha (pillar) as co-extensive with the universe and comprehends in him the various parts of the material universe, as also the abstract qualities, such as Tapas, faith, truth, and divisions of time. It is further stated that, "He is distinct from Prajāpati, who founds the universe upon him. The thirty-three gods are comprehended in him and arose out of non-entity, which forms his highest member, as well as entity is embraced within him. The gods who form part of him do homage to him. Where Skambha brought Purāṇa-Puruṣa (the primeval Being) into existence, and Skambha in the beginning shed forth that gold (Hiraṇya, out of which Hiraṇya-garbha arose) in the midst of the world. He who knows the golden reed standing in the waters is the mysterious Prajāpati."[30] It is interesting to note that the word *Vetas*, which is used for the reed, has the sense of *membrum virile*, both in the Ṛgveda[31] and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. Gopinatha Rao makes a significant observation in this connection: 'It is this same Skambha that has given birth to the Purāṇic story of Śiva's appearance as a blazing pillar between Brahmā and Viṣṇu, when they were quarrelling about the superiority of the one over the other.'[32] But, in our opinion, this idea even seems to be even of pre-Vedic origin.

It is also pointed out that there are many phallic ideas and rites depicted in the Yajurveda[33] e.g. in the Mahābhārata at the winter solstice, in the horse-

29. Karmarkar, 'Fresh and Further Light on the Mohenjo Daro Riddle,' *A. B. O. R. I.*, XXI, pp. 122-23.
30. *Atharvaveda*, X. 8.
31. *Ṛgveda*, X. 95, 4-5.
32. Gopinatha Rao, *E. H. I.*, II. i. p. 571.
33. Cf. *Vājasanēya Saṁhitā*, 23, 19; *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 13, 2, 8, 5: *Maitrāyaṇi Saṁhitā*, 3, 12, 20.

sacrifice and even in the Soma sacrifice. However they are not really phallic rites but may be styled as obscene only; and they very likely reveal some early fertility magic of the primitive Aryans.[34]

The Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad describes Rudra as the 'Lord of Yonīs[35]--thus indicating the close association of Rudra-Śiva with the cult of Yonī.

The Mahābhārata has supplied us with some interesting details regarding the *Linga* cult. In the Droṇa-Parva it is said that, 'Sthāṇu is so called because the Linga is always standing (erect).[36] Further the expressions Ūrdhvalinga[37] Ūrdhvaretas[38] and Sthira-linga[39] as applied to Śiva occur in the different portions of the Mahābhārata. Best of all we find that Śiva is designated at *Mahāśpho Nagno* thus referring to his nude posture.[40] The Anuśāsana generally depicts the importance of the worship of the Linga.[41]

The Harivaṁśa. The Harivaṁśa emphatically identifies the Linga and the Bhagalinga with Tryambaka (Śiva) and Umā, and states that there is no third entity as apart from these in the world.[42] (See *infra.*).

Both the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas have given fantastic accounts regarding the close identification of the Linga and Śiva. We are dealing with the problem below.

Native Accounts of the Origin of Linga.

The Purāṇas and the Epics have preserved many traditional accounts regarding the origin of the Linga-cult. These accounts are mainly mythical and fabulous. Before narrating a few of these stories, we shall just summarize the details wherein they actually vary. The Skanda P. narrates that when Śiva went for begging alms in a naked fashion to Dāruvana all the wives of Ṛṣis fell in love with him, and that the Ṛṣis cursed him eventually that his Linga would fall down.[43] The Saura Purāṇa corroborates the above account.[44] The Linga P. states that Śiva wanted to know and examine the philosophical knowledge attained by the Ṛṣis residing at Dāruvana, and it was afterwards that the above facts happened.[45] The Padma P. gives a different story altogether: On the event of the second marriage of Brahmā with Gāyatrī, Sāvitrī cursed also Śiva (because he attended the ceremony), saying that the Ṛṣis would curse him and eventually his Linga would fall

34. Heras, 'Were the Mohenjo Darians Aryans?', *Journal of Indian History*, XXI, p. 29.
35. *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, 4. 11. 5-2.
36. *Mahābhārata, Droṇa*, pp. 203, 133.
37. *Śānti* P., Adh., 46, 266.
38. *Anuśāsana P.*, 4, 212; 17, 41.
39. *Ibid.*, 161. 11.
40. *Ibid.*, 14. 15.
41. *Ibid.*, Adh. 45, 214 ff.
42. *Harivaṁśa*, II, 72, 60.
43. *Skānda Purāṇa, Nāgarakhaṇḍa*, 1, 22 ff.; also VII, i; Adh. 187. 28; also VI. *Nāgarakhaṇḍa*, Adh. 258.
44. *Saura Purāṇa*, 69, 53.
45. *Linga P., Pūrvārdha*, Adh. 29.

down. But later on, when appeased, she said that the Linga thus fallen down shall be worshipped by mankind.[46]

The Vāmana P. on the other hand relates that when Brahmā retired, Śiva installed the Linga (in the subtle form) in the Chitravana forest, and began to wander.[47] The Mahābhārata relates a funny story how Śiva forcibly thrusted the Linga in the ground, and how it stood erect we shall now quote some passages.

Origin of the Linga.

Vāmana Purāṇa.[48]

It is said that Śiva being grieved at the loss of Satī began to wander. The story proceeds, "Then Hara, wounded by the arrows of Kāma, wandered into a deep forest, named Dāruvana, where holy sages and their wives resided. The sages on beholding Śiva saluted him with bended heads, and he, wearied, said to them, 'Give me alms.' Thus he went begging round the different hermitages; and wherever he came, the minds of the sages' wives, on seeing him, became disturbed and agitated with the pain of love, and all commenced to follow him. But when the sages saw their holy dwellings thus deserted, they exclaimed, "May the *linga* of this man fall to the ground." That instant the Linga of Śiva fell to the ground; and the god immediately disappeared. The Linga, then, as it fell, penetrated through the lower worlds, and increased in height, until its top towered above the heavens; the earth quaked, and all things movable and immovable were agitated. On perceiving which Brahmā hastened to the sea of milk, and said to Viṣṇu, 'Say, why does the universe thus tremble?' Hari replied, 'On account of the falling of Śiva's *linga*, in consequence of the curse of the holy and divine sages.' On hearing of this most wonderful event, Brahmā said, 'Let us go and behold this *linga*.' The two Gods then repaired to Dāruvana; and, on beholding it without beginning or end, Viṣṇu mounted the king of birds (Garuḍa) and descended into the lower regions in order to ascertain its base; and for the purpose of discovering its top, Brahmā in a lotus car ascended the heavens; but they returned from their search wearied and disappointed, and together approaching the linga, with due reverence and praises, entreated Śiva to resume his *linga*. Thus propitiated, that God appeared in his own form and said, 'If gods and men will worship my Linga, I will resume it, but not otherwise; and Brahmā divided its worshippers into four sects, the principal one of those, that which simply worships Śiva under the symbol of the Lingam; the second that of Paśupati; the third of Mahākāla; and the fourth, the Kapila; and revealed from his own mouth the ordinances by which this worship was to be regulated. Brahmā and the Gods then departed, and Śiva resumed the Linga."

46. *Padma Purāṇa*, 5 Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa, 17.
47. *Vāmana Purāṇa*, Adh. 6, 93.
48. Cf. Kennedy, *op. cit.*, pp. 293 ff.

Mahābhārata.

The Mahābhārata gives an interesting account in connection with the origin of the linga. Kṛṣṇa is described to have related to Yudhiṣṭhira : "Brahmadeva once told Śaṅkara not to create. Whereupon Śaṅkara concealed himself under water for a long time. When, therefore, there was no creation for such a long period, Brahmadeva created another Prajāpati, who brought into existence a large number of beings. These beings, being afflicted with hunger, went to Prajāpati to devour him. He being afraid, went to Hiraṇyagarbha, who created two kinds of food for those beings and then they were quieted. After some time Mahādēva rose out of the water, and seeing that new beings had been created and were in a flourishing condition, he cut off his organ of generation as no more necessary, and it stuck into the ground. He then went away to perform austerities at the foot of the Mūjavant Mountain."[49]

Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa.

The Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa gives an altogether different description of the version. It relates "The eighth Kalpa is known as the Linga-Kalpa. Dharma was the Supreme Being. From Dharma was born desire (Kāma), and from Kāma (or on account of Kāma) the Linga divided itself threefold i.e., Pullinga (Male), Strīlinga (Female) and Klība-linga (Neutral sex). From the Pullinga was born Viṣṇu, from Strīlinga was born Indirā, and from the third Sēṣa (Serpent). Later proceeds the story of the creation of the world through Brahmā etc."[50]

Some Aspects of the Linga Cult.

During the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇic periods we find that almost all the functionings of Śiva were attributed to the Linga. Besides, the cult of the Linga had assumed different forms according to the nature of worshippers. It is proposed to deal here with the main aspects of the problem.

The Linga and Yoni.

We have already observed that the cult of the Linga and Yonī as symbolising the generative and reproductive aspects of nature, had come into vogue during the proto-Indian period. Moreover both these elements were identified with the Supreme Being Śiva and Ammā, the mother Goddess. These aspects are represented in the Purāṇas and in Indian art also. The Purāṇas specifically state that all that is Pullinga (male sign) is Śiva, and all that is *bhagalinga* (female sign) is Pārvatī.

Marshall has referred to several other curious stone discs, three of which were unearthed from the Bhir Mound at Taxila belonging to the Mauryan

49. Cf. Quoted by R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Saivism* etc. Collected works of Sir. R. G. Bhandarkar, Vol. IV, p. 61.

50. *Bhavisya Purāṇa*, 3, 4, 25. Vs. 124 ff.

Period, one from inside the structure uncovered near the foot of Hathial (Taxila) and one at Kosam. A fragment of a similar object was recently found in course of excavation at Rajghat near Benares. Marshall describes that, the Hathial disc is of a polished sandstone 3¼" in diameter adorned on the upper surface with concentric bonds of cross and cable patterns and with four nude figures alternating with honey suckle designs engraved in relief around the central hole.[51] Recently Banerjea has described another instance. It is a partially broken reddish stealite circular disc about 2¼" in diameter, found at Rajghat, which contains on the outer side of its top surface a very well-carved decorative design. The decoration consists of a palm-tree with a horse by its side, beyond which is a female figure holding a bird in her outstretched right hand ; then follow in successive orders a long and short-tailed animal, a crane, the goddess again with her hands this time stretched downwards, some object which is broken, a palm-tree again, a bird, a circular disc, the goddess again with the circular disc near her left shoulders, then a winged mythical animal and lastly a crane with a crab-like object near its legs.[52]

Marshall observes that, 'All things considered, however, a more reasonable and adequate explanation of these ring-stones is to be found in the magical properties which they possess and in the universal awe in which they are held in India, whether as fetishes or as actually imbued with a divine spirit.[53] Crooke gives some illustrations in this connection. 'There is the Śrigundi stone at Malabar Point, near Bombay, which is supposed to purify those who crawl through it of sin or sickness. It was through this stone that Śivāji crept to purge himself of the murder of Afzal Khan, and others of the Marāṭhā Peshwas followed his example. Again, at Śatruñjaya, the hole in it being known as Muktadvāra (door of absolution), through which anyone who can creep is assured of happiness. These and other stones of the same class are definitely regarded as Yonīs or female symbols of generation, the idea being that those who pass through them are, as it were, born again, while in the case of the smaller stones of the same form the mere passing of the hand or finger through them is an act of special virtue or significance.[54]

Instances may be added. Banerjea points out that all the above discs can justifiably be regarded as cult objects comparable with the prehistoric ring-stones on the one hand and the Cakras and the Yantras of the Śāktas, the Viṣṇupaṭṭas of the Vaiṣṇavas and the Āyāpaṭas of the Jains on the other.[55]

The joint representation of the Linga and the Yonī can be very easily perceived in the case of all the installations of the Linga e.g. 'there is a spout-like projection from which the Pūjābhāga of the Śiva-linga rises upwards

51. *A. S. I. A. R.*, 1927-28, p. 66.
52. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 138.
53. Marshall, *op. cit.*, I, p. 62.
54. Crooke, *op. cit.*, p. 322 ff.
55. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

and which serves the purpose of *nālā* or drain for the easy outflow of water usually poured on the top of the emblem by the worshippers.'

Story of Lingodbhava.

We have already detailed the account of the Lingodbhava of Śiva, when actually a quarrel for supremacy had arisen between Viṣṇu and Brahmā. This story is clearly invented for showing and enhancing the importance of Śiva and much more so, that of the Linga. The story of the Lingodbhava is also described in the legends of Mārkaṇḍeya, who was saved by Śiva from the clutches of Yama, and of Kaṇṇappā. The former is of free and common occurrence in the Purāṇas. The latter may be briefly narrated as follows :

'The hunter Tiṇṇen, while chasing a wild boar one day, reached the banks of the river *Ponna mogaliar*. A small Śiva temple had been built near the spot. Tiṇṇen, with another hunter Kadden, visited this shrine. Living always in the forests, he knew nothing of religious matters, but his friend Kadden explained to him that the god-head was incarnate in the Lingam. Tiṇṇen felt within himself a burning devotion. Daily thereafter he offered the god water, flowers and even meat, since he knew not the rules of the cult. One day he saw the drops of blood flowing from the eye of the god. Young Tiṇṇen thinking that wicked persons had broken it, tore out one of his own eyes to replace the one which Śiva had lost. Next day Tiṇṇen saw drops of blood flowing from the other eye, so he wanted to cut out his only remaining one, with a knife. Both his hands were required for this operation, for, after losing his eye-sight he would not be able to find the eye-socket on the Linga in order to put his eye into it. He therefore put his sandalled foot on the spot and was just going to insert the knife into his own eye when Śiva coming out of the Linga, stayed his arm.'[56]

The Linga and Serpent.

In accordance with the system of polarization prevalent amongst the Dravidians the idea of destruction and fertility were brought together in the case of the Linga also. A snake is often found enclosing the Linga in Hindu mythology. In some southern temples, two erect serpents have their heads together above the Linga, or they may appear on either side of it as if in an attitude of worship. Monier Williams observes that he had seen images of serpents coiled round the symbol of the male organ of generation. In some cases five-headed snakes formed a canopy over the Linga.[57] In the temple of Viśvēsvara in Benares, there is a coil of a serpent carved round one or two of the most conspicuous symbols of male generative energy.[58] It is also worth noting that the Phoenicians entwine the folds of a serpent around the cosmic egg.[59]

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56. G. Jouveau—Dubreuil, *Iconography of South India*. p. 16.
57. Murray, *Religious Thought and Life in India*, (1833), p. 327.
58. *Ibid*, p. 439.
59. Scott, *Phallic Worship*, p. 82.

Early Devotees.

The Purāṇas have given details regarding the early devotees of the Linga e.g. The Traipuras,[60] Mahiṣāsura,[61] Rāma (Dāśarathi),[62] ...Bāna,[63] Śākalya (a Rājarṣi),[64] Vasumata,[65] Kṛṣṇa,[66] Sudhvamukha,[67] Kārttavīrya,[68] Viraketu,[69] Ravana and others.

Important places.

The most important places of Linga worship are : Kedāreśvara-linga on the Himālaya, the Vaidyanātha at Deogarh (or Parali) the Viśvēśvara-linga in Benares, the Mahākāla-linga and Amarēśvara-linga in and near Ujjain in Malva, the Oṁkāra-linga on the Narmadā, the Somēśvara-linga at Somnāth in Surāṣṭra, the Tryambaka-linga near Nāśik, the Bhīmāśaṅkara-linga near the source of the Bhīmā in Mahārāṣṭra, the Mahābalēśvara-linga at Gokarṇa in Kanara, the Mallikārjuna-linga at Śrī-Śaila in Karnul, the Rāma-linga at Rāmēśvaram. The location of Gautamēśa-linga and Nāgeśa (Dārukāvana) is not known. It is said that 'the South of India has five holy lingas representing the five elements earth, water, fire, wind and air (*ākāśa*) respectively, at Kāñchī or Conjeeveram, Jambhūkēśvaram or Tiruvanaikaval between Trichinopoly and Śrīrangam, Tiruvannamalai or Aruṇācala, Kālahasti and Cidambaram.'[70]

The Linga at Tiruvarur in Tanjore also claims to be the Ākāśalinga. The Skānda P. gives interesting information regarding the Kumārēśvara-linga at Khambāyat (Stambha-tīrtha).[71]

The Linga on burial ground.

Crooke has made some interesting observations in this connection : 'The old ritual directs that all who return from a funeral must touch the Lingam, fire, cow-dung, a grain of barley, a grain of sesame and water, "all," as Prof. Gubernetis says, "symbols of that fecundity which after the contact with a corpse might have destroyed."[72]

The *Linga* as a symbol of fertility is installed on the Samādhi of saints and it is also regularly worshipped. To quote an instance : the Linga on the Samādhi of Puṇḍalīka, who was responsible for the installation of the image of Viṭṭhala at Paṇḍharpur, is worshipped by all the visitors to this pilgrim

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60. *Skānda P. Aruṇācala Mā.*, 10. 57.
61. *Ibid, Uttarārdha*, Adh. 19.
62. Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*—Rāma installs the Linga at Rāmēśvaram.
63. *Matsya P.*, 187. 8.
64. *Skānda P. Prabhāsa-kṣētra Ma.*, 74.2.
65. *Skānda P. Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa*, 11. 21.
66. *Mbh. Drona P.* Adh. 202. 101.
67. *Skanda P. Prabhāsa-kṣetra Ma.* 15. 16.
68. *Ibid, Avanti-khaṇḍa, Caturaśīti Mā.*, 11, 23.
69. *Ibid*, 5. 2. 73. 40.
70. Cf. Kittel, *Linga Kaltus*, pp. 5, 6; *I. A.* II. p. 15.
71. *Skānda P. Kaumārikā-khaṇḍa*, Adh. 14.
72. Crooke, *op. cit.*, II, p. 58.

centre. It is interesting to note that some of the famous centres of the Linga worship (*Jyotir-lingas*) are said to have been cemeteries originally. The Skānda P. narrates that the following places were originally divine Smaśānas (divya-smaśāna): Mahākāla-vana, Avimuktaka, Ekāmraka, Bhadrakāla, Karavīra forest, Kolāgiri, Kāśī, Prayāga, Amarēśvara, Bharatha, Kēdāra and Rudra-mahālaya.[73]

It is worth noting that 'in Phoenicia, in Greece and among the Ettruscans phalloi were often placed over the tombs.'[74]

Kinds of Lingas.

Tradition has it that fourteen crores of Bāṇa-lingas are found in eight different parts of the world, one crore each in the Amarapati-kṣētra, Mahendra mountain, Gaṇḍakī in Nepal, Kānyakubja and Tīthāraṇya, three crores each in Srīgiri (Śrī-śaila), Linga-śaila and Kaligarta. Besides it is said that the Gaṇḍakī supplies six varieties of linga stones, which are called respectively, Śivanābha, Aghora, Sadyōjāta, Vāmadeva, Tatpuruṣa and Īśāna—of which the Aghora alone is unfit for worship.'[75]

The origin of the lingas in the Narmadā is ascribed to the Asura Bāṇa.[76]

The Lākṣmī-Nārāyaṇa-Saṁvāda gives some interesting details in regard to the worship of the Linga. It is said that, different lingas should be worshipped inside and outside the houses. Those used inside by householders should be made of gold, or precious stones, or quick-silver, or other similar material. There exist twenty two various kinds of such lingas. The Brāhmin householders should use *lingas* made of rock-crystal, Kṣatriyas of silver, Vaiśyas of bell-metal, Śūdras of earth and Rākṣasas of gold. Further, in the ritual of Pañcāyatana are mentioned various kinds of *lingas* which can be worshipped, as the Narmadā or Bāṇa-linga, an artificial linga, a Pāṇipīṭhalinga, an earthen linga, one consisting of a jewel, or one made of butter, or one of gold, silver or copper, or one which representing life, is drawn as it were from the heart.[77] We need not, however, enter into the other details.

It is interesting to note that the main philosophical tenets of the Lingāyats centre around the cult of the Linga. Besides, the small images of this

73. *Skānda P. Avanti-kṣētra Mā.*, (*Avanti-khaṇḍa*), I, 1. 32. It should also be noted that the oft-quoted twelve Jyotir-lingas are :
Saurāṣṭre Somanātham ca Śrī-śaile Mallikārjunam |
Ujjayinyām Mahākālam Oṅkāram-amaleśvaram ||
Paraḷyām Vaijanātham ca Ḍākinyām Bhīmaśaṅkaram |
Sētubandhē tu Rāmēśam Nāgēśam Dārukāvane ||
Vārāṇasyām tu Viśveśam Tryambakam Gautamītaṭe |
Himālaya tu Kedāram Ghṛṣṇēśam tu śivālaye ||
Etāni Jyotir-lingāni .... ||

74. Heras, *M.S.*: Cf. also Scott, *Phallic Worship.*

75. Oppert, *Original Inhabitants of India*, p. 382 f.

76. *Ibid.*

77. *Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa-Saṁvāda*, Ch. 18 ; Oppert, *op. cit.*, pp. 382 ff.

emblem, carved in ivory, gold or crystal are often worn as ornaments about the neck. The pious use them in prayers and often have them buried with them. Devotees of Śiva have it written on their foreheads in the form of a perpendicular mark. The maternal emblem is likewise a religious type ; and the worshippers of Viṣṇu represent it on their forehead by a horizontal mark, with three short perpendicular lines.[78]

78. Westropp and Wake, *Symbol Worship*, p. 19.

SOME SOURCES OF BUDDHIST ICONOGRAPHY

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The five notes following are intended to collate a number of texts which can be regarded as the original prescriptions or sanctions that underlie and serve to elucidate the corresponding narratives and representations in Buddhist literature and art.

1. THE BUDDHA AS A PILLAR OF FIRE.[1]

In the *Mahā Ummaga Jātaka* (J. VI. 330) a certain King Vedeha (the "Disembodied") has four great Paṇḍits who are his teachers of Dhamma. He dreams a dream foretelling the birth of the Bodhisatta Mahosadha[2] ("Great Herb", or "Big Medicine"), who will be his fifth and greatest Counsellor. He sees in this dream four fires burning in the four corners of his courtyard, and then in its centre a flame like a firefly, which little flame forthwith over-steps (*atikamitvā*) the others, and extends through all the world-circles to the Brahmaloka. The king's four Paṇḍits who interpret the dream explain that this fifth Branstock (*aggi-khando*),[3] that sprang up as "an incomparable chariot-pole" (*asama-dhuro*)[4] and is "without its like" (*asadiso*) in the world of men and Gods, betokens the coming of the fifth Teacher.

This vision is closely related to the description of Brahma as the Burning Bush, Branstock or Tree of Life in *Maitri Up.* VI. 30 and VII. 11 where he is manifested within you as the Single Fig (*eka aśvattha*) that embodies the Fiery Energy (*tejas*) of Fire, Sun and Spirit, and is called the One Awakener (*eka sambodhayitṛ*) and everlasting support of the vision

1. See my *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, 1935, pls. II, and III, fig. 10. It is possible that these types are representations in particular of the Bodhisattva Mahosadha; in any case they are entirely appropriate to the Buddha-nature of all Bodhisattas.

2. Skr. *oṣadhi* ("herb", "medicine") is literally "support of light" (*oṣa*, from *uṣ*, to burn or shine); the word itself thus imports the notion of a "Burning Bush". Cf. Vedic *rukṣa* and Pali *rukkha* (tree, especially a sacred tree), from √*ruc*, to shine (see Gray in *JAOS*. 60. 367); and in the same connection *lux* (light) and *lucus* (grove), and the two senses of the one English word "beam".

3. *Khandha* = *skandha*, "stem", "stock", "trunk", etc. rather than "mass"; cf. AV. X. 7. 38 *vṛksasya skandhaḥ*. "Vedeha" is the embodied King of the world, his courtyard the four-cornered world, and the five fires are the four pillars of the Universe and its central axis; they correspond at the same time to the four elements and their quintessence.

(*dhiyālamba*) of Brahma; and this Fiery Energy awakens from its ground, ascends and suspires, proceeding (*utkramya*) like smoke in a draught, branching forth in space, stem after stem (*skandhāt-skandham*). This, again, reflects RV. IV. 6 where Agni, "the new-born, self-sprung (*svaruḥ*),[5] the early-wake, uplifts his pillar of smoke, as it were a builder, and supports the sky", or as in X. 45. 7 "with his bright flame attains the sky". Analogous to Vedeha's dream foretelling the birth of Mahosadha is Tisalā's dream of a great Fire, of which "the tips of the quivering flames touched, as it were, the very sky" (*ambaraṁ va . . . payantam, Kalpa Sūtra* 46).[6]

To return to Buddhist sources: Dabba the Mallian, who had become an Arhat at the age of seven, and having thus already "fulfilled his task" served as the major-domo of a monastery, in charge of guests: whenever any guests arrived late—and it often happened that guests arrived late on purpose, so as to be able to witness his "miraculous-exercise of power" (*idhipāṭihāriyam*)—he used to "become a flame (*tejo-dhātuṁ samāpajjitvā*),[7] and by that light show them to their lodgings; sometimes he would make his finger flame, and walk in front, followed by the guests" (*Vin.* II. 76). In the same way the Buddha himself is described as an "expert in the element of fire" (*tejodhātuṁ-kusalo*) and we are told that in his conflict with Ahi-nāga (the Vedic Ahi-Vṛtra, Namuci etc.) he "becomes a flame" (*tejo-dhātuṁ samāpajjitvāpajjali*) and so "masters fire with fire" (*tejasā tejam pariyādiyeyyan, Mahāvagga* I. 15. 6, 7). An even more explicit prescription for the representations of the Buddha at Amarāvatī as a Pillar of Fire will be found in *Dīgha Nikāya* III. 27 where the Buddha says that after the delivery of a discourse "I became a flame (*tejo-dhātuṁ samāpajjitvā*) and rose into the air to the height of seven palm trees, and produced and made a flame to burn and smoke to the height of another seven palms". In this transfiguration the Buddha was surely assuming his own most "authentic form" (*svarūpa*); and one cannot doubt but that the representations as a Pillar or Tree of Fire supported by a lotus are ultimately based on the unique and archetypal birth of Agni Vanaspati, the thousand-branched,

4. *Dhur* has several pertinent senses, as "support", "pole of a chariot", and "that which is pertinent". In Vedic ritual the chariot-pole is very closely connected with Agni. Identification of the Buddha with Agni (*uṣar-budh*, etc.) and Indrāgnī is discussed in my *Hinduism and Buddhism*, 1943. The identification of both with the Axis Mundi has its equivalents in the Islamic *quṭb* and Christian *stauros* doctrines.

5. *Svaruḥ*, "self-sprung", qualifies here the sacrificial-post (*yūpa*) made from a tree growing on its own roots, and planted as if in the same way growing naturally; it is in the same way that Vedeha's newborn fire springs up of itself.

6. See the reproduction in colour, from a Western Indian MS., *JISOA*. IV, 1935, plate facing p. 130.

7. Literally, "becomes, or enters into or coincides with, the element of Fire"; in other words, is "transfigured".

born in the lotus" (*jātaḥ . . . puṣkare*), told of in RV. VII. 33. 9-14,—he who *ā vo gacchāti* being, in fact, the Tathā-*āgata*.

2. The Kindling of the Dry Wood.

The prototype for the Buddha's victory in his dispute with the Jaṭila Kassapa whose sacrificial firewood would not burn, while the Buddha's pile takes fire immediately (*Mahāvagga* I. 20. 13), is to be found in *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* II. 5. 8 : "Nṛmedha and Paruchepa engaged in a theological discussion ; 'Let us generate fire in the dry wood', they said, 'to see which of us the more of a Brahman' (*brahmīyān*). Nṛmedha spoke ; he generated (only) smoke. Paruchepa spoke ; he generated fire". If this had been embodied in a Jātaka, we should have found the Buddha saying : "I, Bhikkhus, was then Paruchepa, and Nṛmedha was Kassapa".

3. The Flame on a Buddha's Head.

Of the flame on a Buddha's head, so often represented in Sinhalese and Siamese images, the question is asked in the *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka* (text p. 467), "By reason of what gnosis (*jñāna*) is it that the Tathāgata's cranial protuberance (*mūrdhny-uṣṇīṣa*) shines (*vibhāti*) ?" The answer to this is to be found in the *Lalita Vistara* (Lefmann, p. 3) where we are told that when the Buddha is in *samādhi*, "A ray, called the 'Ornament of the Light of Gnosis' (*jñānālokālankāraṁ nāma raśmiḥ*), proceeding from the opening in the cranial protuberance (*uṣṇīṣa-vivantarāt*), moves above his head" (*upariṣṭān mūrdhnaḥ. . .cacāra*). A more general explanation can be found in *Bhagavad Gītā* XIV. 11, "Where there is gnosis, light springs forth (*prakāśa upajāyate jñānam yadā*) from the orifices of the body".[8]

4. The Māra Dharṣaṇa.

The Bodhisatta's conflict with Māra,[9] immediately antecedent to the Great Awakening, of which the defect of Ahi-nāga in the Jaṭila fire-temple is only another version, is a reflection of Indra's Vṛtra-hatya. One may observe first in connection with the episode of the "temptation by the daughters of Māra" that the connection is already suggested by the fact that in the Vedic tradition the Dāsa (Vṛtra, Namuci, etc.) is said to have used "women as weapons" (RV. V. 30. 9), and again, that Indra's foe is said to have "warred against the Bull with women" (RV. X. 27. 10). It is, however, in connection with the fact that the Bodhisatta is deserted by

8. For other parallels see my "Līlā" in *JAOS*. 61, 1941, p. 100. As remarked by St. Thomas Aquinas, bodily refulgence is *natural* in a glorified body, but miraculous in a natural body (*Sum. Theol.* III, 45. 2).

9. Māra, i.e. Mṛtyu, Death, is sometimes also referred to by the Vedic name of Namuci (S. I. 67), and is also described as "footless" (*apada*, A. IV. 434, M. I. 160), i.e., as a Serpent, an Ahi, cf. ŚB. I. 6. 3. 9. Māra also appears as a hissing Nāgarāja (S. I. 106).

the terrified Gods and fights his battle "alone" that a profounder parallel can be drawn.

In the Māra-dharṣaṇa (*Jātaka* I. 72 f.), as Māra's army is approaching, we are told that the Great Person "sat there alone (*ekako*)." He considered, "This assembled host is putting forth its mighty effort and force against me who am all alone . . . But these ten cardinal-virtues (*pāramīyo*) have long been unto me as a retinue whom I support (*puṭṭha-parijanasadisā*); and so, making them my shield, let me smite this host with the sword of cardinal virtue and shatter it by my own strength." The Great Person is "alone," and yet protected by a "bodyguard" (*parijana*) ! This is our clue ; and we shall infer that this retinue really consists of the regenerate powers of the soul, assembled in *samādhi*.[10]

Then ten *pāramīyo* correspond to the "skilful habits," or "functional virtuosities" (*kusalā dhammā*) of Mil. 33-8, where they are five, but with their subdivisions many more than five : we are told that "none of these will desert" (*na parthāyanti*) him who makes the first of them, right conduct (*sīlam*) the basis of all, and that "composure" or "synthesis" (*samādhi*) is their "culmination" (*pamukha*) to which they all incline and tend, just as the rafters of a domed roof "rest-together in" (*sam-o-saraṇā*)[11] the roofplate (*kūṭa*), which is called their "top" (*aggam*);[12] or, again, just as when a king goes into battle the divisions of his army "surround" (*anupariyāyeyyum*) him. This analogy, in turn, derives from *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* III. 2.1 (= ŚA. VIII) where "the Breath (immanent solar Self) is a pillar : and just as (in a domed building) all the other beams are composed (*samāhitāḥ* = 'are in *samādhi*') in the king-post (*śāla-vaṁśa*), so in this Breath the powers (*indriyāṇi*) of eye, ear, mind and voice, body and whole self are composed" ; in other words, the Breath is the "agreement" or "conjunction" (*samyoga*, AA.II.1.5) of the powers, and they are unified in it

10. The Adversary is sometimes described as Abhimāti, e.g. in RV. III. 51. 3 where Indra is *abhimāti-han*. The conflict is thus, from the beginning, with Self-will or egotism, *abhimāna*, *ahaṁkāra* ; Philo's *oiēsis*, or self-affirmation.

11. In the same way the Buddhist "takes refuge (*saraṇam*)" in the Buddha as his resort. The root is *śri*, and it is noteworthy that in the Brāhmaṇa contexts the powers of the soul (*prāṇāḥ*, *indriyāṇi*) are said to "resort" (*śriyanti*) to the Breath, and are described as its "glories" (*śriyaḥ*) ; and that as the *indriyāṇi* are collectively Indrāṇī, so these "glories" are collectively Śrī, "the kingdom, the power and the glory" of the true king in command of all his resources. This is also the basis of the symbolism of divine and royal crowns and glories (nimbus), √*śri* and its intensive √*śrī* implying both to lean against, converge towards and unite in, and a being radiant. Beams *radiate* from their common centre, and one could express the whole idea in English by saying that the King is surrounded and supported by the beams of his glory just as the roofplate of a dome is surrounded and supported by a circle of "ribs", which are also "beams". The root plate is their "penchant."

(*ekadhā bhavanti*, Kauṣ. Up. III. 3, JUB.IV.22.10. etc). It is already clear in what sense the Bodhisatta is "alone", and at the same time supported by a bodyguard: he has "collected his forces."

Indra, too, in his battle with Vṛtra was left all alone: "All the Gods who were thy friends deserted (*ajahuḥ*) these, flying in terror from Vṛtra's snorting; so Indra, be thy friendship with the Maruts; in all these battles thou shalt be the victor" (RV. VIII. 96. 7). It was "only when, shouting, they had joined with Indra in the arduous battle they (the Maruts) won their sacrificial names" (RV.I.97.). The story is retold in *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* III. 16 and 20, where it is further explained that "the Maruts are the Breaths (*prāṇāḥ*), the Maruts are his 'own men' (*svāpayaḥ*); it was the Breaths that did not desert him (*taṁ nājahuḥ*)."

In us, that is to say, the Maruts are the Breaths, the sensitive powers of the soul. *In divinis*, they are the commons (*viśaḥ*) in relation to Indra as Regnum (*kṣatra*): Indra, as remarked by Sāyaṇa on RV. V. 2. 3 being "Agni as Supreme Overlord" (*indraḥ paramaiśvaryo' gniḥ*), cf. RV. V.3.1 and AB. III. 4 and IV.22. They are Indra's "own" and take their name from him who is the Breath (*prāṇa*), just as the *indriyāṇi*, as these powers are also called, take their name from him whose powers they are. "He (the solar and immanent Indra) is just the Breath (*prāṇa*), for it is he who leads forth (*praṇayati*) all these children (*prajā*). These Breaths (*prāṇāḥ*) are his 'own' (*svāḥ*);[13] and when he 'sleeps' (*svapiti*), then these Breaths that are his 'own' unite with him (*apiyanti*); and that is why 'sleep' (*svapna*) is called metaphysically 'union with one's own' (*svāpyaya*) ... for they are then 'imbibed' (*tad-āpītā bhavanti, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* X.5.3.14,15.[14] So again in *Chāndogya Up.* VI. 8. 1 "sleep is a 'coming into one's own' (*svapiti = svam apīto bhavati*)."

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12. In this connection it should be noted that *agga-dvāra* (*Jātaka* V. 132 and 263-4), the doorway through which the Bodhisatta escapes, is by no means as some translators have suggested a "side-door", but the "top-door," i.e., roof-plate of the domed house, through which those depart who, like the Bodhisattas in these contexts, have the power of levitation and flight. See further my "Symbolism of the Dome", *IHQ*. XIV, 1938; "Pali *kaṇṇikā*", *JAOS*. 50, 1930; "-Eckstein", *Speculum*, XIV, 1939. This *agga-dvāra* is the architectural equivalent of the Sundoor through which one "escapes altogether".

13. A regiment of the "King's Own."

14. The unification of the Breaths in the Breath is termed the "all-obtaining in the Breath" (*prāṇe sarvāpti, Kauṣ. Up.* III.4). It is highly significant that this absorption of the faculties or powers of the soul is called a "potation." It is, in fact, Indra's "stimulating draught of Soma" (*āpānta-manyus ... somaḥ*, RV. X. 89. 5): the ritual imitations (*pratimānāni*) of the reality do not deceive him who must have, not what men drink here, but "what the Brahmans mean by Soma" (*ib.* and X.85.4), i.e. the Breaths (*soma prāṇā vai, Maitri Up.* VI. 35), in which one sacrifices metaphysically (*teṣu parokṣaṁ juhoti*, TS. I.6.4.5 etc). See further my "Ātmavaiña" in *HJAS*. VI. 1942.

This elaborate hermeneia (*niruktam*)[15] develops the connotations of "good allies" (*svāpayaḥ, su √ āp*) in terms of *sva*, "own" combined (1) with *api √ i*, to enter or merge into and (2) with *ā-pā*, to drink in. What is, then asserted is that Indra, the solar and real Self that sees, hears, thinks, etc., in us (JUB. I. 28, 29, etc.) is only in full possession and command of his own militant powers when these are withdrawn from their objects and concentrated in himself.

This state of *continence*, self-possession and composure (*svadhā, svasthatā, svatantram, svarāj*, etc.) is often termed a "sleep" (*svapna*).[16] The immanent person is said to be "asleep" when, reclaiming the functions of the Breaths, he is at rest in the heart and restrains (*gṛhṇāti*) them, and he is then, as it were, a great King in full possession of all his powers (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* II. 1. 17); this is a state of "self-illumination"; and being thus "asleep, he over-steps (*atikrāmati*) these worlds and the shapes (*rūpāṇi*) of Death" (*ib.* IV. 3.7, 14).

It is, then, just because he is "collected" and "composed," "asleep" or "in *samādhi*," or to express the same in other words is exhilarated by the draught of Soma, the sacrificial life-blood of the outer self, that Indra, now undistracted by any aesthetic experience, can count upon the Maruts, the Breaths, as his own loyal subjects, and though otherwise "alone," is able to overcome Vṛtra, the Evil (*pāpman*), Death (*mṛtyu*). He is the Conqueror who has overcome himself. These conceptions of Royal Power and of Victory survive in the Arthaśāstra, where "the whole of this science (of Kingly Rule) pertains to the victory over the powers of perception and action" (*Arthaśāstra* I. 6).

Let us repeat that it is in "sleep" that one overcomes the forms of Death, and that this deep "sleep" is not the irrational slumber of this world's waking consciousness, but the sleeplike and deathlike composure (*samādhi*) of the contemplative that is really a being wide awake, with the ever-open eyes of the Immortals who never sleep. These inverted values are well known; that our presently active life is a "dream" from which we shall some day awaken, and being awake shall seem to be asleep, is a conception that occurs

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15. Not to be confused either with an *etymology* in the narrow sense of the word, or with a *punning* for the sake of punning, explanations of this kind, based on the hypothesis of intrinsic connections of sounds with meanings, are of great value in the exegesis of the connotations of a given term; see further my "Nirukta = Hermeneia" in *Viśvabharati*, NS. II, 1936.

16. This is by no means only an Indian conception. Cf. Hermes Trismegistus *Lib.* I. 1 "Once when in contemplation of the realities ...... while my bodily powers of perception had been restrained (*kataschethein*, implying also 'possession') by sleep,'—yet not such sleep as that of men weighed down by repletion or by bodily weariness," and see also Plato, *Republic* 476, 520, 521, *Timaeus* 52, 71, *Theaetetus* 158.

again and again throughout the metaphysical literature of the world.[17] So in the *Bhagavad Gītā* (II. 69 and III. 41, 43) we find : "When it is night for all beings, then is the Controller (*samyamī*, i.e. of the sensitive powers) awake : and when other beings are 'awake', then it is night for the silent-sage who verily sees........ Controlling the sensitive powers in their source (*indriyāṇi ādau niyamya*), do thou repulse the Evil One (*pāpmānam prajahi*)......the Adversary in the shape of Desire (*kāmarūpam*). This last exhortation, which would be altogether in place in a Pali Buddhist context, where Māra, Pāpimant is identified with Kāmadeva, is addressed in fact by Krishna to Arjuna, i.e. Indra ! The inverted senses of sleep and waking are also found in Buddhist contexts ; the exhortation is generally to awaken from the sleep of this world's dreams (S. I. 4, *Itivuttaka* p. 41, etc.), but we are also told that "the Wake is asleep (*buddho soppati*), with him, O Māra, what hast thou to do?" (S. I. 107. The Bodhisatta's impassibility is his invulnerability).[18]

It has now, perhaps, been sufficiently shown that Indra's and the Bodhisatta's conquests of Death are versions of one and the same Mythos ; that the Māra Dharṣaṇa is not in its Buddhist context a fanciful enhancement of the historical legend but a restatement of the essential and long known truth that he only can say "Get these behind me, Satan" who, having recollected himself in "sleep" or "contemplation" (or however we may ex-

17. "This whole bad dream, whatever it be, whether of garlands or gold" (RV. VIII. 47.5). "The dream state, whether a man be asleep or awake consists in just this, the mistaking of appearance for the reality" (Plato, *Republic* 476). "Would that you too, my son, had passed out of yourself, so that you might have *seen*, not as men see dream figures in their sleep, but as one who is awake" (Hermes Trismegistus, *Lib.* XIII. 4). "So long as thou art engaged in the conversation of wakefulness, how wilt thou catch any scent of the conversation of sleep? God sent a drowsiness upon 'Omar......he dreamed that a voice came to him from God ; his spirit heard that voice which is the origin of every cry and sound ; that, indeed, is the Voice, and the rest are echoes" (Rūmī, *Mathnawī* I. 569,2104 f.). "'Thy will be done': the primary meaning is, that we should be asleep to all things, unaware of time and shapes and creatures. The doctors say that being 'right asleep' [= Skr. *suṣupta*] a man might sleep a hundred years, unware of creatures, time or shapes, and yet aware of God at work within him. So saith the soul in the Book of Love 'I sleep, but my heart waketh.' So when all creatures [= Skr. *bhūtāni*] are asleep in thee, then mayest thou know what God is working in thee" (Meister Eckhart, Pfeiffer pp. 207, 208). The Indian "deep sleep" doctrine is nothing uniquely or peculiarly Indian !

See also P. Arunachalam, "Luminous Sleep" in *Studies and Translations*, Colombo, 1937 ; and my "Recollection, Indian and Platonic," *JAOS*. Supplement, 1944.

18. The Buddha is, to Māra's worldly eye, asleep in his cell, but actually "recollected, mindful, considering his rising up again," or "resurrection." The "lion rest" (*sīhaseyyam*), viz. lying on the right side, with one foot above the other, is actually the pose assumed in the Parinibbāna, and the context throws light on the distinction between this "death" and an "annihilation."

press it) is from the very fact of his emancipation from all predilections and disgusts, immune to every shape or weapon that Death can assume or wield.

5. Māra's Headless Troops.

M. Hackin has reproduced a stucco sculpture from Haḍḍa, representing a demon, a member of Māra's army, in the act of raising his hands and removing his own head.[19] Such a representation reflects the statements of the *Mahāvastu* (Senart, 2. 410) that of Māra's troops "some were headless trunks" (*anye aśīrṣakā kabandhāḥ*) and the *Lalita Vistara* (ch. 21, Lefmann p. 306) that "some were headless" (*kecid aśīrṣāḥ*). As shown above, the Māra Dharṣaṇa is itself a recension of Indra's older fight against Vṛtra-Namuci-Mṛtyu ; and that there are headless warriors in the host of the Gandharva Soma-Rakṣasas who oppose him appears already in *Atharva Veda* IV. 18. 4 where unnamed Gods are invoked to lay low the "crestless and headless (*viśikhān vigrīvān*) sorcerers", and *Ṛgveda* VII. 104. 7 where Indra is invoked to "let the headless (*vigrīvasaḥ*) followers-of-inert-gods perish".[20]

19. J. Hackin, *La sculpture indienne et tibétaine au Musée Guimet*, Paris 1931, p. 9 and pl. XIV.

20. I have dealt with the subject of the other-worldly magicians who can play fast and loose with their own heads more fully in "Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, Indra and Namuci" in *Speculum* XIX, 1944, pp. 104-25, and in "Headless Magicians ; and an Act of Truth" to appear immediately in *JAOS* (1944).

THE AGE OF THE ARTHASASTRA

By

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The age of the Arthaśāstra depends essentially on the relation of the work of Megasthenes to the Arthaśāstra. It is necessary therefore to examine this question in some detail with a view to ascertain how far the facts recorded by Megasthenes accord with those reported in the Arthaśāstra.

There is no doubt that in many respects Megasthenes is adequately informed with regard to events in India, but there are undoubtedly numerous matters in which he shows himself not to be master of the situation. It is apparent from the combined evidence of Arrian, Diodorus, and Strabo that he did not appreciate the full importance of the village and of its officers. Nor does he show any appreciation that the essential ground of the desire for children lay in the honour paid to the dead through sacrifice. Further, in giving the philosophers the first place, the agriculturists the second, the warriors the fifth, and the counsellors of the king the seventh place, he expresses himself, not from the point of view of an Indian, but from the standpoint of a Hellene educated in philosophy. No Hindu would ever have placed the Kṣatriyas fifth, nor the royal counsellors seventh. Elsewhere he seems to generalise the habits which were practised in Brahmanical circles, as when he mentions the failure to drink wine.[1] Perhaps too his essential declaration that no Indian could be a slave is due to the same cause.[2]

In some cases he appears to introduce into India facts and customs which were familiar to him in other lands. This is one way to account for his assertion with regard to milestones, for which in India no word can be found ; the idea may have been derived by him from Egypt or Persia.[3] On the other hand the matter would be one of personal observation ; the statement that milestones existed would be very strange if made without justification ; and it is more probable that the practice was known under Candragupta as a device introduced from Persia. At the same time it seems more probable that he borrowed the measurement of the land ascribed to India from the actual measurement made in Egypt to determine the boundaries of property which were obscured by the rising of the Nile.[4] There is no contemporary reference to any such measurement made in India, and the process was not one which was necessarily seen by a stranger. It is also possible that he borrowed from Egypt certain terminology with regard to officers charged with the

1. Stein, *Megasthenes*, pp. 90-2.
2. Stein, *Megasthenes*, pp. 109 ff.
3. Stein, *Megasthenes*, pp. 18-21.
4. Stein, *Megasthenes*, p. 22.

division of land. On the other hand his account of the board which dealt with the care of foreigners, watching their mode of life, escorting them out of the country, and sending their property to their relatives in case of their death, was presumably a matter in which he was concerned officially.

In other respects we may ascribe misunderstanding to Megasthenes. He asserts that the horse and the elephant were reserved for the king, clearly exaggerating the position. In other places he idealises.

In many respects the accounts of Megasthenes agree with the facts recorded in the Arthaśāstra. Megasthenes tells us of the royal way which is the merchant high road of Kauṭilya, the watering of the fields by canals, but sluice doors are mentioned by neither,[5] and the fruitfulness of India. Kauṭilya lays down the confluence of two streams as a good place for a fortification and authorises its formation as four-sided. Megasthenes ascribes both these characteristics to Palimbothra. In other particulars they perhaps agree. They agree also in extolling the merits of the elephants of the Prācyas. They concur also in the height of the elephants, and both record the use of foot-fetters, pillars, and female elephants to win over and tame the elephants. The means of healing these animals mentioned by Megasthenes are probably correctly given. The praise of polygamy and the anxiety to have children are fully attested by the Arthaśāstra. The many notices of the king are in part paralleled in Kauṭilya, especially with regard to massage. There are some other details in which the accounts agree, but these are not numerous, and they lack particularity. In certain matters there is a similarity between the account given by Megasthenes regarding the people of the land and the spies, but the similarity is only general and lacks all precision. For the warriors on the other hand Megasthenes' account appears to be creditable. With regard to the Amātyas there is only a general similarity, and in the account given of the self-governing cities one can only work out a certain parallelism.[6]

On the other hand there are great differences in many details. There is nothing in the Arthaśāstra regarding milestones, but it is uncertain whether any value lies in this contrast. The measurement of water is not recorded in the Arthaśāstra, which recognises the existence of private water streams. The Arthaśāstra forbids the use of wood for a fort, and requires stone work, while the discoveries in 1899 revealed portions of the old wooden walls of the city described by Megasthenes.[7] Moreover Kauṭilya requires the formation of three moats round a fort, while in the account of Megasthenes there is mention only of one, and there are differences in the measurements that are given. Building in stone is established in the Arthaśāstra, building in wood is hardly known.

5. Stein, *Megasthenes*, pp. 25-26.
6. Stein, *Megasthenes*, pp. 224-32 ; Cf. Timmer, *Megasthenes*, pp. 231, 232.
7. Stein, *Megasthenes*, pp. 28-47.

The Arthaśāstra has a longer list of masters and servants with regard to the elephants, and gives a longer list of the food which is suitable for them in comparison with the grass referred to by Megasthenes. Megasthenes alleges a monopoly of horses and of elephants in the king: the Arthaśāstra knows nothing of this, and we may legitimately ascribe the assertion to an error of Megasthenes.[8] Megasthenes again is far behind the Arthaśāstra in his account of the wealth of India in metals. The technical and chemical knowledge for working the metals, partly for ornament, partly for use, is distinctly greater in the Arthaśāstra. The management of the mines is reserved entirely to the state which gives concessions to private persons only at a rent or for a share in the produce. The many officers who were appointed to look after these questions, mine controllers, controllers of useful metals, controllers of money, controllers of salt, controllers of gold, goldsmiths, and the conditions legally developed of private use, justify the conclusion that a higher state of culture existed in the time of the Arthaśāstra than in the notices of Megasthenes.

In his account of the king Megasthenes omits all notice of such matters as the women carrying bows in the palace, which reminds us of the practices of the classical drama. He is equally ignorant of the presence of eunuchs and of Kirātas.[9] They appear to have been appointed in later times to those tasks. The picture given in the Arthaśāstra is of a fuller and more imposing ceremony than is envisaged in Megasthenes. It is noteworthy also that the term Yavana or Yavanī is not mentioned by Kauṭilya, who if minister of Candragupta must have come into political connection with the Greeks.

Megasthenes records a shutting off of the king's road by means of cords. The Arthaśāstra on the other hand knows of other occasions and of other means of clearing the way for the king. Megasthenes also ascribes to the king the practice of going out to perform a sacrifice, which is unknown to the Arthaśāstra, and also to the law books. Megasthenes also in his account of the exit of the king gives a description of music being played, and describes his escort of women and the punishment of death, which is prescribed for those people who press forward towards them.[10]

Megasthenes recognises the devotion of the king to the decision of legal cases which are brought before him.[11] In this respect there is a marked distinction between him and Kauṭilya, who gives no direct prescription for the activity of the king in deciding cases brought before him. Moreover he has left little time to engage in such occupations by reason of the programme of his daily toil. In any case Kauṭilya differs entirely from Megasthenes with regard to the manner in which he performs his duty. We may admit that the attention given to legal questions by the king according to Megasthenes

8. Frag. XXXVI, I.
9. Stein, *Megasthenes*, pp. 74-7.
10. Stein, *Megasthenes*, pp. 78-87.

exceeds his usual practice, but there is no doubt that the king in the Arthaśāstra makes a good deal less of his legal work.

The Arthaśāstra treats of the king as practically doing little judicial work, and it also draws a distinction between civil suits and police business. The Arthaśāstra distinguishes between three Dharmasthas and three Pradeṣṭṛs, while Megasthenes in his account of the matter follows rather the account given in the Dharmaśāstras and like them allows the king the duty of deciding causes himself. His position is much more simple and natural than the division of functions envisaged by the Arthaśāstra, which implies a later date.[12]

The sources of income of the king are given by the Arthaśāstra in much greater detail than by Megasthenes. Megasthenes knows nothing of other taxes than a quarter which he asserts was paid by the owners of the whole land to the king, and he maintains that the whole land belonged to the king.[13] The Arthaśāstra[14] shows a distinction between the lands assigned to the king and the land in general, and suggests that there is no question of a consistent amount of taxation levied on the royal land, though the usual sum was obviously a sixth.

The financial business of the state is differently conceived by Megasthenes and the Arthaśāstra. Megasthenes contemplates a collegial management by guardians of the treasury, the Arthaśāstra has no proper treasurer, though in a certain sense the Sannidhātṛ serves for this purpose. Equally there are no Tamiai to be masters of the treasury in the Arthaśāstra. The Kośādhyakṣa is only subordinate to the Sannidhātṛ and has only the rank of an inferior. The Samāhartṛ has no place as responsible for the handing out of treasure. The treatment of finance therefore differs essentially between Megasthenes and Kauṭilya; the system is fundamentally differently organised.

Megasthenes assigns liturgies of the hand workers to the king in accordance with the views of the Dharmaśāstras, representing the practice of an older date than the system of taxes which is prescribed in the Arthaśāstra. Similarly Megasthenes shows little knowledge of the organisation of the army, of the higher officers, and of the administration, which according to the Arthaśāstra was distinct from the leading of the troops. What is far more important however, there is little sign in the Arthaśāstra of any organisation which would correspond to the control of the great forces necessarily to be assumed as required by Candragupta. It is interesting that we have no full account of the forces by Megasthenes, but the account given by the Arthaśāstra is obviously incompatible with the magnitude of an empire.

12. Stein, *Megasthenes*, pp. 79, 80.
13. Frag. I. 44-6.
14. Stein, *Megasthenes*, pp. 127-9.

There is a considerable distinction between the account of the higher officials given by Megasthenes and by the Arthaśāstra. Megasthenes appears to pass over the Mantrin of the king in personal concerns, or to reckon him with the other Mantrins. The whole system in the Arthaśāstra is more elaborate ; there is a greater division of functions, as we have seen in the case of police officers and of those who decide civil causes. The functionaries in the Arthaśāstra are far more numerous and of varied character. What is remarkable is that Megasthenes contemplates the existence of boards of five in charge of various concerns, in contrast to the single overseer who is assigned functions by Kauṭilya. The Agoranomoi[15] are rather controllers of land than market functionaries and possibly Megasthenes' account may have been influenced by Plato's Laws. The distinction between Megasthenes and the Arthaśāstra on the collegiate principle is decidedly remarkable. Smith[16] considers that the Pentads are an official development of the unofficial Pañcāyat, but that is not probable, for a Pañcāyat is essentially a private institution which has specially the function of deciding disputed cases. It is important to note that in the Arthaśāstra there is no provision for the working together of any officials as a Synarchy. Any connection between officials does not exist.

The account of Megasthenes is noteworthy for the absence of a head of the six Pentads and the division into six groups of five.[17] Whereas the Arthaśāstra knows of a head of the town, the Nāgaraka, with four subordinate Sthānikas, and a number of Gopas, whose occupations were partly of a fiscal and partly of a political character. The distinction between the thirty magistrates of Megasthenes without any presiding body is remarkable. The functions of certain Pentads are not even recorded in the Athaśāstra as in the assignment of places of stay, the burial of the dead of strangers, and the imposition of tenths. There is no connection between the Nāgaraka and the overseer of weights ; according to Megasthenes the fourth Pentad functioned within the body of officials of the state, and the shrines were the common business of the Synarchy. It is clear that there is a complete difference in the structure of the magistracies between Megasthenes and Kauṭilya, and the question does arise whether Megasthenes is trustworthy in reporting what he has seen. It is difficult to see the source from which he has taken his facts. There were five Astynomoi for the state and the Piraeus in Athens, but the parallelism is very far from close. There is a further consideration that there are six Pentads assigned to the military officials. He gives a Nauarch and five officials ; an overseer over the cattle, and five officials ; five officials over the foot, over the horse, over the chariots, and over the elephants. His notice of a Nauarch is a remarkable fact, for there is not the

15. Stein, *Megasthenes*, pp. 233, 234, suggests agronomoi.
16. *Ind. Ant.* XXXIV, (1905), 200.
17. Stein, *Megasthenes*, pp. 264-6.

slightest hint in the Arthaśāstra of a fleet serving military purposes, nor a fleet commandant. He knows of course a Nāvadhyakṣa, but he assigns to him fiscal and business activities only ; he raises harbour duties, charges for voyages, and ships ; he watches the trade done in journeys and collects the monies due ; his duty is to drive away pirate ships and ships passing enemy boundaries, and those which disturb the peace in the harbours.[18] There is no question in the fourth century B.C. of shipping being known to India, and the very restricted functions of the Nāvadhyakṣa are quite incompatible with sea fighting. Kauṭilya shows no affection for shipping, though he knows of the use of ships as helping to bridge over a river.

The overseer in charge of cattle and the five officials assigned to him in Megasthenes' account are not known to the Arthaśāstra, and the use of cattle for the purpose of carrying goods is apparently rare in war time. The occupations assigned to the officer in charge of cattle include oversight of musicians which is a curious prescription. He had also charge of the men employed with regard to the horses, a function assigned in the Arthaśāstra to the charge of the master of the cavalry. Similarly the care of the machines is put down by Kauṭilya to the Āyudhāgārādhyakṣa, and the bringing up of the machines was in the Arthaśāstra assigned to the charge of labourers, who were under the command of the Praśāstṛ. The practice of foraging was in the view of Megasthenes accompanied by music, which was obviously unsuited to a warlike undertaking. The collegiate command of the foot, the horse, the chariots, and the elephants is quite unknown to Kauṭilya, who has an overseer chiefly devoted to administrative duties for each section of the army. Megasthenes also appears to assign administrative functions to his Pentads, but the numbers are somewhat suspicious and suggest that there may be some confusion in his mind. The same remark applies to his assertion that they made use of horses and elephants without bits.[19]

His account of the land workers, the herdsmen and the hunters, differs in Megasthenes to a considerable extent from the descriptions given in the Arthaśāstra, but there is nothing of essential importance. In the account of traders the Arthaśātra proves the existence of an extensive handwork industry, to some extent a great industry, as is shown by the existence of merchants of established and considerable positions in comparison with the descriptions in Megasthenes. The spies are developed elaborately in the Arthaśāstra ; some groups are also found in Megasthenes, but there are many more mentioned. According to Kauṭilya they come from all castes and occupations, while Megasthenes treats the whole body as a single element of the state.

The description given by Megasthenes of religious practices is too meagre to allow of any real comparison with the Arthaśāstra. It is possible that the

18. Stein, *Megasthenes*, p. 267.
19. Stein, *Megasthenes*, pp. 266-77.

beginning of the rainy season, when the new year of the Mauryas fell, there were festivals, at which prophecies were derived from signs, or from the mouth of spiritual persons, of which the Arthaśāstra tells us nothing. Megasthenes bears testimony also to a great meeting,[20] but of this we have no information at all in the Arthaśāstra nor in other sources. Megasthenes also records nothing of the work of the three spiritual authorities, Ṛtvij, Ācārya, and Purohita ; the Purohita evidently played a political part and he had servants under him. It is suggested that Megasthenes tells us nothing of these three, because he knew the king rather in the camp than in the palace, but the Purohita must have been present also in the camp.[21]

From these points of difference Stein concludes against the contemporaneity of the Arthaśāstra and of Megasthenes, and he doubts the genuineness of the ascription of the Arthaśāstra to Candragupta's minister. The similarities which are visible between the two authorities depend on matters of a general character which are equally valid today. This can be said safely of the watering of the land, of the double crops which it bears, the position of the forts, which depends on the condition of the surrounding ground, the embrasures, the carrying away of the water, or the training of elephants, or again polygamy, or the eagerness for children, the life of the king and the spies, which is common form in oriental kingship. On the other hand the differences between Megasthenes and the Arthaśāstra often touch on essential facts, and point essentially to a distinction in date between the two authorities.

The arguments for asserting the similarity of the Arthaśāstra and of Megasthenes given by Mr. N. N. Ghosh, Lecturer in Ancient Indian History, Allahabad University, presented in the University of Allahabad Studies History Section, 1942, do not seriously meet the points urged by Dr. Stein. He cites the statements made by Megasthenes about the king leaving his palace to judge cases, and compares a passage of Kauṭilya,[22] without noting that the passage refers only to the attitude of the king towards petitioners, and not specifically to seekers after justice. Similarly Megasthenes' reference to the king having no time to sleep during the day doubtless agrees with the assertion of the Arthaśāstra, according to which, the whole of the day and the greater part of the night are fully occupied in various kinds of work ; but there is no similarity in the two passages. Again Megasthenes records the necessity of the king's changing his couch from time to time with a view to defeat plots against his life, but Kauṭilya speaks of the mechanical contrivances of the royal house. He says that the king's residential palace[23] should have an elusive chamber provided with secret passages, an underground chamber connected with many secret passages for exits, and an upper story provided with a staircase hidden

20. Stein, *Megasthenes*, pp. 283, 284.
21. Stein, *Megasthenes*, pp. 286-90. Cf. Winternitz, *Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume*, p. 34.
22. I, 19.
23. I, 20.

in a wall. There is common to this account with that of Megasthenes only the desire to escape dangers to one's life ; the details of the Arthaśāstra are lacking in Megasthenes. The king according to Megasthenes has women to care for his person, but nothing is said of their being armed with bows, as is duly recorded in the Arthaśāstra,[24] a practice which appears to belong to a definitely later date.

Similarly Megasthenes devotes attention to elephants as kept by the king. He asserts that a private person may not keep either a horse or an elephant, which is not repeated by Kauṭilya.[25] The Arthaśāstra has much information regarding elephants which agrees closely enough with Megasthenes, but the facts are all commonplace and present no ground for believing in contemporaneity.

Megasthenes' account states also the existence of superintendents who enquire into births and deaths, with a view not only to levy a tax, but in order that births and deaths among high and low may not escape the cognisance of the government. Kauṭilya refers to the enquiries made by the Gopas and Sthānikas, but he refers only to the fact of the number of tax payers, a distinction of considerable importance.

Megasthenes' reference to superintendents of trade and commerce, and persons having charge of weights and measures, and those who supervised the manufactured articles, is said to have a corresponding picture in fuller detail in the Arthaśāstra (II. 16 ; IV, 2). Unfortunately the distinction between the account given by Megasthenes and that of the Arthaśāstra is very great, and the fuller detail marks a definite distinction between the two accounts.

There is a like distinction between the account given by Megasthenes of a class of officers who collect taxes and superintend the occupations connected with land, as those of wood-cutters, carpenters, blacksmiths, and miners, and the detailed account given by Kauṭilya of the arrangement of revenue collections under the Samāhatṛ, under whom a large number of superintendents worked to collect taxes from different sources. Megasthenes mentions mines, wood-cutters, and the construction of roads, but Kauṭilya gives a much fuller picture with details of mining operations and metallurgical manufactures under the superintendent of metals, called Lohādhyakṣa. Here again the distinction in detail marks the differences between the two accounts.[26]

In like measure Kauṭilya adds details on the subject of irrigation not found in the records of Megasthenes. In connection with the water rates paid by the cultivators he speaks of four methods of irrigation, and in other places adds another two. Similarly he describes a fine levied on those who let out the water or hinder its flow. The point here of course is that the details given

24. I. 21.
25. Stein, *Megasthenes*, pp. 58-60.
26. Stein, *Megasthenes*, pp. 260 ff.

are foreign to Megasthenes, and therefore are valueless for establishing the simultaneity of the accounts given by Megasthenes and in the Arthaśāstra.

It is suggested that book two of the Arthaśāstra, giving information about details of the administration, gives a full picture of which a partial one is obtained in Megasthenes' account, presenting interesting points of similarity. But as a matter of fact that the points of similarity are few and far between. The Arthaśāstra names the Senāpati as capable of leading the four arms of the force-infantry, cavalry, elephants, and chariots. This corresponds to the division of Candragupta's forces given by Megasthenes. But the comparison is confined to the members of the army, which are common form in India, and Megasthenes expressly mentions that each section of the forces was in charge of a distinct Pentad of officers. The difference is essential. Megasthenes again mentions the admiralty, but the admiral has no real resemblance to Kauṭilya's Nāvadhyakṣa as we have already seen.

Megasthenes speaks of counsellors and assessors to deliberate on public affairs, and who form the smallest class, but are most highly respected. This no doubt corresponds to the account given by Kauṭilya of the Mantrins and the Mantripariṣad ; but this is common to all accounts, and the fact that Kauṭilya knows a Mantrin specially attached to the person of the king, who is ignored by Megasthenes, is passed over.

Megasthenes' failure to recognise the character of the Indian castes and his division of the people into seven classes, (1) philosophers, (2) husbandmen, (3) herdsmen and hunters, (4) traders, (5) warriors, (6) overseers, (7) counsellors, and assessors, are accepted by Mr. Ghosh, and it is suggested that it may be inspired by his knowledge of Egyptian conditions.

The security of life and property in the time of Candragupta is attested by Megasthenes' reference to theft as a very rare occurrence, and to houses and property being generally left unguarded. Kauṭilya's reference to the custom of some parts of the house being left open, excluding the parts used by the women-folk, has clearly nothing to do with the times of Candragupta. The familiarity of Megasthenes with the marriage dowry of a yoke of oxen [27] corresponds no doubt to the Ārṣa form of marriage mentioned by Kauṭilya, but there is no real parallelism between the two passages. Megasthenes treats the matter as a clear case of purchase and knows no other.

It is contended that Kauṭilya was a mere paṇḍit, as endless hair-splitting discussions in the book show, and could not be a statesman, as the traditional Kauṭilya was supposed to have been. Dr. Winternitz [28] in special stresses the point that the book gives proof of the pedantry of a paṇḍit, and he denies the hall mark of an experienced administrator or the stamp of a statesman. He does not believe that an Indian minister could have found time or inclination

27. Timmer, *Megasthenes*, pp. 270, 271.
28. Calcutta University Readership Lectures, 1924.

to write a formal treatise of this type. It is admitted that Kauṭilya was undoubtedly a paṇḍit, and that the style of the book is scholastic, conforming to the recognised literary form, and to the conventions determining this kind of composition. It is objected, however, that, as argued by Professor Jacobi, the book displays uncommon administrative experience such as one would expect in the work of a versatile and learned man. The point, however, is that there is no trace of a commanding intellect in the actual work before us. It is an interesting and valuable production, throwing light on many subjects, but there is no proof that it is the production of a man who has lived the active life which is assigned by tradition to Kauṭilya. There is no objection to an administrator having inclination, or being able to find the time, to expound political theories in the light of administrative experience. Harṣa, Bhoja, and Kṛṣṇadevarāya are decidedly doubtful examples, but more value attaches to Frederick the Great, Mādhavācārya, Todarmal, Richelieu, Warren Hastings, Woodrow Wilson, Lenin and Churchill, but the point is that the Arthaśāstra does not exhibit any qualities of the type indicated.

Professor Winternitz's argument that the Arthaśāstra contemplates merely a small state, and not the affairs of a great empire, cannot be removed. Mr. Ghosh argues that there are a number of passages in the text, which easily lend themselves to the interpretation that the author had in mind the policy of a big empire when he built up his theories. Unfortunately this is hardly borne out in the passages cited. In I. 5, there is merely a reference to undisputed sovereignty in the world, and the same thing applies to a citation in I. 6, and the reference in IX. 1, to the extent of the territory of the Rāja Cakravartin from the Himalayas in the north to the sea, does not contradict in the slightest the essential characteristics of the work, which deals with states of small size. That he had the conception of a large state is by no means proved by his recommendation of the number of members for the Mantripariṣad. He assigns the number to be as many as is required for the circumstances in opposition to Manu, Bṛhaspati, and Ūsanas, who recommend the number to be only 12, 16, and 20 respectively. That he contemplated a bigger state than that which Manu, Bṛhaspati, and Ūsanas had in view may be clear, but it does not mean that he contemplated a large state, and the view receives no additional support from the reference in I. 15, to the assembly of Indra consisting of a thousand sages. We are certainly not carried beyond the magnitude of a comparatively small state. The suggestions in V. 3, regarding the amounts payable to government servants are decidedly moderate. Dr. Ghosh's view that the salaries are meant to be monthly depends on the interpretation of a passage which yields no satisfactory sense. [29]

Further, it is a matter of importance that there is no reference to Kauṭilya in the record of Megasthenes. It is of course true that Megasthenes is not

29. Meyu, *Das Arthaśāstra*, p. 384, n. 5.

preserved intact, but it is decidedly remarkable that he should be totally silent with regard to Kauṭilya, if he played the part which is ascribed to him by later Indian tradition. The silence of later Greek writers is a strong support for the view that nothing was said of Kauṭilya by Megasthenes, and that he was not credited with an important part in the achievements of Candragupta. It is argued that Megasthenes did not write a history, but merely recorded certain conditions which specially interested him. He was not interested in individuals but in institutions, and apart from Candragupta, to whose court he was an accredited ambassador, he hardly spoke of any other prominent individual of the court or country. A parallel is cited in the failure of Yuan Chwang to mention in his records the name of Harṣa's court poet, Bāṇabhaṭṭa. But the parallelism is completely lacking. Yuan Chwang had no occasion whatever to mention Bāṇabhaṭṭa, who formed no part of the essential characteristics of Harṣa's work, and was not even a Buddhist.

Professor Hillebrandt [30] held the view that the work arose in the school of Kauṭilya in whose name the views of the alleged author are cited in opposition to other teachers. The expressions iti Kauṭilyaḥ, and neti Kauṭilyaḥ, which are found about eighty times in the work suggest strongly that the Arthaśāstra could not have been a work of Kauṭilya himself, but must have arisen from a school of his. To this contention it is objected that the usage was a literary etiquette observed by ancient Indian writers, especially when they had to criticise the views of well known previous writers and to assert their own views. This is illustrated by a citation from Viśvarūpa, the great commentator on Yājñavalkya, but obviously his authority is of no value for the time of Kauṭilya. The same remark applies to a like assertion made by the commentator, Medhātithi, on the Manusmṛti, I. 4. A more relevant example is the fact that iti Vātsyāyanaḥ is used in the Kāmasūtra, and it is suggested that this remark is inserted by Vātsyāyana himself. It must be admitted that Vātsyāyana's actual authorship of the Kāmasūtra is open to grave doubt, nor is the date at all convincing.[31]

It is objected that reference to early authorities, which are made in the Arthaśāstra, would not have been inserted by a follower of the Kauṭilya school, long after the death of the founder, reproducing his doctrines which by that time had evidently gained general recognition. Who would have taken interest in exploded theories after Kauṭilya's theories had gained recognition for centuries? A follower of Kauṭilya who accepted him as his guru would not have referred to his opponents as ācāryas, for his only ācārya was his guru; while it was quite reasonable for Kauṭilya himself to refer to previous writers, whose theories he had to meet and explode, with the deference that he did and to call them ācāryas. It is to be feared that this is not a satisfactory conclusion,

30. *Das Kauṭilīyaśāstra*, p. 10.
31. Keith, *Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 467-9.

and we can set off against his view the opinion of Professor Jolly that the whole work is likely to have been composed by a single person, probably a paṇḍit belonging to a school of polity and law, who, to render a dry subject interesting, introduced debates in which the Pūrvapakṣa is put in the mouth of eminent sages, or of deities, whose names he got from the Mahābhārata or from tradition, while the Uttarapakṣa or Siddhānta is reserved for Kauṭilya. It is of course possible that there were works called Arthaśāstra ascribed to sages of the past such as Bṛhaspati and Viśālākṣa, extracts from which have been found in the commentary on Yājñavalkaya by Viśvarūpācārya.[32] But it must be regarded as frankly doubtful whether all the authors cited by the Arthaśāstra were actually writers of works, and still more whether any of them were as old as the alleged date of Kauṭilya. The fact that the order of precedence to which he assigns the authors is probably not the chronological order, but was the order of merit determined by the convenience to the Arthaśāstra of discussion, is probably true enough, but there is not the slightest proof that the order was not possible to anyone except a great master. Nor is it at all convincing to claim that the remark that the contents of all previous masters have been compressed in the Arthaśāstra is proof that the Arthaśāstra was not the product of a school, because, if it were the product of a school, it would in that case have appealed to the traditions of the school itself, and not to older teachers who would have been looked upon as the leaders of rival schools. All that the Arthaśāstra really says is that the doctrines set forth by previous authorities have been made into the Arthaśāstra by condensation.

That the opinions of Kauṭilya are only given at second hand is suggested by their discussion ascribed to Bhāradvāja in V. 6; the idea that Kauṭilya, writing at first hand, should have contrasted his view with that of Bhāradvāja is frankly improbable, not to say unconvincing. The fact appears to agree with the consideration that under the explanation of Apadeśa in the last book is cited one of Kauṭilya's sentences, from which the prima facie conclusion is that Kauṭilya is quoted as an authority, not as an author.[33]

It is argued further in support of the theory of Kauṭilya's authorship that there is evidence of the anxiety of the author to strengthen the position of the king in the time of confusion and turmoil, and to make his king an accomplished, efficient, and virtuous ruler of men. Though he has followed the traditions of the Dharmaśāstras, his book is free from their metaphysical speculations, and is solely concerned with the science of polity and administration. In his anxiety to establish the undisputed authority of Candragupta, he could not tolerate the existence of any other ruler but his king, resembling Richelieu in his anxiety to secure Louis XIV absolute sovereignty over France. Referring to the existence of republican states, e.g., Kāmboja, Su-

32. The passages are modern in type.
33. Meyer, *Das Arthaśāstra*, p. 665 admits the fact.

rāṣṭra, Licchavika, Vṛjika, Mallaka, Madraka, Kurupañcālas, he goes on to prescribe the means of destroying them by sowing seeds of dissension among them. The Arthaśāstra, however, does not contemplate the complete destruction of these tribes, and it is perfectly obvious that the author did not believe in the establishment of an undisputed sovereignty for his royal master.

The identity of Kauṭilya is maintained from the combined testimony of the Vāyu, Matsya, and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas, the date of which is suggested to be as early as 250 A.D. That date however is purely conjectural, and is probably a century at least too old. His name as Cāṇakya is attested about the middle of the fifth century A.D. in the Ceylonese Chronicle, the Mahāvaṁsa. The Ceylon tradition gives further particulars of Cāṇakya, that he was a learned Brahmin, a native of Takṣaśilā, devoted to his mother and implacable to his enemies, that he had a grudge against the last Nanda who had publicly insulted him, that he was the prime mover of the revolution against the Nandas, and that he continued to be a minister of Candragupta long after his accession. It is suggested that Kauṭilya was the name he assumed as the best suited to the theme of his book; such assumed names were not new in Indian literature. What were the names like Vātavyādhi, Kauṇapadanta, or Piśuna of the previous writers mentioned in the Arthaśāstra but assumed names? It must however be admitted that this doctrine of assumed names accords much better with the theory of a school than with the actual writing of the text of the Arthaśāstra by Kauṭilya himself.

Another name of Kauṭilya as the servant of Candragupta is Viṣṇugupta, which was altered to Kauṭilya after his destruction of the line of Nanda according to the Mudrārākṣasa. The date of the Mudrārākṣasa is doubtful. It has been assigned to the time of Candragupta Vikramāditya, but that seems to be extremely improbable. It is, however, probably later than the Raghuvaṁśa of Kālidāsa, and has been variously ascribed to the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries.[34] The value of the mention in the Purāṇas is far from great, for the contents thereof are very far from being verified day by day in the light of epigraphic evidence. The Pañcatantra is of course of no value as evidence. The same condition applies to the remarks of Kāmandaka, who really writes at second hand. It is important, however, to note that Daṇḍin in the Daśakumāracarita seems to use language, which recognises the existence of the Arthaśāstra but hardly its antiquity.

In opposition to these facts we have the statement in XV. 1, that the Śāstra has been made by one, who from intolerance quickly rescued the scriptures and the science of weapons and the earth ruled by the Nandas. A reference has also been seen in II. 10, dealing with the mode of royal writs, which says that the rules have been made by Kauṭilya *narendrārtham*; the term Narendra has been used in the Bṛahmāṇḍa Purāṇa for Maurya and there

34. Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 204.

Narendra is another name for Candragupta.[35] It must be admitted to be curious that Narendra should be found here in the Arthaśāstra for Candragupta, and that throughout the rest of the work he should be treated with absolute silence. It is, to tell the truth, very difficult to accept this interpretation of Narendra. Still less likely is it that in I. 4, Gupta should stand for Candragupta.

The name Kauṭilya, which is doubtless chosen from the suitability of the meaning, has been read as Kauṭilya by T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, but it may be feared that this correction is of no great value. The omission of all references to Pāṭaliputra, stressed by Professor Jolly, is decidedly singular, for it was the capital held by Candragupta, and it is at least remarkable that there was no context for it in the Arthaśāstra. It is further to be considered that the Arthaśāstra has largely borrowed from the Yājñavalkyasmṛti, and as the date of the latter is later than the third century A.D., the Arthaśāstra must have come after it. This argument has no weight in the eyes of T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī. The date of Kauṭalya having been fixed as the fourth century B.C., it naturally follows that Yājñavalkya, from whom Kauṭalya has borrowed, should be anterior to the latter. Besides the word Yājñavalkya is mentioned in the Gargādigaṇa from the sūtra of Pāṇini. From this it is clear that Pāṇini knew of a Yājñavalkya born of the Yajñavalka Gotra. Probably the same Yājñavalkya was the author of the Smṛti and therefore earlier than Pāṇini. It is to be feared that this evidence is inadequate. Pāṇini clearly cannot be asserted to have known of a Yājñavalkya, and there is no probability that the Yājñavalkya Smṛti is earlier than the third century A.D.

The suggestion that the Arthaśāstra, covering as it does several branches of human knowledge, could not possibly be the production of a single author, but a composition by several authors, is certainly not disproved by the assertion of Kāmandaka in the preface to his Nītisāra. It is unnecessary to suppose that Kāmandaka, whose date is certainly later than the first century B.C., is to be credited with more accurate and reliable knowledge about Kauṭilya than we of the present day. Professor Jacobi suggests the similarity between the text and Jainism, with special reference to the fact that the Nandīsūtra and the Anuyogadvārasūtra of the Jain canon mention the Kauṭiliyas. His view is that redaction of the Jain canon and of the Kauṭiliya fell together. Jainism declined after the period of the Nandas, so that the canon must be dated about this period. It is, however, to be noted that the language of the Jain canon is far later than the time of the Nandas, and, if the language could be changed, then the content also was far from secure. We know the Jain tradition reveals early losses, and we have no right to hold that in substance or in detail our present canon goes back to the fourth century B.C. Professor Jacobi further contends that there existed only three sys-

35. *Ind. Ant.* 1918, 55.

tems of philosophy at the time of the Arthaśāstra. This is quite unfounded. The Ānvīkṣikī of the Arthaśāstra merely denotes logic and dialectics as methods of investigation, and not any metaphysical teaching like the Adhyātmavidyā ;[36] there is no assertion that it constituted the whole of philosophy. He is wrong also in denying that Jayanta is a Brahmanical god, for he is found in the Sūtras, and the view that in the third century A.D. the worship of the Aśvins was antiquated totally lacks all evidence.

The evidence of the Kāmaśāstra does not tell in favour of the antiquity of the Arthaśāstra. But Vātsyāyana certainly knew the Arthaśāstra, and it is very probable that he took its form for the model of his work, which, like the Arthaśāstra, consists of prose discussions, with occasional verses, each chapter terminating with one or more ślokas. In both the definitions and discussions are relieved by references to ancient tales and the device of quasi-debate betwen ancient sages. It has been suggested by Dr. Radhakumud Mookherji[37] that the author of the Kāmaśāstra may have been the same as that of the Arthaśāstra and of the Nyāyabhāṣya, but this view has no probability whatever. That the Kāmaśāstra is much later than the Arthaśāstra, which is claimed by Professor Jacobi,[38] is equally improbable. Professor Jolly has disposed of all his arguments in this regard ; the knowledge of the Vaiśeṣika philosophy, which is found in the Kāmaśāstra, is irrelevant, because the Arthaśāstra had no reason to mention the Vaiśeṣika, if it considered it to be of no value. Again, if the Kāmaśāstra knows Greek astrology, the Arthaśāstra mentions (II. 24) two of the planets and disapproves (IX. 4) of the belief in the stars as influencing human destiny.

It must be noted also that in the Arthaśāstra (X. 3) are to be found two verses cited which apparently are taken from Bhāsa.[39] If the borrowing is genuine, this would accord fully with a date not before three hundred A.D. for the Arthaśāstra. This would agree well enough with the absence of any early evidence of the existence of Cāṇakya as a writer. The Mahābhārata, though it is elaborate in its account of kingly duties, does not mention him, and the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, though it knows well Candragupta and the Mauryas, is equally silent with regard to him. On the other hand there is plenty of evidence from about four hundred A.D. of the existence of the Arthaśāstra, which was clearly made use of by the Tantrākhyāyika,[40] which perhaps falls about four hundred A.D.

There are other evidences of comparatively recent date of the Arthaśāstra. The geographical outlook is wide. It is very doubtful whether the

36. *Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume*, p. 28.
37. *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity*, pp. XIII, XIV.
38. *Sitz. Bul. Akad.* 1911, pp. 961 f ; 1912, pp. 841 ff. Vātsyāyana's actual authorship is speculative.
39. Jolly, Intr. p. 10.
40. Keith, *Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 247 f.

term Cīna could have been used before the advent to power of the Ts'in dynasty in China, and, if Vānāyu denotes Arabia as a source of horses,[41] it is unlikely that the term occurred in a work written under Candragupta ; similarly the word Suvarṇakuḍya is unlikely in a period of that date. Moreover the Arthaśāstra presumes the existence of a considerable technical literature on such topics as agriculture, architecture, chemistry, mining, mineralogy, veterinary science, the treatment of trees, and the Sulbadhātuśāstra. In a case of alchemy we are told of the conversion of base metals into gold, and we find the use of the term *rasa* of mercury, which has hitherto not been traced further back than the Bower manuscript of the fourth century A.D., and in the works of Caraka and Suśruta, the text of which is of very dubious date. The impression of a late date, which is thus given, gains confirmation from the fact that alchemy appears clearly to have been imported into India and not to be of independent origin there. If we assume a Graeco-Syriac origin, we must tend to place derivation in the early centuries of the Christian era. With this accords well the use of the term *suraṅgā* or *suruṅgā* in the Arthaśāstra in the sense of "mine", if its source is, as is most probable, the Hellenistic Greek syrinx. The number of chemical substances mentioned in the Arthaśāstra is longer than that of Suśruta and other works, and it points to a later stage of the development of chemistry in the period of Kauṭilya than at the time of Suśruta. This is an unquestioned fact, and the argument is that Suśruta dealt with only a small number of chemicals because his was a purely medical work, while the Arthaśāstra was not limited in scope, but concerned itself with a variety of subjects such as the manufacture of gold and other precious metals, the preparation of poison etc., and consequently refers to a good number of chemical substances. The fact however points rather to the posteriority of the Arthaśāstra.

There is also evidence of considerable literary knowledge. The chapter on Tantrayuktis presumes a long refinement in methods of exposition and of argument. Ānvīkṣikī is defined to include Sāṁkhya, Yoga, and Lokāyata, which reflects the period when Sāṁkhya and Yoga had established themselves as distinct schools, and when Lokāyata had won a place for itself. It is also certain that the use of technical grammatical terms in II. 10, probably suggests knowledge of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī. The Arthaśāstra knows also other Arthaśāstras and Dharmaśāstras, as well as treaties on Vārtā and Daṇḍanīti. He shows full knowledge of writing, attested by his rules regarding registration, the wording of documents including royal edicts and letters, and the use of written contracts, a point in which he differs distinctly from Megasthenes. He knows the main story of the Mahābhārata, and the accounts of Rāvana and Dāṇḍakya can be traced to the Rāmāyaṇa. Many of the authorities on Arthaśāstra, which are cited are also recorded in the great epic.

41. Persia is suggested by Meyer, *Das Arthaśāstra*, p. XLVII, 212.

where Kaṇika for instance appears as the counsellor of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, and is given sayings for which parallels can be found in the Arthaśāstra. It is also recorded (III. 7) that the Sūta and Māgadha of the Purāṇas are not to be confused with the ordinary Sūta and Māgadha, the product of mixed marriages, which is precisely the Purāṇic doctrine. The form of the work, which is asserted to include a Sūtra and a Bhāṣya according to a verse appended to the work, is not clearly defined, and does not give any impression of early composition. The language has been alleged to be early. We must of course distinguish two different things, in the first place the presence in the text of a large number of unusual words and meanings, in the second place the existence of forms which can really claim to be archaic. The former words are of course undeniable, but they have nothing to do with the antiquity of the text; they are merely the outcome of its unique character. The archaic nature of the forms in the second category is extremely doubtful. T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī[42] gives a list which includes the following forms; irregular genders, rajjunā, arālā, amitram, sarpanirmokam; irregular formations, as in khādirābhiḥ, anyatamasmin, pārañcikam, mārgāyuka; irregular compounds, such as jaradguḥ, daśatīrakṣā, ubhayatorātra, varṣārātra, paścāhna; irregularity of mood, as in ādeyāt, ākāṅkṣeta, ṛdhyatām; of form, as in prasvāpayitvā, nistārayitvā, apakrāntavyam, anuvasitam; of usage, as in pratipatsyāmi, apavyyate; and of syntax, as in dāpayet with two accusatives. It is not necessary to examine the correctness of reading, or the possibility of finding defences; for example dāpayati with two accusatives is found in the epic, apavyayate in Manu, pratipatsyāmi has parallels, paścāhna is analogical; there are other post-Pāṇinean parallels for the other passages, while the form ādeyāt is probably like pārañcika a mere error of the text. In any case none of the passages can be said to be in any genuine sense of the word archaic.

With this position as regards language, the metrical condition of the work corresponds entirely. In the first place the śloka is handled with great care to make it conform to the developed rules of the metre; it is far more accurate than the śloka of the Mahābhārata, or of that of the Bṛhaddevatā, and this suggests that the śloka belongs to a later date than the time of Candragupta. In the second place we find seven triṣṭubh stanzas which are either of the Indravajrā or the Upajāti type. This is extremely significant, for whether the verses are original or are merely quoted they establish this form of metre as existing at the time of the composition of the work. It is significant that the practice of assimilating the four verses of a triṣṭubh stanza is decidedly late. The Vedic texts and the early epic show clearly that the practice had not yet come into force, and, when it is found, it must be recognised that artistic canons had come to affect the metre. In accordance with this are the elaborate rules given in II. 10, regarding the preparation of

42. Part III, Appendix, III.

edicts, which betray acquaintance with the principles of the Alaṁkāraśāstra. It should also be noted that we find an example (II. 12) of the Aupachandasaka metre, which, though not an early form, is found in the later epic.

It is impossible to find any support for an early date for the Arthaśāstra in the *Hindu Polity* of K. P. Jayaswal. In his opinion Megasthenes and the Arthaśāstra are contemporary. He accepts further the posteriority of Yājñavalkya to the Arthaśāstra, holding that his code is based for law proper mainly on the Arthaśāstra. The date of Yājñavalkya[43] is determined by the punishment provided for the forgery of coins, styled Nāṇaka. The period would therefore be about 150 to 200 A.D. It must be remembered of course that the date of Yājñavalkya is uncertain, as the Smṛti is made up of various parts, and a definite date is hard to assign.[44] But it is perfectly clear that Yājñavalkya is a late author, and the fact that he was used by the Arthaśāstra has been definitely proved by Professor Jolly. Professor Jolly's[45] evidence that the Arthaśāstra borrows from the Smṛti text and not vice versa, is conclusive evidence that the Arthaśāstra belongs to a comparatively late date.

Equally unavailing are the arguments urged by J. Meyer.[46] The attraction to him of the supposition of the writing of the work by the Chancellor of Candragupta has blinded him to the facts of the case. He ignores the argument of Kālidās Nāg[47] that the diplomacy of Kauṭilya is not that of a centralised empire, and does not show any trace of the centralisation of Candragupta's imperialism. Yet the fact was obvious to Mr. Monahan,[48] and drove him to the conclusion that the work must have been composed before the imperial system of Candragupta was started.

Nothing also is to be gained from the contentions of Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji, who seeks veiled references to Candragupta in several passages of the Arthaśāstra, and argues that the verse added to the end of the book, asserting the conquest of the Nandas, was due to the author, and is an essential part of the Arthaśāstra. It is the only passage which refers clearly to the defeat of the Nandas, and there is no reason to believe that it belongs to the original work. There is already a metrical conclusion.

B. C. J. Timmer[49] has given a valuable comparison of the work of Megasthenes with the information which can be obtained from Indian texts. In her opinion the Arthaśāstra is not to be ascribed to the minister of Candragupta, but is a compilation, the theoretical production of a school. Owing

43. *Manu and Yājñavalkya*, pp. 58-61.
44. Losch, Die Yājñavalkyasmṛti, pp. XIV-XVII, LVII, LVIII.
45. Z. D. M. G. LXVII. 49 ff. Intr. pp. 12 ff.
46. *Das Arthaśāstra* (1926).
47. *Les theories diplomatique de l'Inde ancienne et l'Arthaśāstra*, p. 115.
48. *Early History of Bengal*, p. 31.
49. *Megasthenes en de Indische Maatschappij* (1930).

to Megasthenes' habit of mixing theory and fact, his failure to grasp the essential facts, and his lacking a general view, his work cannot be decisive in questions of history, though he often gives to us a realistic description of matters of which we have no accurate information from Indian sources. The reference in Diodorus to the terms on which the ground is cultivated by the people is due to a mistaken reading of Megasthenes' text. He has confused the contract—workers on the domain and the agriculturalists, who are in hereditary possession of the land. She rejects the view of Breloer that agriculture was socialised. As a matter of fact, the views of Breloer,[50] who is in favour of the traditional ascription of the Arthaśāstra to Candragupta's chancellor, lack any serious justification.

50. *Kauṭaliya Studien*, I-III, (1927-34).

HARṢA, THE AUTHOR OF THE AṄKA-YANTRA-CINTĀMANI & HIS RELATIVES

By

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No work of the name of the Aṅka-yantra-cintāmaṇi (AYC) has been noticed by Aufrecht in his monumental work, though he has mentioned the Aṅka-mantra-cintāmaṇi[1] whose author, however, is not noted, and the Aṅka-grantha,[2] the Aṅka-yantra-vidhi,[3] and the Mantroddhāra-kośa[4] or simply Uddhāra-kośa composed by Harṣa Dīkṣita or by Harṣa. It is not, however, clear whether any one of these works is identical with our AYC or even whether Harṣa the author of these works is to be identified with our Harṣa. As little seems as yet to have been said about Harṣa, the author of the AYC, I propose in the following lines to record detailed information regarding this author and also try to arrive at a tolerably approximate date for him.

In the introductory verses of his AYC Harṣa has given some valuable information about himself which helps us a great deal in not only identifying him, but also in fixing his date with tolerable certainty. Though from the colophon[5] and also the chronogram[6] at the beginning of the only available[7] MS of this work, the name of the work seems to be AYC; yet from the third verse[8] in the introduction one may say that the name of the work could also be Aṅka-yantra-vyākṛti or Aṅka-śloka-yantra-vyākṛti, while from the word uddhṛtya occurring in the same verse one may even be tempted to declare the name of the work as Aṅka-yantroddhāra or simply the Yantroddhāra. Coming to the name of the author himself we find that according to the colophon[9] it is simply Harṣa while in one of the introductory verses

1. Aufrecht, C. C. I, p. 4b.
2. Loc. cit. Also cf. Op. cit., p. 763 b.
3. Op. cit. III, p. 2b, and p. 157b.
4. Op. cit., III, p. 93a and p. 157b.
5. The colophon is 'इति अङ्कयन्त्रचिन्तामणिः समाप्तः ।
6. The chronogram is 'अथ अङ्कयन्त्रचिन्तामणि प्रारम्भः ।'
7. This is MS. No. 25·16 of The Bhadkamkar Collection of MSS. presented by Prof. H. D. Velankar—my Guru—to the Bombay University Library. In my Descriptive Catalogue this MS. is described under No. 1719.
8. The verse reads : 'मूलागमेभ्य उद्धृत्य श्रीहर्षेण विभज्यते ।
अङ्कात्मश्लोकयन्त्राणां व्याकृतिर्लक्ष्यलक्ष्मयुक् ॥'
9. The colophon is : 'इति हर्षकृत श्लोक व्याख्यानं समाप्तम् ।'

it is Śrī-Harṣa. But in view of the fact that our author prefixes the letter Śrī to the name of his great-grand-father, Śrīdhara and calls him Śrī-Śrīdhara, it would not be wrong to conclude that the real name of our author is Harṣa rather than Śrī-harṣa.

The introductory verses[10] of the AYC are important for our purpose since they give us the names of all the relatives of our author and thus help us to fix up his identity. From these verses we know that Śrīdhara, a resident of Mālava, was the great-grand-father of our author; and that the names of his grand-father and father are Śivadāsa and Sūryadāsa respectively. We also learn that our author had two elder brothers whose names were Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa respectively. Little as this information would seem to be in itself it is yet of great importance to us, for it is this information that helps us to establish our author's identity as a younger brother of a great writer known as Rāma Vājapeyin who also in several of his works has stated his pedigree which is exactly identical with the one stated by our author.[11] It is, therefore, possible to reconstruct the genealogy and set forth full information about these relatives of Harṣa on the strength of the material supplied not only by himself but also by his brothers Rāmacandra and Bharata.

And we begin with the oldest ancestor that is mentioned by them. Harṣa tells us that in the land of Mālava there lived a very learned man named Śrīdhara. Rāmacandra, however, not satisfied with such a plain statement, has described his great-grand-father in rather glowing terms[12] in his Yantra-prakāśa (YP), from where we learn that Śrīdhara was an adept in Vedic lores and that he belonged to the Vatsa Gotra. Next comes Śiva-

10. The verses are :—

देशे मालवसंज्ञके समभवच्छ्रीश्रीधराख्यः सुधीः
तत्सूनुः शिवदास इत्युदभवत् सर्वत्र (r. ज्ञ) चूडामणिः ।
तस्यापीह तनूज आत्मविदभूत् सम्राट स सूर्याभिधो-
प्येते शैवशिवेन चैव लयतां यातोभिवत्सोपमः ॥ १ ॥
तस्य सूनव इहाखिलपूज्या रामलक्ष्मणमुखाः कृतयागाः ।
बुद्धिमानजनि तेषु कनीयान् हर्षसंज्ञमु (r. उ) दयत्सु सुविद्या (r. द्यः) ॥ २ ॥
मूलागमेभ्य उद्धृत्य etc. See note 8 above.

11. This will be clear from the various quotations from रामचन्द्र's works given below.

12. Read : आसीन्मालवदेशमण्डनमणिः, श्रीश्रीधराचार्य इ-
त्युद्गीतोभुवने समाधिमयये साक्षात्कृतोमापतिः ।
श्रीवत्सान्वयसागरामृतकरः श्रुत्यब्धिकुम्भोद्भवः
कैवल्यावगतेरवाप्तमनुजालभ्याखिलप्रत्ययः ॥
—Peterson, Report IV, p. 55.

dāsa who has been described by Harṣa as Sarvajña-cūḍāmaṇi ; and Rāmacandra also satisfies himself by declaring that he was a man of wide fame.

Sūryadāsa is the son of this Śivadāsa and the father of our author, who describes him as ātmavid and samrāṭ : Rāmacandra in his YP does not apply any epithet to his father, but in his Samarasāra adds one more viz. agnicit.[13] The significance of these epithets is very well explained by the author's younger brother, Bharata who states that Sūryadāsa was called Samrāṭ because he had performed the Vājapeya sacrifice including the Bṛhaspati sava ; and agnicit, because he performed the Suvarṇaciti.[14]

Harṣa does not give us any clue to the name of his mother. But Rāmacandra very clearly states it to be Viśālākṣī.[15] He also calls himself Viśālākṣī-tanaya,[16] and even where he has called himself Vaiśālākṣeya we find the colophon calling him Viśālākṣī-sūnu.[17] There can, therefore, be no doubt that the name of Sūryadāsa's wife was Viśālākṣī and not Viśālākṣā.

Though we can't be sure as to the exact number of sons that Sūryadāsa had, we can trace at least four of them.. Harṣa speaks of two elder brothers viz. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa : and we know of one more younger brother of Rāmacandra. This is Bharata who not only declares himself to be a younger of Rāmacandra, but also owns him as his Guru.[18] Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa,

13. Read : वंशे वत्समुनीश्वरस्य शिवदासाख्यादुरुख्यातितः
सम्राडग्निचिदाप यस्य जनकः श्रीसूर्यदासो जनिम् ।
Eggeling, I. O. Cat., No. 3117

14. Read : ' यस्य जनकः सम्राट् बृहस्पतिसर्वे (r. व) गर्भवाजपेययाजित्वात् ,
अग्निचित् सुवर्णचितिकारित्वात् श्रीसूर्यदासनामा'
Eggeling, I. O. Cat., No. 3117

[The original बृहस्पतिसर्वे given by Eggeling is for obvious reasons emended to बृहस्पतिसव].

15. Read : यन्मातुर्यशसा दिशो दश विशालाक्ष्या वलक्ष्या व्यधात् I. O., No. 3117 ; 3154.

16. Read : कुर्वेथ विशालाक्षीतनयों यन्त्रप्रकाशमहम् ॥ Peterson, Report IV, p. 55.

17. Read : तत्सूनु (r. नू) रामचन्द्रः स्वमतिविलसितेनादधान्नैमिषस्थो
वैशालाक्षेय एतां सरणिमृजुतमामङ्गिरः सूनुयागे ॥ I. O., No. 427.

Here the colophon is : इति सम्राट्स्थपत्यग्निचित्सूर्यदासात्मजस्य विशालाक्षीसूनो रामचन्द्रवाजपेयिनः कृतौ कर्मप्रदीपिकायां पद्धतौ वाजपेयक्रतुः समाप्तिमगमत् । I. O., No. 427.

18. अभिवन्द्य रामचन्द्रं गुरुं तदुक्तस्वरग्रन्थम् ।
वित्रणोमि यथाप्रज्ञं तदपि (r. भि) हितार्थानुसारेण ॥
[The emendation of तदपि into तदभि is mine.]
ग्रन्थकृतो रामस्य भ्राता भरतो लघुर्विद्वान् ।
टीकामेनामकरोत् तद्ग्रन्थार्थप्रकाशिकां सरलाम् ॥
The introductory and the concluding verses of भरत's सरला on समरसार. [I. O., No. 3117.]

Harṣa, and Bharata would therefore, appear to be the four sons of Sūryadāsa. Of these Rāma is certainly the eldest as it is implied in the statement of Harṣa. Presumably Bharata is the youngest not only because he is not taken note of by Harṣa, but also because he owns Rāmacandra as his Guru which shows that there is a great difference between the ages of these two brothers. Of the two that remain Lakṣmaṇa is admittedly the elder. The names of these brothers as given above are, therefore, also in the right order from the point of view of their ages.

Of these four sons only the eldest seems to have acquired a great name for himself by composing several works. Here again Harṣa simply tells us that all the sons of Sūryadāsa commanded great respect from all and had performed several sacrifices. But we can get a good deal more about Rāmacandra from his own works. Thus at the end of his YP he tells that he was an adept in both the mīmāṁsās, Pāṇini's grammar together with the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, Sāhitya, Sāṁkhya, Nyāya, Purāṇa and the Vedāṅgas.[19] He has also several works to his credit. Karma-pradīpikā (KP),[20] Kuṇḍa-nirmāṇa or Kuṇḍākṛti,[21] together with a big commentary, Samara-sāra,[22] YP with a commentary,[23] *Nāḍī-prabhodha* or Nāḍī-prakāśa,[24] and Kaaṇa-cintāmaṇi[25] are the works which Rāmacandra is known to have composed.

There is some variety about the name of Rāmacandra. In YP he styles himself Kavi Rāmacandra.[26] But commenting on the 8th verse of

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19. Read : मीमांसाद्वयमूलया फणिपतिप्रोद्गीतभाष्यामृता-
सारा‌भ्युक्षितपाणिनीयधरणौ साहित्यबीजोत्थया ।
सांख्यन्यायपुराणपल्लवितया श्रीरामधीवीवुधा [धीविद्यया]*
वेदाङ्गादिफलैः सदुक्तिकुसुमैः को वा न संतोष्यते ॥
Peterson, Report IV, p. 57.

श्रीरामधीवीरुधा seems to be the correct reading in view of the metaphor running through the whole verse.

20. This work consists of several sections, two of which have been noticed by Dr. Eggeling in his India Office Catalogue under No. 427 (the Vājapeya section) and No. 446 (the Prāyaścitta section).

21. This is also otherwise called the Kuṇḍa-maṇḍapa-lakṣaṇa. Cf. Prof. Velankar, *BBRAS. Cat. of Sk. and Pk. Mss.*, p. 140a. For another Ms. see I. O., No. 3154.

22. See I. O., No. 3117 where this work is accompanied by सरला, भरत's commentary on the same.

23. See Peterson, Report IV, pp. 54-57 where are given copious extracts from the text as well as the commentary.

24. See Haraprasāda Śāstri, *Cat. of Nepal Mss.*, p. 198.

25. This work is mentioned by Dixit in his भारतीय ज्योतिःशास्त्र in a foot-note on page 476.

26. Read : यन्त्रप्रकाशस्य निजाहितस्य करोति टीकां कविरामचन्द्रः ।
Peterson, Report IV, p. 54.

the same work he gives his name as Rāma only. Harṣa as we have already seen gives the name as mere Rāma. But in the Prāyaścitta section of his KP Rāmacandra styles himself agnicit,[27] while though in his Samarasāra he calls himself mere Rāma,[28] his younger brother, Bharata, commenting on the work refers to him by the name Rāmacandra and also calls him Rāma Vājapeyin.[29] Thus the real name of the eldest son of Sūryadāsa would seem to be Rāmacandra, shortened afterwards into Rāma, and again afterwards enlarged into the popular name Rāma Vājapeyin.

There are two more things worth noticing about this Rāma Vājapeyin. The first is that he was a resident of the Naimiṣa Araṇya. This fact he has repeatedly stated in his works.[30] In this connection it must be noted that it was not he who was honoured at the court of king Rāmacandra of Ratnapura. A protegé of this king had once gone to the Naimiṣa araṇya to celebrate the marriage ceremony of some relative of his. This protegé, named Jaṭāma and belonging to the Bhāradvāja gotra, was a Ṛg-Vedin. It was he who requested Rāma Vājapeyin to compose a work on Kuṇḍa-paddhati, in response to which was composed the Kuṇḍa-nirmāṇa.[31] The next

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27. Read : कृत्वीमेतामग्निचिद्रामचन्द्रः सूत्रैकार्थां नैमिषारण्यवासः
संम्राजः श्रीसूर्यदासस्य सूनुः प्रायश्चित्तेः पद्धतिं संव्यधत्त ॥
इत्यग्निचिद्रामचन्द्रविरचिता प्रायश्चित्तपद्धतिः समाप्ता ॥ I. O., No. 446.

28. स प्राज्यस्वरशास्त्रसारविचितिं रामो वसन्नैमिषे । I. O., No. 3117.

29. Read तत्र श्रीरामचन्द्रनामा ग्रन्थकृत् प्रारीप्सितग्रन्थ etc. । अहं रामवाजपेयी धार्मिकाणां etc. I. O., No. 3117.

30. e.g. Read : (i) कृत्वीमेतामग्निचिद्रामचन्द्रः सूत्रैकार्थां नैमिषारण्यवासः । The concluding verse of the प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीपिका [I. O., No. 446.]
(ii) स प्राज्यस्वरशास्त्रसारविचितिं रामो वसन्नैमिषे । The concluding verse of the समरसार [I. O., No. 3117.]
(iii) तेन प्रेरितो रामचन्द्रो नैमिषस्थः कुण्डानामिमामाहितिं निर्माणं व्यरचयत्। Comm. on one of the concluding verses of the कुण्डाकृति। [I. O., No. 3154].

31. Read : श्रीमद्रत्नपुराधिपेन महितः श्रीरामचन्द्रेण यो
भारद्वाजकुलाम्बुधेर्विधुरिव श्रीमज्जटामद्विजः ।
बन्धूनां परिणीतयेऽभ्युपगतोऽसौ मालवो नैमिषं
तेनर्ग्वेदविदेरितेन रचिता रामेण कुण्डाहितिः ॥

षोडषमहादानादिदात्रा रत्नपुराधीश्वरेण रामचन्द्रभूभुजा पूजितचरणो भारद्वाजमुनिकुलसमुद्रचन्द्रमा ऋग्वेदपारदृश्वा मालवीयद्विजकुलकमलबन्धुरक्ष्मदेव चतुर्वेदिपुत्रः श्रीमज्जडानां दासचतुर्वेदी रत्नपुरान्नैमिषारण्यं निजबान्धवानामुद्वाहेन सहायासीत् तेन प्रेरितो रामचन्द्रो नैमिषस्थः कुण्डानामिमामाहितिं निर्माणं व्यरचयत् । [One of the concluding verses of the कुण्डाकृति and the author's commentary on the same. I. O., No. 3154].

thing that we have to observe is that Śrī-Bhāratī is not the Guru but may perhaps be the Dīkṣā-Guru of Rāma ; while his Guru's name is Hīra-svāmin. Introducing the sixth verse of his YP Rāma tells us that in that verse he is paying obeisance to his Guru and stating the name of his mother ; and in the verse itself we find him paying obeisance not to Śrī-Bhāratī but to Hīra-svāmin.[32] In the concluding verse of the YP., however, we find Rāma referring to Śrī-Bhāratī not as his Guru but in connection with the Dīkṣā, so that one may be justified perhaps in concluding that Śrī-Bhāratī was his Dikṣa Guru only.[33]

The 8th verse in the YP. and the commentary[34] thereon have a peculiar interest attaching to them. There Rama tells us that the verse contains covertly the name of the author and gives us a clue to it. Following the clue as given in the commentary we find that the viśiṣṭa name thus obtained is अप्सरः प्रियराम ; and one is naturally inclined to ask as to what the exact significance of the epithet अप्सराः प्रिय might be. Does it mean that Apsaras was the name of his wife ? But we must leave this surmise here only for want of any further corroborative evidence.

Having thus put together all available information about Rāma Vājapeyin we now pass on to his younger brothers. Next in order to Rāma is Lakṣmaṇa about whom, however, our knowledge does not go beyond the mere name ; and that too we get from the solitary reference made to him by Harṣa in his AYC. There can, however, be no doubt that he is younger than Rāma and elder than Harṣa. About Bharata again we do not know much beyond the fact that he was very probably the youngest brother of Rāmacandra and that he was also his disciple.[35] This Bharata commented on the Samarasāra of his eldest brother, Rāma Vājapeyin. Harṣa, as we have seen above, stands between Lakṣmaṇa and Bharata so far age is concerned. So far he seems to have remained in complete oblivion, for though Harṣa is the name owned by several authors, yet none of these had been till now known as a descendant

32. Read : अथ गुरुं प्रणमन् भक्त्या जनन्याश्च नाम प्रकाशयन् चिकीर्षितं प्रतिजानीते ।
नत्वा हीरस्वामिनमनुग्रहात्तस्य लब्धविशदमतिः ।
कुर्वेऽथ विशालाक्षीतनयो यन्त्रप्रकाशमहम् ॥[Peterson, Reports IV, p. 55].

33. Read : शैवाजोऽपि च पर्यचाययदलं यद्दीक्षया श्रीगुरुस्
तत्तद्वैभवतो ममामलमतौ श्रीभारती भासते ॥ [Peterson, Report IV, p. 57].

34. Read : अशैर्ज्ञातुं सद्रहस्यमप्सङ्गाच्छीततां मनाक् ।
ज्ञात्वोरःसु चिरात् सद्भिः संसृज्यं प्रियमिच्छुभिः ॥
° तेनात्र श्लोकस्य प्रथमपादाद्याक्षरेण द्वितीयापादद्वितीयाक्षरेण तृतीयपादतृतीयाक्षरेण चतुर्थपादस्य चतुर्थाक्षरेण पुनः पञ्चमाक्षरेण पुनस्तृतीयषष्ठाक्षरेण पुनर्द्वितीयपादसप्तमाक्षरेण पुनराद्यपादाष्टमाक्षरेण आत्मनो विशिष्टं नामोक्तम् । [Peterson, Report IV, p. 56].

35. See Note 18 above.

of the famous man of Mālava, Śrīdhara ; nor has any one bearing the name of Harṣa been as yet noticed as a brother of the famous Rāma Vājapeyin. The same is true of the AYC of our Harṣa, for that also does not as yet seem to have been brought to light.

Having thus recorded a detailed account of Harṣa, the author of the AYC, his brothers and also his ancestors up to the great-grand-father let us now try to fix his date as far as possible. In this connection the statements of Rāma Vājapeyin are highly useful to us. In two of his works Rāma has given us the date of their composition. Thus we know that he composed the Nāḍī-prabodha in 1446 A.D. ;[36] while his Kuṇḍākṛti, we are told, was composed in 1450 A.D.[37] This work, as we have seen above, was composed by Rāma at the request of a protegé of King Rāmacandra of Ratnapura. Supposing, therefore, that he was only middle-aged at the time we may assume that he must have been born some time about 1410 A.D. ; and if this assumption be accepted there would be little difficulty in concluding that our Harṣa, who is the third of the sons of Sūryadāsa in order of seniority, must have been born about 1415 A.D. At any rate since Rāma composed some of his works about the middle of the fifteenth century his younger also may safely be said to have flourished about the same period. We may, therefore, without much hesitation say that Harṣa must have lived and composed between 1415 and 1500 A.D.

We may now put together in the form of a genealogical tree all the information that we have got about Harṣa, the author of the AYC and his relatives as follows :—

36. Read एकोनशरतिथिमिते......विक्रमार्कनृपात् ।
विहितं प्रकरणमेतत् कविना रामेण नैमिषारण्ये ॥
[Prof. Velankar, *BBRAS. Catalogue of Sk. and Pk. Mss.*, p. 132, where is also found some discussion regarding the date of the composition of the नाडीप्रबोध of रामचन्द्र].

37. Read : रसगगनतिथिप्रमाणवर्षे गतवति विक्रमभूमिपस्य कालात् ।
क्रतुविधिफलदायके मखेज्यकृतिरियमस्तु मयार्पिता सुरेशे ॥
[Prof. Velankar, *BBRAS. Cat. of Sk. & Pk. Mss.*, p. 140].

श्रीधर [of वत्सगोत्र, a resident of मालवा].

|

शिवदास

|

सूर्यदास [आत्मविद्, सम्राट्, अग्निचित्].
(wife विशालाक्षी).

|

रामचन्द्र [कवि, वाजपेयिन्].
(wife अप्सरस ?); author of
1 कर्मप्रदीपिका
2 कुण्डनिर्माण (=कुण्डाकृति)
with टीका. composed in 1450 A. D.
at the request of a protege
of king रामचन्द्र of रत्नपुर.
3 समरसार
4 यन्त्रप्रकाश with टीका
5 नाडीप्रबोध (=नाडीप्रकाश)
composed in 1446.
6 करणचिन्तामणि;
pupil of हीरस्वामिन्.

लक्ष्मण

हर्ष
[between
1415 & 1500]
author of
अङ्कयन्त्रचिन्तामणि

भरत [pupil of राम
वाजपेयिन्]
author of सरला,
a commentary on
राम's समरसार.

GUPTA SCULPTURES OF BENARES—A STUDY

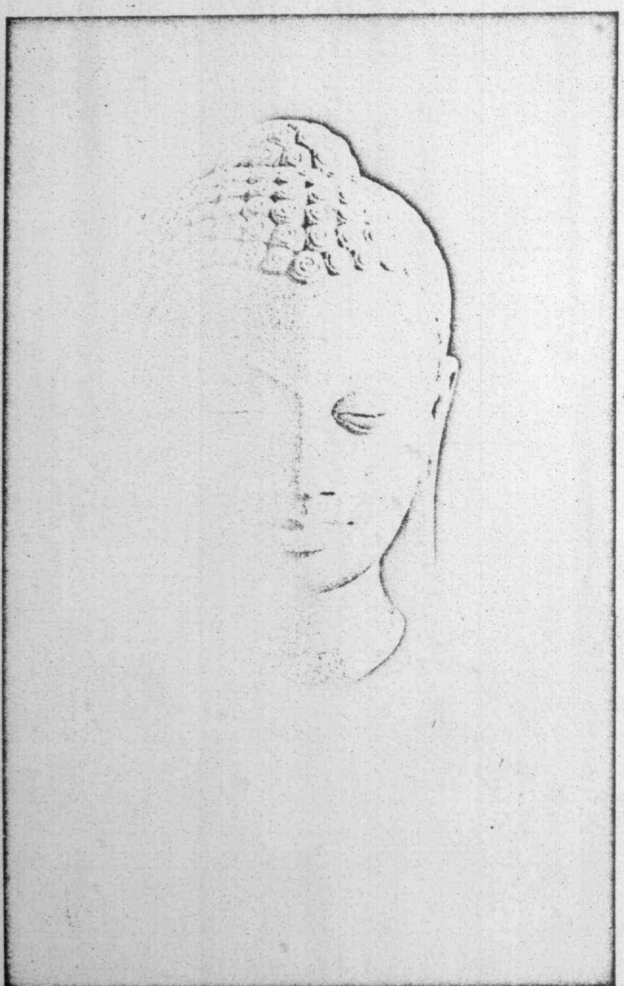
By

Mr. ADRIS BANERJI, M.A.

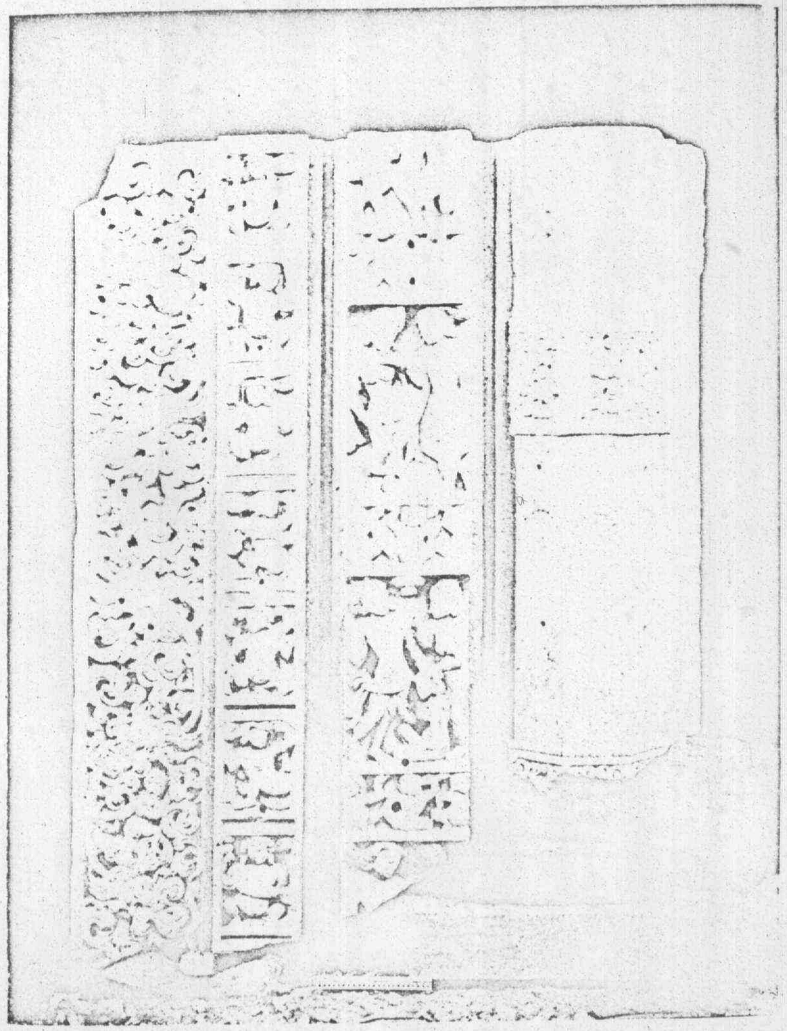
It was in the Gupta age that a separate school seems to have originated at Benares, that city which lay so close to Chunar, where Aśoka had established his quarries. The germ was already there, but it required that factor —time to play its part. Why did Benares succeed so magnificently with the heritage of the Guptas when it failed to grasp what the Mauryas had offered? The answer is probably to be found in the fact that being devout Hindus the Guptas were probably able to attract more the cultured and the intelligentsia, than the convert Aśoka, whose immortal attempt for the propagation of the newly established Buddhist Church left the population cold except the masses with whom the social organization of Brahmanism had not taken such a deep rooted habit as is the case today. Secondly by the third century A.D. Benares had become a greater stronghold of Hindu faith, a position it has been able to maintain through the succeeding ages in spite of sack, loot and plunder.

The first quarter of the 4th century A.D.[1] has left for us three images which enable us to appreciate the development of the school. Exactly when the Gupta school started in its immense career, is a question, which will remain a moot point for considerable time yet. As already stated it could not have commenced before the early Gupta emperors had been able to consolidate their gains in Oudh. Yet, exactly which emperor first annexed this territory to Gupta kingdom is another undecided point. In the Allahabad Pillar Inscription, Samudragupta is more concerned with the northern and western princes. Therefore we may pardonably conclude that this may be the work of Chandragupta I. Nevertheless it would be natural to assume that it was not till the glorious conquests by the Indian Napoleon, that arts and crafts came to receive systematic patronage. This is clear from the two earliest specimens of the Gupta school at Benares.[2] The earliest of these are B(b)1 in which, we find a mixture of Kushana and new Gupta idioms. The next stage is reached in B(b)3 where the treatment of the body and what is more important the drapery is totally different from B(b)1 though the attempt at giving a three dimensional effect shows that Benares Sculptor had yet to free himself from the trammels of the great Kushaṇa studios of Mathura. Next we come to the specimens which belong to the latter part of

1. Cf. Sahni-*Catalogue*, p. B(b) 1. *A.R., A.S.I.*, 1906-7, p. XXVIII, fig. 2.
2. B(b)1 and B(b)3.



HEAD OF A BUDDHA IMAGE.
Sarnath Museum (*c.* 500 A.D.)



DOOR JAMB OF THE GUPTA PERIOD, SARNATH.
Example of decoratif sculpture in *c.* 500 A.D. at Benares.

the 4th century A.D., and beginnings of the fifth century of the Christian era. These are B(b)4 to B(b)9 of the Sarnath Museum.

The definite contributions made by the images of the 4th century A.D. seem to be the gradual development of those iconographic and plastic peculiarities which herald the dawn of a new thought epoch in representation and portraiture. The gradual transition from Kushaṇa tradition to new idioms of plastic expressions being more than discerned. Thus B(b)1 of the Sarnath Museum has completely broken itself away from the traditional method of representation of the Mathura school, which we will find copied by the hybrid artists of Central Asia and Chinese Turkestan till 8th or 9th century A.D. The image is smaller and has more decided leanings towards unifacial attitude. The legs are not placed apart a style of representation that we find as far as Kyzil.[3] The halo is typically Kushaṇa. With the exception of the scallop design on the border, the whole surface is left plain. Yet, the mass, modelling, the flowing hems of the *saṅghaṭi* in depicting which the Scythian school of Mathura took the keenest delight are totally and significantly absent. On the other hand the edges of the *saṅghaṭi*, have been raised in no negligible fashion, like the headless Bodhisattva figure of Lucknow Museum (O. 71). Many people, due to its damaged condition, forget to take this intruding factor in their consideration, but in fact, here we have an opportunity of noticing the beginnings of the eggshell formation of the drapery ; which becomes later on the most significant contribution of the Benares School in Gupta age ; and enable us to determine the influences of the school. It is this factor which being present in the Lucknow Museum image of the Bodhisattva takes it to the period between the Kushaṇas and the Guptas.[4] Possibly the period in which the Benares school had commenced to influence the Mathura school.

The second most noteworthy contribution of these images is the total absence of the indications of the folds of the drapery either below the shoulder or on the whole body which were such favourite methods of Mathura artists, in early Kushaṇa times and even upto the Gupta period.[5] Here too, the Benares artists were able to free themselves from tradition and contributed new methods of depiction. The conception of a design is totally different from giving practical effect to it. In the heyday of its glory the style created new idiom, new plastic expressions original to itself ; and extant

3. A. von Le coq—*Buried Tresures of Chinese Turkestan*, London, 1928, sketch facing p. 117.

4. Elsewhere I had stated that O. 71 belongs to the late Kushaṇa period. 1 am glad to find that Dr. J. Ph. Vogel has also ascribed it to the transition period. It may justly be regarded as a primitive of Jamalpur Buddha. *Sculpture de Mathura*, Ars. Asiatica, vol. XV, pl. XXIX, p. 108. "Cette de dimensions collosoles montre une transitions du style Kuṣana celiṅ de l'epoque Gupta" Cf. also p. 37.

5. A feature shared in common with Paṭaliputra School.

evidences go to show that this diaphanous drapery without folds was transplanted in distant places like Ajanta (Cave No. XIX) and Siam. The folds of the drapery was a Hellenistic heritage, and when Hellenistic art came in contact with Indian-Buddhist it was already decadent. Therefore the Gupta artists did very well by doing away with it.

The third new factor in this image is the head which is totally different from the shavenheaded monkheads[6] of the Scythian art of Mathura or the silken wavy curls of the Indo-Hellenistic School of Gandhara. Here also a new innovation was introduced, but where this change took place, at Muttra or Sarnath, we are at a loss to explain. The primitives have yet to be found. Conventionalisation always dogs the footsteps of a mature art. The same was the case with the Scythian art of Mathura or shall we call it Indo-Scythian art to distinguish it from the Scythian art of Mongolia, South Russia etc. The innovation introduced here happens to have taken the form of screw like curls turning to the right (*dakshiṇāvartta*) covering the whole head and the *ushṇisha* (the protuberance of the skull). This particular feature no longer has the snail like appearance, found on Kushaṇa images or the slight conical protuberance of the Mankuwar image. Inscribed specimens like B(b)3 of the Sarnath Museum play a great factor in determination of stylistic peculiarities which are so engrossing and vivid.

The beginnings of the fifth century of the Christian era heralded a new dawn. With gains consolidated and recognition of the military prowess of Pāṭaliputra by neighbouring Scythian and Indian princelings, the subjugation of the former at a later date by the Sassanides and appearance of that formidable power, which shook the Roman empire to its very foundations, and took one Ceaser prisoner, gave that respite to Gupta monarchs, which enabled them to make their time the classical age of Indian antiquity. Herein lies the difference between the Guptas and the Mauryas. The Mauryas rose over the charred remains of Persepolis and prostrate Iran ; while Guptas enjoyed their sovereignty while ancient Iran had again found its soul to take the lead in challenging a halt to the victorious Roman legions with various vicissitudes. The little Scythian princelings of Kabul, the Punjab, Sind, Māk-

6. Three varieties of depicting the head of Buddha or Bodhisattva have been found in the Indo-Scythic School of Muttra. (1) Completely shaven headed as in Bala image and the Katra Bodhisattva. (2) In which the hair is not indicated at all but the area immediately above the forehead is left little elevated whose latest example is probably Mankuwar image. (3) In schematic waves, not in curls, but in several waves of incised crescent shaped waves of lines. In Gupta period schematic curls probably came into vogue as logical development of this mode of representation. *A.R.,A.S.* 1930-34, pt. II, pp. 252 pls. CXXI (a and b) CXXIII (a, b and c).

7. It is Coomaraswamy who coined the term Indo-Hellenistic, Cf. *Catalogue of Ind. Collections Boston Museum of Fine Arts* Boston, 1923. p. 6. Pt. I and III.

rān, Turān, and Siestān (that is the ancient Śakastān), acting as buffer states between the Gupta and the Sassanide empires. Paikuli and Allahabad were their charters of existence.[8]

B(b) 2, 4, 9, 10, and 21 of Sarnath Museum belong to early 5th century. B(b) 4[9] and 9 are probably the best specimens to study the further development of the Gupta art at Benares. For suave modelling gathering in strength with experience, and swagger in style they are remarkable, just as their lithe grace and calm and serene beauty. The Gupta art has justly been praised for its vivid appreciation of form and pattern, their poise and balance in repose. But what has not been grasped is the development in the style of representation and simplification of design. It was an abstract art. Realism by illusion, and faithful representation of nature as is found in occidental art cannot be expected here. Joined to a forcible plastic expression and under the magic of new forms they created of which any art in the world could have been proud of. This is not high praise for the masters whose contribution in plastic production is indeed amazing. Probably in an aeon such inspiration comes to a generation and when that inspiration is lost and men set themselves to copy when cannon throttles the life out of art then we realise that baroque has set in. Yet it must not be forgotten that baroque and classic are indistinguishable. Before we conclude, we would draw attention to certain other images which not being noticed in Sahni's Catalogue are lost sight of in discussions :

1. (63 E). A standing image of Buddha (Ht. 6′3½″) with a circular halo behind the head, completely lost. Nose, lips, forehead damaged, *ushṇisha* missing. Right and left forearms lost, with edges of *saṅghaṭi*. A tendency towards slimming is noticeable. Dowel and clamp marks suggestive of ancient repairs are found on the proper left side of the image. This side seems to have been neatly cut with flat chisels for repair of the damaged parts, a feature it shares in common with certain images of the 6th century A.D. Pedestal and major portion of fee missing.

2. (150 E). Standing statue of Buddha in the *abhaya mudrā*. (Ht. 3′11½″). A circular halo at the back of which approximately one fourth is missing. Halo decorations consist of :—scallops at the extreme edge, followed by circular beads within groove (16 small beads to one spacer). Next foliage. Nose seems to have been damaged in ancient times and was repaired with iron dowel, which is still in position. Eyes half shut (nas = āgra-baddha dṛishṭi). Portions below ankle lost. Traces of red paint on both palms. Found in the area to the east of the Main Shrine at Sarnath 5′8″ below the surface in 1914-15.

8. Banerji—Side-Lights on Later Kushanas. *I. H. Q.* Vol. XIII, pp. 106-116. For Sassanian influence on art of N. W. India Cf. Sir A. Stein—*Archæological Reconnaissances*, London. 1937. p. 61, pl. 1.

9. Sahni—*Catalogue* p. 42. Cf. also *A.R., A.S.I.*, 1904-5, pl. XXIX, fig. d., for B(b) 4.

3. (178 E). Fragment of a Buddha image consisting of head and torso Legs, arms lost. Drapery covers both the shoulders. An interesting feature of this image is the indication of the folds of the drapery with almost fading lines on the left shoulder blade and indication of the right end of the *saṅghaṭi* which was placed on the left shoulder. A feature which it shares with B(b) 10 and 81. Lower lips full and protruding upper lip triangular with an almost imperceptible bow like curve. Large eyes, directed towards the tip of the nose and shaped like lotus petals. Eyebrows almost tangential but has a curve near the temples. Tip of nose damaged but repaired in ancient times. A small almost pointed projecting chin, found in the area to the north of the Main Shrine at Sarnath 5′ 2″ below the surface.[10]

All the heads have schematised curls covering even the *ushṇisha*, turning to the right, but no *urnā*.

The images of the 5th century A.D. are distinguished by certain qualities, a charming feature of the Benares school of Gupta art. Yet this school is not without its faults if they are judged as realistic art instead of abstract. Representation of the human figure is not always perfect. The first of these qualities is the pointed representation of the knee bone, which show a peculiar appreciation of the principle of optic illusion. O. 72 of the Lucknow Museum, a Jain tirthaṅkara collosus has stumpy knee joints. In the Benares School however we find the knee almost chiselled to a point which observed from a distance creates an illusion. The other important features are the palm in carving whose various lines and to give it a soft cushion like appearance the artist took considerable pains. The slender fingers with the matrix of the stone left uncut to give them an additional strength by forming a bridge with the back slab, which possibly gave birth to the myth of webbed fingers (*jālavaddhāṅguli*) in later times completes the picture. The mongoloid head with slight circular eyes bring out totally different features, which were hitherto unknown, and which will enable us later on to determine the interaction between different schools as well as to judge the influences of this school. The lips were always full and the lower one always represented as protruding. In one specimen (178 E.) the upper lip is definitely triangular which in early 6th century A.D. came to have a bow like appearance.[11] It is generally assumed that the ears were elongated but this erroneous impression seems to have been created by ear-rings (*kuṇḍalas*). In the Jain collosus at Lucknow Museum (O. 72) the same treatment is met with, whereas the large Buddha head (No. 464) kept in the Buddhist gallery of the Provincial Museum (Lucknow) has all the features of the

10. Progress Report of the *A.S.I.*, North Circle, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Lahore, 1914-15. pp. 16, 18 and 19.

11. This is not true of all cases ; see 178 E of Sarnath Museum. Banerji—*The Age of the Imperial Guptas* p. 164. The eyes of 178 E as well as the eyebrow are similar to Head No. 464, of Lucknow Museum which went as far as Siam.



HEAD OF ANOTHER BUDDHA IMAGE.
Sarnath. (*c.* 500 A.D.)

Benares School with the exception of mongoloid face and conventionalisation of ears. The head with large almond shaped eyes are daintily covered with screw like curls with a prominent protuberance of the skull. The large nose below the forehead has almost an aquiline appearance. The ridges of the eyebrows remind us of the sculptures in Siam and so the curved lips.[12]

The reign of Kumāragupta I truly represents the climax of the Gupta period.

Kumāragupta succeeded to a brilliant heritage. Decline set in from his reign. Already the Sassanide monarchs had suffered decline at the hands of the Huns. Bactria, Kabul and the lower reaches of the Kabul river had been lost to them. In distant Europe the mightiest empire the ancient world had seen was made to totter by them. The same fate overtook the Guptas in India. The whole land was laid waste, the places of worship and the cities were looted and burnt ; and the people carried into slavery. With them disappeared the the only central authority in northern India, like of which the country was never to see. The decline of the ancient world was complete. As in the case of the Roman and the Sassanide empires the Gupta empire did not completely disappear. Mortal blow, no doubt, had been struck at its existence ; but, the foundations were too well laid to allow it to decay so soon. It survived, disruption and disunity sapped it. Then it decayed and degenerated. Ultimately unnoticed by any it passed away amongst its decomposed etc. surroundings. To this period of Kumaragupta belongs B(b)5, 8 and 181 [13] of the Sarnath Museum noticed by Sahni. No account of the Gupta School at Benares would be complete without a discussion of B(b)181—the *Dharmma chakra—pravarttana-ratta Buddha-bhaṭṭāraka*, Kṛshṇa holding Govardhana found by late Mr. V. N. Mehta, I.C.S., at a place called Arah in Bakariya Kund within the municipal limits of Benares, originally in the Sarnath Museum and now in the Bharat Kala Bhavan.[14] Particularly the last specimen is all the more important, because so little is known of the Hindu sculpture at Benares during the Gupta period. It is doubtful whether we shall ever have the good fortune to find any other images as both Bakariya Kund and Rajghat are being built upon ; particularly the Rajghat plateau has proved itself a desert as far as stone sculpture of the period is concerned.[15]

The image of Buddha in the attitude of preaching the first sermon at Sarnath is remarkable not so much for its aesthetic interests as much for certain

12. *Annual Report of the Provincial Museum*, Lucknow, for the year ending 31st March, 1940 p. 1. 1. Compare this with 13 E of Sarnath Mus. This is also of red stone, and shows that as late as 5th Century Muttra images continued to be dedicated at Sarnath. Cf. also 113. E. of Sarnath Museum which is also of red sand stone.

13. Sahni—*Catalogue*, pp. 42, 43 and 70 and pl. X.

14. *A.R.A.S.I.* 19, 26-27 to p. 218 pl. XLVI (*d*).

15. The image of Gaṅgā and Yamunā transferred to the Kala Bhavan belongs to the late Gupta period.

plastic and iconographic expressions found in it. In this we find Gautama-Buddha seated in *dhyānāsana* on lotus seat with the body covered by *saṅghaṭi*, and hem of his *antaravāsaka* spread in fan ship design below the legs. His hands are held on the chest in the attitude of preaching.[16] The back slab has been converted into a throne but above the shoulders its shape becomes circular and on extreme upper edge we find two *vidyādharas* flying in the sky. In fact this is a stele depicting a single incident of the Buddha's life and not merely a sculpture. Schematic curls cover his head and the protuberance of the skull, the most remarkable absentee being the *urṇā*, a characteristic feature of the Gupta art at Benares. The success of the modelling which is suave lies in the bewitching smile, which has lit up the whole face, requires certain explanations. The broad chest is supposed to be that of lion and the waist slender which apart from creating an impression of youthful charm in the figure, has made possible the fine display of linear rhythm within a prescribed space. The half opened eyes[17] looking towards the tip of the nose suggest concentration which annihilates all consciousness of the moribund world.[18] Yet, that smile that infectious twitching of the facial muscles, a contradictory factor which being present indicates that the master who had found the way for the salvation of the soul[19] and because of his extreme consideration for the suffering beings had condescended to teach his path to the less fortunate even in this semi-conscious stage had not forgotten the frailties of the mankind. This smile would henceforth become the most characteristic feature of all Buddha images in the subsequent ages, in undoubtedly a contradictory factor in this trance like stage. But the unknown master by this masterly stroke sums up the whole conception of Buddha, admirably.[20] I have noticed that many feel that the shortening of

16. This *mudrā* may be compared with those found in Indo-Hellenistic School of Gandhāra to realise how the artists there failed to give a proper representation to the position of the fingers. Cf. Nos. 4837 and 4838 of the Indian Mus., *M.A.S.I.* No. 61 ; pl. IV ; fig. 2 and Majumdar's—*Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum* pt. II, pl. 1 and frontispiece.

17. In a note on a contribution by the late Rai Bahadur R. Chanda, Dr. C. L. Fabri suggests that 'All the images of Buddha show him with eyes open........' (*A.R., A.S.I.*, pt. II, 1930-34, p. 252, fn. 3). This is not at all convincing. Dr. Fabri's remarks may hold good about the images of the Indo-Hellenistic, Indo-Scythic and Indo-Afghan schools but in Gupta period all the images show eyes fixed to the tip of the nose. The present image shows that Dr. Fabri is wrong in thinking that only sculptures depicting enlightenment and demise possess such eyes. The same tradition we find continued in Siamese sculpture.

18. *Sammā samādhi.*

19. The tathāgata brethren .... he it is who doth cause a way to arise which had not risen before ; who is the knower of a way who understands a way, who is skilled in a way ......" *Saṁyutta Nikāya.*

20. He is neither a *deva* nor a *gandharva*, nor a *yaksha*, nor a man, but merely a Buddha. Who was this Buddha ? He was 'an unborn, unoriginated, uncreated and unformed.' *Udāna* VIII. 3.

the pedestal by which the back and the thighs in the seated posture have lost all realism is an intolerable incongruity. The average man forgets that this is a religious art—an art which was more concerned with form, an appreciation of the form that did not take into consideration the materialistic aspect of the object created.[21] It would have cost little to extend the breadth of the pedestal but the master thought and he was right in assuming that by this surrender to mundane realism he would be sacrificing his point of views of art and form.

The Kṛṣṇa holding Govardhana is a high relief; and is a Hindu mythological scene. This image is a fragment, because lower portion with ankles are missing. It is 8′ 3″ in ht. The palm of the left hand still adheres to the rock. The round head with heavy cheeks is about 1′ 4″ in height from head to chin; and 11″ in breadth. The nose is missing and eyes are damaged, but sufficient remains to show that they were shaped like lotus petals. The neck is short and thick and on the left shoulder are found some unruly locks of hair curved almost on sillehoutee (*kākapaksha*). The broad chest bears the wheel (*sudarśana-chakra*), the *kaustubha-maṇi* and tiger's nails.[22] Two other images of child Krishṇa holding Mt. Govardhana, to shield his friends from the wrath of Indra are known to us. One was found amongst the ruins of ancient Mathura and the other was found by Rao-Bahadur K. N. Dikshit in the ruins of ancient Somapura Vihāra at Paharpur, in Bengal. Certain differences in the iconographic details are noticeable in these three. The Paharpur Kṛṣṇa has four hands, two of which hold the rock, one of which, the left upper hand uses merely a finger to indicate the superhuman prowess of the hero of the popular cult. In the Benares example we find the palm employed. In the Muttra example we find the same represent-

21. The same was the case in Byzantine Art where forms were significant, a tradition which mediaeval Christian church art followed till the days of Giotto. "Giotto was a master but he was capable of sacrificing from drama to anecdote. In many respects Giotto went higher than Cimabue but often he aimed lower. Compare his Virgin and Child in the Accademicia with that of Cimabue; in the same gallery, and you will see how low his humanism could bring him. The coarse heaviness of the forms of that woman and her baby is unthinkable in Cimabue; for Cimabue had learnt from the Byzantines that the forms should be significant and not life-like." (Clive Bell-Art. Phoenix Library edition, London, 1928, pp. 145-147. Roger Fry however holds exactly opposite view Cf. his *Vision and Design* London, 1923, pp. 131-77. For one coloured reproduction of the painting see Carlo Carra—*Giotto*, London, 1924 pls. CXVI, CXVII. These paintings were kept in the Uffizzi gallery before the war). The aesthetics of Indian as well as all Asiatic art differs from the European. In these arts the forms played the main part and they need not be life-like. This was the attitude of Indian art till 5th century because after that the road declines no mechanical copying, without a soul. Art was throttled in preference to Canon.

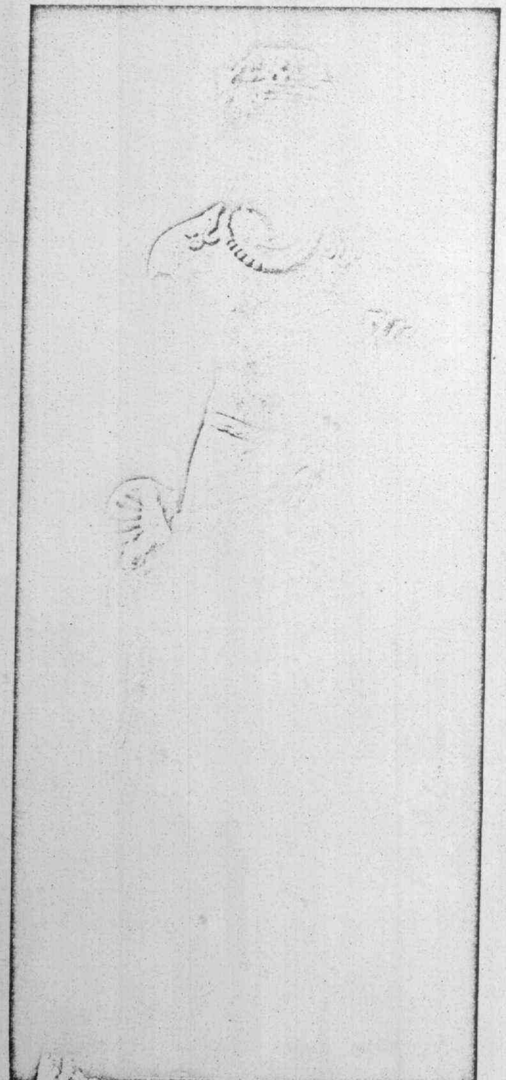
22. This object is even now used by credulous mothers of northern India to ward off evil spirits from their children.

ation. The finger is mentioned in the *Pauranic* texts. In that pose the position of the Benares artists becomes untenable. The best explanation seems to be that the image belongs to the Gupta period and the mediæval iconographical details do not seem to have been so much developed in those days as we had occasions to notice at Bhumra and four avatāra reliefs found on the Rajghat Pillar of 157 G.E. in the reign of Buddhagupta which the writer found in the year 1941. The Gupta genius at Benares perceived, and rightly perceived too, that to use the finger in a specimen remarkable for its volume and mass would not only be an incongruity but ludicrous, a plastic absurdity. He was a worshipper of forms but unlike the craftsmen of later date he had not learnt to sacrifice plastic uniformity and equilibrium to canonical needs. He divined that to create an equilibrium a different treatment was necessary, and it is in this master stroke lies his greatness.[23] So remembering the mass overhead and below he used the palm and not a finger. It is the only stone sculpture, which can be placed in the latter half of 5th Century A.D. found within the confines of ancient Vārṇasī (Benares).

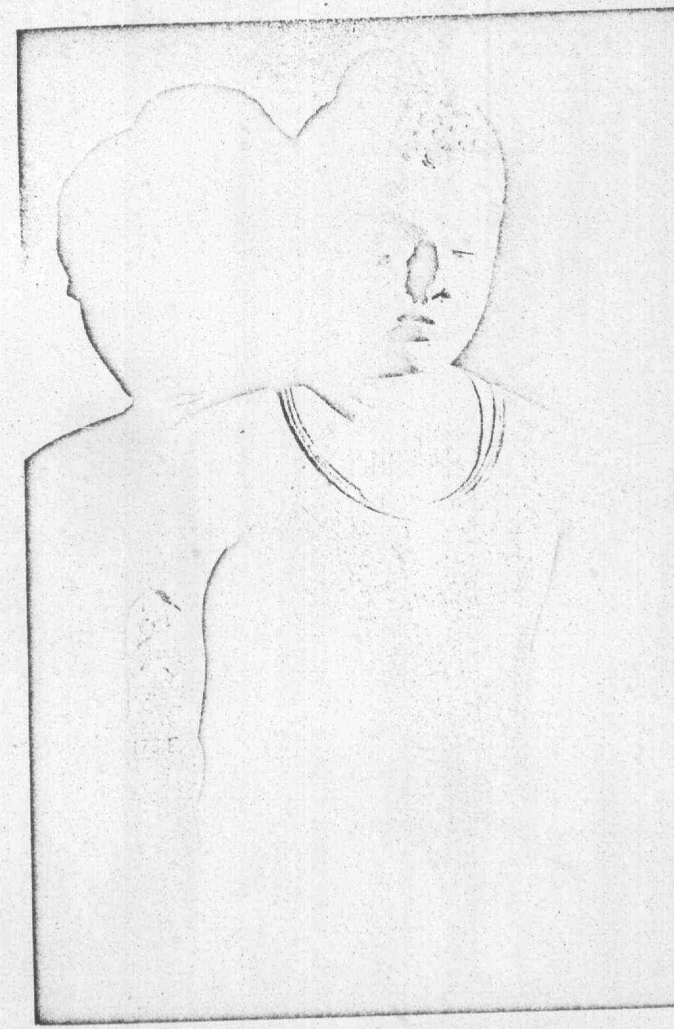
What strikes an observer most is the extreme grace and poise of the sculpture. The body is in equilibrium on a single leg. One feels instinctively that the centre of gravity is adequately supported. It is not the figure of a grown up man but a child. The muscles are therefore just so much in tension as is required in maintaining the perfect poise and balance in repose that the artist wanted to show. Throughout, it was his aim to preserve the simplicity of planes. This method of representation is specially noticeable in the successful modelling of the torsal plane. In holding the heavy mass over the head the strained muscles have come out and these have been admirably carved in their different and several minor planes. The soft fleshy belly including the navel has been delicately treated. Three deft horizontal strokes were sufficient to delineate the contorted mass above the hip.[24] Here we have in larger scale every muscle (which are not

23. This possible explanation was suggested by my friend Miss Alice Boner.

24. Here we may instinctively try to find the principle of contrasted masses amongst simple planes. But the treatment here is totally different from the treatment we find in the figure of Illyssos at Parthenon or Michael Angelos 'Day' in the tomb of Giulano de Medici at Florence (Vernon Blake—*Relations in Art*, London 1925, plates facing pp. 172 and 176.) Not only the material was different but because the Indian artist belonged to a metaphysical and abstract school while the Greek tradition on Michael Angelo made him seek the concrete and faithfulness to nature by illusion. What is more both were the products of their age. Michael Angelo belonged to an age when "A breath of martyrism had swept across the world since the fair days of Greece. Self-mortification had been preached. The athletic god like joy of life was no longer the ideal" (Blake—*Op. cit.* pp. 174-75). But these ideas had already been preached and were then being practised in India as mere traditions, when this unknown artist engaged to wrought this stone with his mallet and chisel. Long long ago, a prince who had renounced the luxury of



BODHISATTVA PADMAPĀṆI.
Sarnath Museum (Bd.) 1.



STANDING IMAGE OF BUDDHA (178E).
Long face with shallow cheeks, saṅghāti covering both the shoulders and incised lines indicating its folds,

portrayed according to the consistent oriental tradition[25]) as if bursting forth with superhuman energy, yet the feeling of ease with which the mount is held is abundantly made clear. A piece of cloth curled up like a rope passes just below the navel, and is found tied up in a knot, with one end flowing down over the left thigh. The rock is represented schematically by rectangular pieces in low relief.[26]

"The nimbus," says Coomaraswamy, "might have originated in Persia or India." "The disc of the gold placed behind the fire altar may well be the origin of the later *prabhā-maṇḍala* or *śiraś-chakra* (nimbus). Radiance is predicated of almost all the *devas* is indeed one of the root meanings of the word and most of them are connected with their origins with the Sun and Fire".[27] In another place we are told by the same authority : "It is hard to believe that nimbus could have originated outside the classic area of Sun worship ...." The earliest examples of halo are found on the coins of Hermaios and Maues. Transformation of the idea of this divine radiance into stone played a distinguished role in the different schools of art in India. In the Indo-Hellenistic School of Gandhāra the halo was merely a circular disc behind the head which confirms Coomaraswamy's sug-

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the palace and had taught that it is not by punishing the body—by mortification of the flesh (practiced by the Jainas)—that one could obtain emancipation from the cycle of re-births the ultimate salvation of the soul (*nirvāna*). Since 600 B.C. that message had been reverberating in the Indian atmosphere, crossed all mountain and racial frontiers and had taken in its fold people belonging to differing ethnic, social and philosophical elements. In India, it had gathered strength, was respected, declined, rose again to decline. But under the enlightened despotism of the Guptas was to find a catholic support, which was to be denied to it in the centuries that followed. Over and above all, new religious revival (R. D. Banerji, *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, Benares, 1933 pp. 102-129) brought in the new philosophy of the Kṛṣṇa cult which taught men universal love, neither passionate nor violent, free from all ego ; a more humane and tolerant outlook on life, freed from the grip of ever lasting fear of sin which would make possible a series of rebirths, a philosophy which taught to appreciate and to understand nature with their individual needs and shortcomings. How then shall the sculptors' language try to fit itself with the new mode of thought—'the placid equlibrium of sane balanced life.' A glance at the figure will convince us that we are in the presence of a new aesthetics in spite of the undoubted influence of the plastic traditions of the age just gone by. The eclecticism of the Kushaṇas. That this was the spirit pervading the whole Gupta age is clear from the lower portion of a female figure found in Mathura, M. 9 of the Indian Museum.

25. See Sumerian sculpture of Gudeàs time, as well as Chinese sculpture of Wei Han period.

26. The same is the case with 29|1917, of Sarnath Museum in which we find the *Vajrāsana* represented. The bonding is noteworthy.

27. A. K. Coomaraswamy *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, London, 1927, pp. 22, 41, and 57. Cf. also Sir Aurel Stein Zoroastrian divinities on Indo-Scythic Coins *I. A.*, vol. xvii, pp. 89-98.

gestion regarding its possible origin. In Mathura school we find cusped marks of varying size, proportionate to the image introduced, indicating the rays. How the Scythians succeeded in giving this new orientation to the nimbus is a question which still remains uncertain. In the Sassanian art which is later than the Indo-Scythic, the rays were represented by arrows arranged in a circle around the head. The artists of Mathura never indulged in utilising the intermediate space between the head and the edge of the halo with various naturalistic motifs. This transition as has already been remarked serves a great deal in determining the transitional specimen between the Kushaṇa and the Gupta periods.[28] Thus in B(b) 1 of Sarnath Museum we find a mixture of old Kushaṇa traditions and new plastic idioms. Simplification of the drapery and general design is the keynote of the whole piece. Yet the central tassel which had such elegance in Bala's image together with the futile effort at creating a third dimensional effect by sketchy lines at the back, similar to the Bodhisattva image of Bala and its debased copy (B. a. 2), with the plain halo merely consisting of conventionalised cusped marks, show undoubtedly that in spite of the fact that the craftsman had succeeded in introducing many innovations admirably, he had not the nerves to throw off obsolete Kushaṇa practices to which he meaninglessly adhered to. It shows that in the fourth century the craftsmen of Benares had yet to find their soul and were leaning heavily on tradition, which had already become ancient. It was soon after this, probably after Samudragupta's conquests that they carried further the process of simplification of the Buddha image, which is not unique in Indian art but does credit to their original ideas to extreme. Unfortunately no specimen of this period has survived and we are suddenly thrown on B(b) 4-9 of Sarnath Museum. In the next paragraph we propose to investigate the question of Gupta halos more closely.

B(b) 4 of Sarnath Museum has a large Gupta halo, which were found broken into several fragments and have been recently repaired. It consists of almost indistinguishable scallops at the border followed by circle of plain beads[29] (9 small beads to one spacer) on a slightly raised plane hollowed out at the centre. The next band consists of ornamented stalk[30] with square rosettes at regular intervals, which is followed by foliage. B(b) 256 of

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28. The fragment of a red sandstone halo with larger scallops than Bala image, probably indicates the dedication of another image other than the only one we know.

29. This motif continues throughout Gupta period. Many people call it bud and reel border, which is a mistake. For reels see Indo-Bactrin issues of Eukratides and Heliocles ; for this cf. V. A. Smith, *cat. of coins in Ind. Mus.* vol. i, pt. II, Nos. 5 & 7 pl. III, fig. 1 see also (g) 25 of Sarnath Museum.

30. The stalk is not found on any early halo but occurs on 22E. found in 1914-15 which was dedicated in the reign of Kumāragupta II. It first occurs on the umbrella of Bala image of 81 A.D. But rosettes are circular in this instance.

Sarnath Museum is probably the best fragment as far as nimbus or halo is concerned. It belonged as the surviving fragments show to a fairly large sized image of the master, probably bigger than B(b) 4. Its various decorative elements are almost the same as those of 38 E which belongs to late 5th century, if not 6th, and has typical smile like B(b) 181 of Sarnath Museum and S. 34 of the Indian Museum Calcutta. The bead border had 9 beads to one spacer bead. But the representation of the foliage is delightful. The style of carving is similar to D(i) 123 of Sarnath Museum. It may also be compared with D(g) 10, 12 and an unnumbered capital as survival of this particular style. 38E[31] is an image of standing Buddha with a broad smile on his face. The smile we first meet with in B(b) 181 of Sarnath Museum has broadened here and would be used *ad-museaum* in the following centuries. If however we consider B(b) 4-9, 63.E., 150.E., 178. E., 110. E, 151 E., we find that they have all grave faces. These are the earliest attempts of representing the perfectly enlightened one. It is therefore deducible that the smile was added at a later date when the iconography of the Buddha image had made sufficient progress. The halo or nimbus of 38. E, has scallops at the border. A circle of beads within raised edges (11 small beads to one spacer) followed by foliage depicting Champaka flowers. The circle of beads are again repeated this time consisting of 11 small beads to one spacer. This is an additional evidence that this image is closer in date to B(b) 181 in which also we find that the circle of bead and spacer repeated twice.

Before however we go to consider image no. B(b) 181, we have to discuss B(b) 9 belonging to the earlier part of 5th century A.D.; because it shows a new type of treating the back slab or the halo. In this image the halo has been converted into a back slab ellipsoid in shape from which the main figure stands out in high relief. As decorations we have almost indistinguishable scallops at the border, within slightly raised edges circle of beads consisting of 13 beads to one spacer.[32] This conversion a new factor in Gupta art opened unlimited possibilities to the craftsmen and ultimately the halo lost almost all its original significance. At first we have two distinct types of back slabs from this conversion. One is ellipsoid as has already been noted and other is a rectangular piece with a circular top with little or no decorations and is generally used with a standing image of Buddha e.g. the images dedicated in G. E. (expired) 154 and 157 by Abhayamitra. The beginning of this type is S. 34 of Indian Museum Calcutta. The next stage of development is reached in B(b) 181 in which the backslab is converted into a makeshift throne with a semi-circular halo above the

31. The 'E' numberings are excavation numbers of the year 1914-15, and imply that they were found to the east of the Main Shrine at Sarnath.

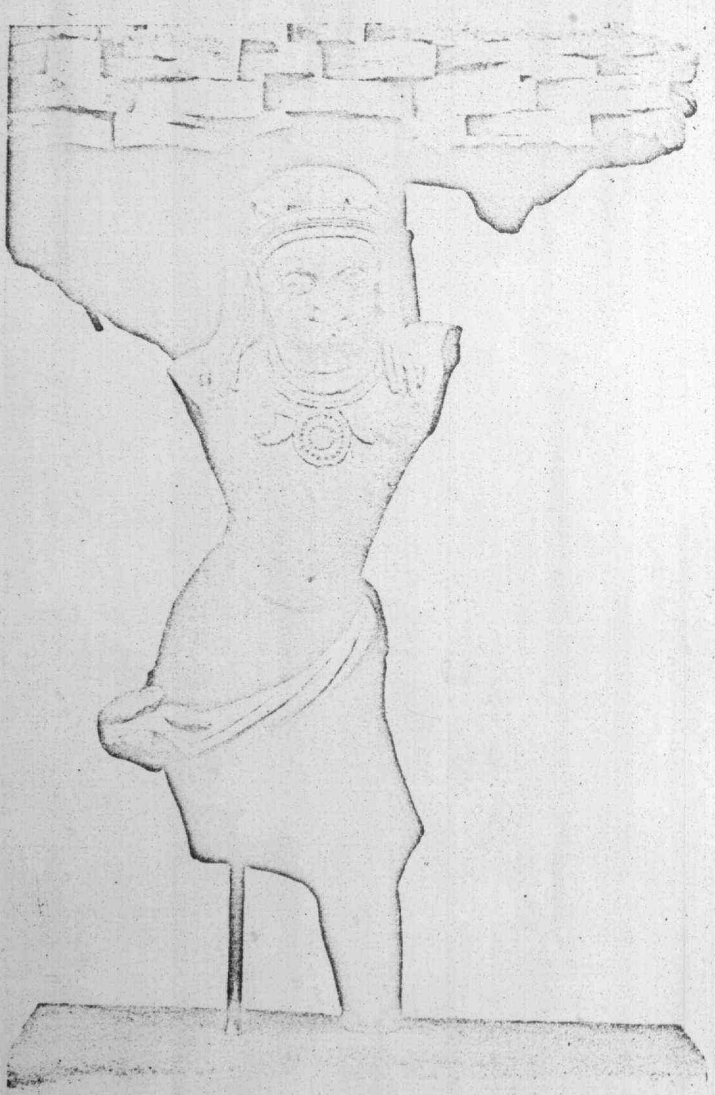
32. Compare with B(b) 6, 20, 22 and 149E.

throne. This motif became very favourite with the artists of later ages and ultimately the circular halo is completely lost in typical thrones of the baroque period. The halo or nimbus of B(b) 181 of Sarnath Museum contains at first insignificant scallops, then a circle of beads (11 small beads to one spacer,) foliage with blue (?) and red lotuses then again the bead border repeated (11 beads to one spacer). The throne is upto the height of the shoulders. Two crocodile (*makara*) heads emerging from foliage surmount the ends of the horizontal bars which are supported by rampant leographys (*vyālakas*) with long wavy tails.[33]

In another direction the type of B(b) 181 was one of the everlasting contributions made by the Gupta school at Benares. This is the beginning of those brilliant series in Benares and in Eastern India which has come to be known as the 'single incident images which partake the character of a bas-relief.' "They are images of the Master, but at the same time, they represent particular incidents in the life of the Master. In the older schools we are familiar with such incidents in regular bas-reliefs, while there are also images of the Buddha or of the various Bodhisattvas. So far as our knowledge goes no images have been discovered in India belonging to the earlier schools which represents a particular incident in the life of Buddha. These images are really a transformation of the bas-reliefs. In the Gandhāra and Mathura Schools, there is a tendency to represent Buddha as being larger in size comparatively, than other human or divine beings. This tendency is also noticeable in some bas-reliefs of the Benares School. In the latter, this particular tendency, transforms the Main figure into an image and makes the specimen loose the general characteristics of a bas relief. The adjuncts necessary to represent a particular incident of the master's life are then depicted either on the pedestal or on the backslab of the images. The introduction of this new class of images is therefore, one of the peculiar characteristics of the Gupta sculpture."[34] This transformation became a permanent feature of later arts. The larger size of the Buddha image referred to by late Mr. R. D. Banerji is an interesting Asiatic custom and is traceable to Iran, Assyria, Babylon and Sumer. In every one of these countries the divine kings were given disproportionate size to defeated foes and subjects. Any Iranian reliefs such as we find at Naksh-i-Iustam, Nakshi-i-Rajab, etc. may be consulted. The statues and reliefs found by Layard in Ashur will also bear me out. We may also refer to the lime stone slabs of Ur-Nina of the Lagashite period, or the famous stele of Naram-Sin, in which divine kings are of larger proportions.[35] The question of origin, develop-

33. *A. R., A. S. I.* 1903-04, p. 216. This *makara* and *vyālaka* throne also became very popular with later artists and enable us to determine the source of inspiration of the same type of throne in the art of Java.

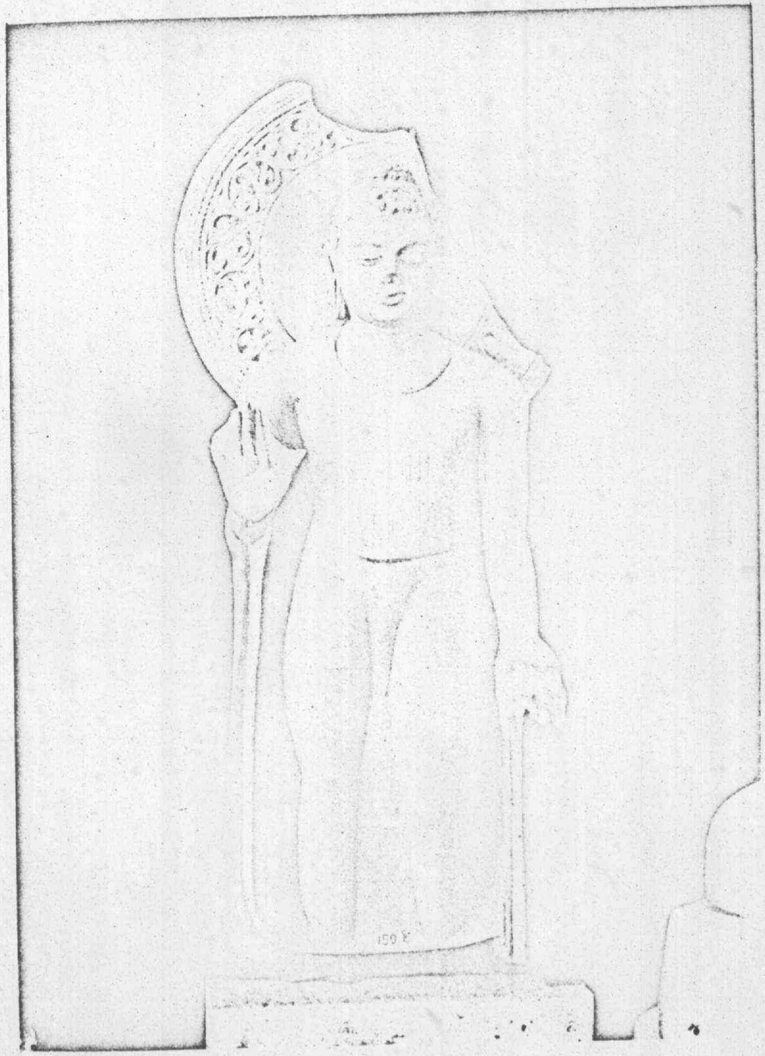
34. R. D. Banerji—*The Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture*, pp. 14-16.



CHILD KRISHNA HOLDING MT. GOVARDHAN.

Now in Bharat Kala Bhavan.

Suppleness of modelling in spite of inclination towards volume and mass. Portraiture of torsal plane is noteworthy.



STANDING IMAGE OF BUDDHA.

Sarnath Museum. Oval face both shoulders draped. (150E.)

Note the soft cushion like palm with hastarekha.

ment, migration and survival of this interesting custom require to be dealt with in a separate memoir and does not lie within our present compass. Before we conclude our discussions about early Gupta sculpture one important point requires to be determined, it is the character and content of B(b) 181.

Scholars have vied with one another in heaping encomiums on it. Only Ananda Coomaraswamy has stood aloof from it. He thought that it was less vigorous.[36] It is a weak piece, not a product of the Gupta genius at the best. The concern for the detailed treatment, an inclination towards real naturalism over decoration of the halo and realism of its motifs, by which I do not mean that the design is overbalanced indicate that the artist in spite of the form had lost in facile expression and was conscious of it. They prove at the worst that the height had been reached and the declining slope had begun.[37] Henceforth there is a slow, long degradation with its routine like repetitions of dull designs (for example, images and architectural fragments of the 7th to 12th centuries of the Christian era), with its occasional reaction simulating revival. Coomaraswamy's fine perception made him appreciate in spite of the magic of form, in spite of the spiritualised and superhuman conception of Buddha—the signs of weakness in it. Let us read that in this piece the ominous signs of decay has made its appearance. It is not a decadent piece but it ushers in the dusk as it did with Giotto in mediaeval Italian art.[38]

In conclusion we might be permitted to notice one pleasing fact about Sarnath sculptures just when all free expression in art was throttled by canon, factor which has not so far been noticed in any other school in India. A consideration of the Buddha images of Sarnath lead to the inevitable conclusion that the typology of heads and faces differ indicating a freedom enjoyed by the artists. It would be remembered that the figure of Buddha was conspicuous by its absence in early Indian art. It first occurs on the Scythian coins of North-West.[39] The Bala image is that of a Bodhisattva proving a disinclination to regard them as the image of the master. It is in the Mankuwar image (?), that we first meet with the term Buddha. It would therefore be not illogical to assume that the full fledged Buddha image came to be dedicated in the Gupta period only. The Katra,

35. Wooley—*The Development of Sumerian Art*. London. 1935. Pls. 49 (a), 54(a) and 56.

36. Coomaraswamy—*History of Indian and Indonesian Art.*, London, 1927, p. 74.

37. Vernon Blake—*Relation in Art*, London, 1915, p. 168. 'An intense pre-occupation about detail accompanied by a loss of power in commanding and ordering it are the signs of impending, if not actual decadence.'

38. 'And the spirit of that age, as every extension lecturer knows moved towards truth and naturalism for naturalism and verisimilitude ; in the history of art it is known as early decadence.' Clive Bell—*Art*, p. 143.

39. A. K. Coomaraswamy—*op. cit.*, p. 59.

Maholi and other images of the Kushaṇa period may be taken to be that of Gautama the Bodhisattva. Coomaraswamy has pointed out that the *jālabaddhāṅguli* is first found in the Mankuwar image.[40] In Benares a definite Buddha type was evolved by the late 5th century after experiments. But the faces of these images are not stereotyped. It became so later, but in the classic Gupta times they show a rare variety. In my studies in the Sarnath Museum, I found five types of faces :—

A. B(b) 2, 4, 9 and 63 E—long face with powerful jaws.

B, B(b) 10, 21 and 150E.—Oval face.

C. 178 E. Long face with shallow cheeks, triangular upper lips, tangential eye-brows (common in all) and slightly pointed chin.

D. B(b) 5.

E. B(b) 181, B(b) 8—a round face with heavy cheeks.

The images of Bodhisattvas and Buddhas show that Sarnath was a stronghold of Hinayāna school till 5th century of the Christian era. It is in this century that the first intruding element makes its appearance. The sagacity of the emperor Asoka had warned the church of the consequences of schism. In spite of that soon after his death different schools appeared and defaced his monuments by getting their names inscribed on them. Now Mahāyāna images appear at Sarnath, this is B(d) 1 ; the figure of Bodhisattva-Padmapāṇi dedicated by *Vishayapati* Suyāttra. Mahayana school became strong after the Yûe-Chih invasion. But so long its later development does not seem to have made itself felt at the holy Mṛgadāva. For little beauty, and simplicity of design it really happens to be a rare piece. It lacks the embellishments in which the later artists revelled. The main figure stands on a lotus springing from its foliage, which is found in the images dedicated in the reigns of Kumaragupta II and Budhagupta. It wears only a necklace, otherwise the body is devoid of any ornaments, and compares favourably with the later image of Siddhaikavira. The coiled hair on the head is reminiscent of the *Ekamukhaliṅga* from Khoh in Nagod State, though it lacks some of its finesse. Few locks of unruly hair have been allowed on either neck like that of Kṛṣṇa holding Govardhana and the Bodhisattva image S. 37 of the Indian Museum. The upper garment is shown below the navel and right palm of the god and is tied in a loop while the ends are shown hanging down on the proper right side of the image in a series of superimposed fishtails. While the other end is between the legs and is shown in the same style as the hems of the *saṅghaṭi* of the standing images of Buddha. There is a slight smile hovering between the lips. It wears earrings and jewelled girdle and a long chain. The Gupta genius was able to impart a youthful freshness and a serenity which is seldom met with in later images.[41]

40. Coomaraswamy—*Ibid*, p. 74.

41. Sahni—*Catalogue*, pl. xiii ; and B. Majumdar *Guide to Sarnath*, pl. B.

ROUTES BETWEEN ĀRYĀVARTA AND DAKSHINĀPATHA

By

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In the prehistoric days Āryavarta was the name of the Northern and Dakshiṇāpatha of the southern Bharatakhanda. These were the natural divisions due to difficulty in crossing Vindhya mountain and the Narmada river and the hilly and jungle tracts of Chota Nagpur and Orissa. Crossing of these was made further difficult by the cruelties of barbarous tribes residing there. Routes to go from one side to the other were very few and it is interesting to find them out from old records. Below are given as many I am able to trace. There are three sets of the 29 records given below. In the first set, the routes are stated directly as in Nos. 7, 10, 11, 13 to 21 and 24, 25 and 29. In the second set the routes can be traced out indirectly but probably indications are there such as in Nos. 1 to 6, 8, 9, 12, 22, 23. The persons in the third set have crossed Vindhya but the routes are not given as in the cases of Nos. 26, 27 and 28.

Serial No. 1	*Route* 2	*Where recorded.* 3	*Who used.* 4	*Date.* 5
1	From Sind to Sopara.	1. Carmichael Lectures (1918) of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, pp. 23 and 24 and Baudhayana Dharma Sutra. Chaukhamba Ed. of 1934.	1. Northerners took to sea voyages and reached Kachha, Saurashtra, Bharu-Kacha and Sopara.	(?)
2	Tapi Valley	2. Vol. IX, Part I, Bom. Gaz. (1901 Ed.) and Motala Brahmana katha and personal investigations.	2. Kanva Brahmans of Khandesh went to Jambusar and Mota, whose descendants as I take them to be are the present Motala Kapil and Jambu Brahmans of Surat and Broach districts.	(?)
		3. Personal investigations.	3. Jambus have gone back to Khandesh and C. P. and Ahmednagar by this very route.	—

Serial No. 1	*Route* 2	*Where recorded.* 3	*Who used.* 4	*Date.* 5
		4. Personal investigations.	4. Leva Gujars and Leva Kunabis went to Khandesh and Buldhana Districts from Gujarath.	C 500 years ago
3	Bharukachha to Aparanta (this joins the fourth) and vice versa.	5. Copper plate of 1113 of Kontapur and personal investigations.	5. Emigration of Gurjara and Karhada Brahmans from Karhataka to Lata and back to Kokan.	(?)
		6. Bhargava Brahmanano Itihas (in Gujarati) by Munshi, pp. 76-79.	6. Bhargava Brahmans went to Bharukachha from Rajapur.	(?)
		7. Sarkar's Shivaji and his times, 3rd Ed. (1929) pp. 94-97 and 174.	7. Shivaji had visited Surat twice by this route in 1664 and 1670.	
		8. Madras Census Report of 1931 and L. S. I., Vol. IX, Part II, pp. 447-48 and an article by Kaka Kalelkar in Maharashtra Sahitya Patrika, Vol. 8, pp. 663.	8. Saurashtra Brahmans of Madura seem to have gone there by this route.	(?)
3 or 4	Nasik Nandurbar Songad Gujarat.	9. Ihole Inscription, V. 22.	9. Pulkeshi II, conquers Lata Desha.	6th century.
4	Do.	10. Travels of Yuan Chawang by Watters, Vol. II, p. 241.	10. Yuan Chawang goes to Bharu Kachha from Ajanta.	6th century.
		11. Peshwa Daftar, Vol. 30, p. 295.	11. Chimnaji Appa goes to Gujarat.	1729 Dec.
5 or Via No. 3	Mahishamati to Ujjain.	12. Aihole Inscriptions, Verse 22.	12. Pulkeshi conquers Malva and Gujarath.	6th century.
5	Do.	13. (a) Sutta Nipata, V. 1010-11-12. (b) Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's Carmichael Lectures, p. 21.	13. Pupils of Bavari go to Ujjain.	5th century B. C.
		14. History of Mohamadan Powers, by Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 307 (1829 Ed.).	14. Malva and Khandesh.	1294 A.D.
		15. Peshwa Daftar, V. 30, pp. 268-9.	15. Bajirao I goes to Malva.	1724.

Serial No. 1	*Route* 2	*Where recorded.* 3	*Who used.* 4	*Date.* 5
		16. Peshwa Daftar. V. 30, pp. 283-4-5.	16. Chimanaji Appa goes to Bundi and back.	1728-29
		17. Do. No. 30, p. 311.	17. Chimnaji Appa returns from Bundelkhand.	1733.
		18. Do. V, 27, p. 70.	18. Raghunathrao goes to Ujjain.	1733.
		19. Peshwa Diary, VII, Madhavrao I, Vol. II, by Lad and Joshi (1911 A.D.) p. 419.	19. Raghoba returns to Khargona from Ujjain.	1767.
6	Hande to Bhopal.	20. Peshwa Daftar, Vol. 30, pp. 262-3.	20. Bajirao I, returns from Bhelsa to Hande.	1719.
		21. Peshwa Diary, VII, Madhavrao I, Vol. II, by Vad and Joshi (1911 Ed.) p. 409.	21. Raghoba Dada goes to Bhopal.	1766.
6 or Via 5		22. Ihole inscriptions V. 23 & 24 and Ind. Ant. Vol. VII, p. 290.	22. Pulkeshi II, goes to defeat Harsha.	6th century.
		23. Travels of Ibn Batuta by Lee, p 162.	23. Batuta comes down to Daulatabad.	13th century.
7	Via Sohagpur and Narsingpur.	24. Peshwa Daftar, V. 30, p. 308.	24. Chimnaji Appa goes to Bundelkhand.	1732.
8	Chanda, Nagpur, Mandla.	25. Peshwa Daftar. V. 30, p. 288, and Peshwa Diary, part II, by Vad & Parasnis (1906 Ed.) pp. 229-30.	25. Bajirao I, goes to Mahoba via Chanda and Mandla, and visits Chhatrasal and his son.	1729.
Either 5, 6, 7 or 8	?	26. Valmiki Ramayana.	26. Ram reaches Dandakaranya.	(?)
		27. Early history of the Deccan by Bhandarkar anl Valmiki Ramayana.	27. Agastya crosses Vindhya and stays at Panchavati.	(?)
		28. Sutta Nipata V, 976-7.	28. Bavari reaches Ashmaka from Kosala.	6th century. B. C.
9	Bihar to Orissa.	29. Travels of Uyan Chawang, by Watters, Vol. II, pp. 194 and 197, 198.	28. Uyan Chawang goes to Puri from Tamluka. (Midnapur).	6th century.

List of those whose routes can possibly be traced (1) A Jain मुनी भद्रबाहु Shrutakevalin went to Shravana Belgola from Kosala in 3rd century B.C. (2) Routes of several Buddhists who came to Maharashtra. (3) Routes of expeditions of the Lieutenants of Delhi Court from 13th to 16th centuries and travels of foreigners.

It is necessary to give serially explanatory notes to the Column No. 4 "who used". They are :—

(1) Baudhayana in his Dharma Sutra (1 : 2 : 4) says that the Northerners i.e. the people of Aryavarta take to sea voyages which according to him is irreligious. And if the quotation of Bhallavin according to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar is 1 : 2 : 12 : 14 (Chau Khamba series) it is a half truth to say that "Another route by which the Aryans seem to have gone to South India was by sea. They appear to have sailed from the Indus to Kachha, Kathewad, Bharu Kachha, Sopara". I add here a passage to support the learned Dr. from footnote 2 to Page 1 of Vol. No. IX Part I "Gujarat Population" of the District Gazetteers of the Bombay Presidency. It runs as follows.

"The explanation to the early Brahmans in Gujarat from Upper India is that they are descendants of those who entered Gujarat either by sea or by land from Sind."

Buddhists Jatakas. 339 Baveru Jataka and Sussondi Jataka No. 360—tell us that they have sailed from Bharu Kachha. "Linguistically Kachhi is not an intermediate language—between Sindhi and Gujrathi. It is a form of Sindhi with a varying mixture of Gujrathi". (Page 176, Vol. I, Pt. I, of L. S. I.).

(2) Explanatory notes about these classes will be found on pp. 10 and 12 of the Vol. IX part I (Bombay Gaz.). These three classes belong to Kanva Shakha of Yajurveda while in the whole of Gujarath if my information is correct, no follower of Kanva Shaka is found at all. That the story given in the footnote of page 12, tracing the original home of the forefathers of the Motala Brahmans at Kolhapur, may not be correct. Kolhapur cannot be the abode of Kanvashakha Brahmans whose headquarters are Khandesh Districts adjoining Surat and Bhadoch and therefore, I take that the Kanvashakha Brahmans might have migrated to Surat and Bhadoch to perform sacrifices. The Kanva Shakha Brahmans can be traced at Jambusar as far back as 7th century A.D. according to a copper plate (J. R. A. S. of Great Britain and Ireland N. S. Page 247, Vol. I). Mr. Bhimbhai Kriparam, compiler of the aforesaid Gazetteer volumes thus describes the Motala Brahmans "In addition to their appearance which is more Deccani than Gujarati, four points support the tradition that the Motala Brahmans came from the Deccan. At the time of the marriage and for four days after the bride keeps her head uncovered and fastens the end of her robe from left to right.

In all these points except the first the practice of the Motala, Jambu, and Kapil Brahmans is the same and agrees with the practice of the Deccan Brahmans. The Motala Brahmins are intelligent, active and hardworking. The priestly class have a name for learning superior to that of the most other sub-divisions of Gujarath Brahmans (pp. 12 and 13). The inter-marriages between Jamboos and Motalas took place a century ago (Foot-note 3 page 12)."

In the book named "Motala Brahman Katha" (p. 2 to p. 4 chapters II and III) the aforesaid statements are corroborated. A Motala friend of mine very lately wrote me expressing these very views current amongst his caste.

(3) My investigations have shown that the Jamboo Brahmans who have migrated about three centuries ago to Indore State and Chanda and Nagpur Districts of C. P. and Ahmednagar District of the Bombay Presidency have completely merged into Maharashtra Brahmin fold, and they are being classed as Maharashtrians. These Jamboos can go to Khandesh only by Tapi Valley route.

(4) Leva Gujars and Leva Kunbies are residents of Khandesh and Buldhana Districts and have completely merged into a Maharashtra Caste so much so that 95% of them are adherents of Bhagwat sect of Pundharpur. They have, I am told, gone there five or six centuries ago. Their way to Khandesh is but by Tapi Valley.

(5) A few families of Maharashtriya Karhada Brahmins have completely been absorbed by the Motalas and an interesting story of their absorption is narrated in Schedule "Z" and "T" (pp. 44 and 78 of Motala Brahman Katha).

The families of the surnames of Gurjars of Karhada Brahmins of Maharashtra have come back to Konkan from Gujarat before the Saka 1113. (History of Athale family, p. 9). They are described as युष्मन्नैध्रुवगोत्रगुर्जर-भुवाभूदेवपूज्यात्मनाम् in a copper plate from Rajapur of the Ratnagiri District. Similarly Pomburlekar Joshi another Karhada Brahman family is said to have come from Gujarat (Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal Quarterly-Shivacharitra, Vol. IV, pp. 3 and 8). These and other families of Karhatak who received donations from Gurjar Kings must have gone to and come back from Gujarat via. Kolaba and Thana Districts which are short-cuts to both the provinces (Gupte's "Karhad").

(6) The story of the migration to Gujarat from Rajapur of the Dikshit families of Broach is narrated on pp. 76 to 79 of the "Bhargava Brahmanno Itihas". Way to Broach of these Dikshits can only be through Konkan Districts.

(7) Shivaji visited Surat first in 1664 via Nanaghat, Mahuli, Jawhar, Ganadevi (pp. 93 to 97) and on second occasion raided it in 1670 via. Kalyan (p. 174).

(8) Saurashtra Brahmans are weavers from Saurashtra as the name itself indicates. Madras Census report writer (1931, p. 292) says that the language of the people is a Gujarathi dialect and that they have come by C. P. Belgaum and Dharwar Districts of Bombay Presidency which seems to be doubtful. Srj. Kaka Kalekar who visited Madura and came across with these people and language remarked in an article in "Maharashtra Sahitya Patrika, Vol. VIII, p. 663 ff." is, as a "Lost Brother of Marathi". He does not see any connection of it with Gujarat as regards language, custom, mode of living etc. He further adds that along with Telegu, Tamil and Kannada words it contained, many Marathi and Konkani words, phrases and idioms are also found therein. The linguistic investigations made by me go to concur with the veteran learned Kakasaheb. That is the reason why I think that these Saurashtra people must have gone to Madura via, Lata, Konkan, Vanavasi, Coimbatore having received royal patronage at Madura since long.

(9) Pulkeshi II subjugated the kingdom of Lata (V. 22) where he might have either gone via. Konkan after having conquered Puri (V. 21) by the route No. 3 or if the conquest was an independent one his route might have No. 4.

(10) Yuan Chawang went to Bharukachha from Ajanta after crossing Narmada (p. 241, Travels of Y. C. by Watters).

(11) Chimnaji Appa Peshwa left Khara Nala on 14-12-1729, crossed Tapi and proceeded to Ankaleshwar, crossed Narmada and reached Broach on 24-12-1729.

(12) Though Lata, Malva and Gurjars लाटमालवगुर्जरा : are described to have been conquered in one verse 22, geographically the expeditions must have been two; the first for Lata and the second for Malva and Gurjar and therefore two different routes should be assigned to these, No. 3 for Lata and No. 4 or 5 for Malva and Gurjar. Rajputana was in those days in the possession of Gurjars and hence their name to it (p. 415 of *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXI).

(13) Pupils of Bavari left Pratishtana and went upto Mahismati and reached Ujjain.

(14) Ramdeo King of Devagiri writes to Alla-ud-din Khilji (1294) in a letter :—

"Supposing that you should be able to retreat from hence undisturbed, are not the princes of Malva, Khandesh and Gondavana in your route....? Can you hope they will permit you to escape unmolested?......" (about 1290 A.D.).

—Page 307 of the History of the rise of the Mohamedan Power, 1829 Ed. by Ferishta Vol. I. Here the route of Alla-ud-din is shown via माळवा to Khandesh and back.

(15) Bajirao I went to Malwa via Rajapura, Maheshwar, Mandavgad, Nalse and Khargon in April and May of 1724.

(16) Chimnaji Appa leaves Rajapura on 23-11-1728 via Nalchha and Ujjain goes to Bundi by February 1729, and returns via. Bundelkhand, Dahod on 1-4-1728 Jambhol Bore Gajarati Rajapura to Sendhava on 16-4-1729.

(17) Chimnaji Appa while returning from Bundelkhand via. Malwa Ghat (9-5-1733) halted on his way back at Navi Sarai, Fazilpur, Zirpa and reached Makadai on 13-5-1733.

(18) Raghoba Dada left Sendhava (1753) and visiting Khargon and Indore reached Ujjain.

(19) Raghoba Dada returned from North Indian Expedition of 1766-67 via Devas (1-5-67 Ujjain), Dharampuri to Khargon on 5-6-1767.

(20) Bajirao I, on his way back from Sarai of Moghala (14-4-1719) halted at Nanakpur, Sarai Satarana, Bhelsa, Shihore, Ichhawar, Hande and Ratanpur and reached on 7-5-1719 to Bahranpur.

(21) Raghunath Rao left Raver on 5-2-1766 and after halting at Bahranpur, Makdai, Harde, Hande and Nemavar reached Bhopal on 6-3-1766.

(22) Pulkeshi II defeated Harsha (V. 22) after crossing Vindhya and Narmada but the route not having been mentioned I assign either No. 5 or 6.

(23) The same is the case with Ibn Batuta who left Delhi and reached Daulatabad but the intermediate places mentioned on p. 162 are not traceable to me and therefore it may be that he might have crossed the mountain by either route No. 5 or 6.

(24) Chimnaji Appa left Khandva on 30-11-1732 reached Shivani (Malva) and from where he went to Sohagpur to cross Narmada and reached Narsingpur and thence proceeded to Bundelkhand in the beginning of January, 1733.

(25) Bajirao I reached Washim on 28-12-1728 and proceeded to Mahur, Girad (Chanda), Makade Dhokade (Nagpur) Mandale and entered Bundelkhand and reached Mahoba on 13-3-1729.

(26-27-28) Ram and Agastya of Valmiki Ramayan came down to Dandakaranya and Bavari a Buddhist Bhikshu came to Ashmaka from Kosala which they could only do by crossing Vindhya and not otherwise but there is no mention of their route and therefore it could be said that they have crossed Vindhya by either of the 5th, 6th, 7th or 8th route.

(29) Yuan Chwang after reaching Singbhuma in Bihar went southward to Tamluka in Midnapur District and visited Chilka Lake near Katak and Rajmahendri in Orissa.

To sum up the subject I have to point out that the route No. 1 i.e., voyages in the western sea were common till at least Sixth century before the Saka Era. Regarding route No. 4 and 3 I have to say that till sixth century of the Saka Era people from Sind and Malva used to come to Anarta and Lata

and Aparanta. Routes No. 5 and 6 were of frequent use to cross Vindhya. Nos. 7 and 8 were used rarely and No. 9 was not only used by Yuan Chwang but I may say that the colonisation of Utkala might have taken place by this route.

Another interesting feature is that most of the railway lines are constructed by these old routes. The Tapi Valley line of B.B.C.I., runs by No. 2. Bombay-Ahmedabad line of the same Railway goes by No. 3 and onwards. The Malva branch i.e., Khandwa to Ratlam Section passes by our route No. 5.

Khandwa to Bhopal line of G. I. P. Ry. is our route No. 6 and Nagpur Itarsi branch is our route No. 8.

Midnapur to Kharagpur and further upto Puri are branches of B. N. Ry. which is our route No. 9.

BRĀHMANISM AND JAINISM

By

Dr. PHANI BHUSAN ROY, M.A., PH.D.

Jainism and Buddhism are the two great Pauruṣeya religions of India; and by common consent it is held that Jainism was the earlier of the two. It will not be improper then to look upon Jainism as the typical Pauruṣeya religion of India. If so regarded, Jainism offers naturally a strong contrast to Brāhmanism which is traditionally regarded as Apauruṣeya religion par excellence. We may tentatively define a Pauruṣeya religion as one which grows round a central Figure who both intuits and preaches the truth whereas an Apauruṣeya religion has not this Central Figure. A Pauruṣeya religion is therefore historical in its origin and growth while an Apauruṣeya religion is Sanātana or timeless. But the question is: Can any religion be called a Pauruṣeya religion?

(A) Mahāvīra, the Jina, after attaining to Kevalajñāna, preached the holy message to all and Sundry. If, instead of preaching the path of Kaivalya, he pointed out to his hearers the primrose path of dalliance, he could have still gathered round him a band of followers (like any successful robber-chief, Angulimāla for example) but he could never have commanded the deep esteem and veneration of pious and earnest men and women. This fact establishes an indisputable truth. Some men may be bad and immoral but most men are not, so the vogue of a robber-chief can never be equal (never in quality and also not in quantity) to that of a religious teacher. That is, the appeal of religion and morality evokes a strong and lasting response in the hearts of men and women which effect can never be produced by an appeal to the baser side of human nature. But what prevents a religious preacher from pointing out the primrose path of dalliance? Truth and its realisation. Only because Truth has captured his soul that a Truth-realiser cannot but deliver the message of Truth (as the sun cannot but give light and heat); and until and unless this message of Truth is delivered, nobody can evoke an undying and widespread enthusiasm among earnest men and women. Truth operates then in a creative or dynamic way. Firstly, Truth, by revealing itself to the soul of the Fortunate one (Mahāvīra, for example) moulds him as its vehicle or standard-bearer and then using him as an instrument broadcasts itself all the world over. This fact also establishes an indisputable truth. Truth creates a super-man, not a super-man Truth, that is to say, Truth is higher than, nobler than, greater than its standard-bearer or realiser.

(B) The process of Truth-realisation has been lucidly explained in Buddhism (Saṃ. Nikāya Vol. II, p. 25). But I shall cite here a more historical example: Newton, the mathematician, was once sitting under an apple-tree when a ripe apple fell to the ground. In a flash of lightning Truth i.e. the Universal Law of Gravitation revealed itself to the consciousness of Newton. Nobody would suggest that the Universal Law of Gravitation began to operate the moment. It was intuited by Newton (in that case Baby Newton could never have dropped from his mother's womb). Madhucchandā sings: Agniṃ Ide ...... (Rv. I. I. I.) and at once the Fire-god (Agni) breathes into being! This account will be very absurd, for the truth is very emphatically the other way about. The correct interpretation is: Fire-god was, is and will be for ever; only because He, in His benignity, has revealed Himself to the consciousness of Madhucchandā that Madhucchandā has been able to sing forth in such full-throated ease. The word Madhucchandā (so far as R. K. Singing i.e. inspired singing is concerned) should not be put in casus Rectus (Nominative case) but in casus Ablativus (Instrumental case) for Madhucchandā does not and cannot possess Karttṛtva (agency), he possesses merely Karaṇata (instrumentality). Therefore the Vedic seers called Vedic Religion, Vedic Religion, but never Vāśiṣṭha religion or Kānva religion or Bhāradvāja religion (so on and so on), for they knew, in their infinite wisdom, that Truth is greater than its standard-bearer, Truth is greater than its fortunate realiser.

(C) The R.K.-songs have been sung by a number of inspired singers and no one among them has arrogated to himself the position of supremacy over others. If Vaśiṣṭha looked upon himself as Truth's sole realiser and looked down upon Gṛtsamada, Bharadvāja etc. as so many petti-foggers than he would have committed a blunder that was committed by the founders of Pauruṣeya religions. Instead of religious toleration and concord we would have then religious tyranny and discord in Vedic times. Moreover the whole thing would have rested upon a grievous untruth: the exaltation of the Truth realiser far above Truth or his equation with it (Yō mām passati sō dhammam passati). A Buddhist might say: Dhammam Saraṇaṃ gacchāmi but what sense is there in his saying: Buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi? The opponent may argue: Jainism etc. are ascetic religions and therefore they should not be confounded with Vedic Karmakāṇḍa. Our reply would be: Yājñavalkya (Br. Āra. Upa.) is as much a Vedic seer as Gṛtsamada or Vaśiṣṭha is. Only a head-strong man would opine that the Upaniṣads are more Vedic than the Saṃhitās, which fact propounds a noble truth: the wind bloweth where it listeth and truth reveals itself in many ways, not ordinarily known to man.

(D) The opponent may still argue that Jainism etc. are not merely so many systems of philosophy but they are so many ways of life (Mārga) and as such they should be separately named as the streets are named in a city. We shall request our opponent to peruse carefully the Introduction to Jaina

Sūtras (S. B. E.), by Jacobi, where the great Savant has proved up to the hilt the fact of Jain-Buddhist indebtedness to Brāhmanism in the matter of ascetic practices and regulations. Neither the Buddha nor Mahāvīra was a Padavit (Path-finder) in a startlingly original sense of the term. So the Maggadesakattva of Mahāvīra need not be taken into account in naming the religion after him. It clearly follows then that no religion should be called a pauruṣeya religion simply because of the fact that it stupefies truth for whose sake religions are preached and practised. Secondly, a pauruṣeya religion always and invariably gives an unholy encouragement to separatist and factional tendencies which create lamentable discord and strife among men, professing different religions.

We shall now attack the problem from a different standpoint. All the pauruṣeya religions are proselytizing cults, i.e., the Pauruṣeya religions make great use of upāya-kausalya or religious propaganda. The Vedic religion is singularly free from this proselytizing zeal. Why? For the sake of religions earnestness and steadfastness (adhikāra). A Yajamāna does not go to a meeting to hear a sermon from some great religious teacher; he, in a mood of deep veneration, goes to the uncreated Veda for getting his religious inspiration (Śābdī-bhāvanā). Now, take for example the holy injunction: Darśapūrṇamāsābhyāṃ svargakāmo yajeta. This holy injunction occurs in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa which is not after all a juvenile text meant for children which fact compels the Yajamāna to devote a considerable time to Vedic studies (Brahmacarya). So the Vedic religion did always remain a Kaṭhināyāna and never deteriorated into Sahajayāna. Now, dilly-dallying and shilly-shallying in matters religious begets a corresponding habit of dilly-dallying and shilly-shallying in life. In my humble opinion, our national decline is mainly due to these personal cults which breeding a sort of latitudinarianism in religion have slackened our grip on life. We fear to tread the uphill path in any department of life, always hankering after soft jobs and cushioned chairs. "Religion Made Easy" has made us take life also much too easy.

For the sake of truth than which nothing is higher, for the sake of religious concord than which nothing is more noble and for the sake of accepting life as a struggle than which nothing is more courageous, the Pauruṣeya religions should be renamed; and the new nomen that I propose for Jainism is Vedic-Religion, i.e., the religion of Veda (truth) as revealed to the consciousness of Mahāvīra, the Jina.

THE PROSPECTS OF ECONOMIC PLANNING FOR INDIA AND THE WORLD

By

Dr. BENOY SARKAR, M.A., DR.H.C.

ECONOMIC INDIA TOMORROW

A Plan for Economic Revolution in Post-War India has been issued by some industrialists of Bombay (January, 1944). It is always useful to discuss the far-off divine events. But as in every other country, belligerent or neutral, in India also post-war reconstruction will have to attend to the problems of famine, epidemics, business failure, and unemployment. The immediate economic requirements of India to-morrow will have to be met, no matter what be the ultimate goal. Post-war economy is essentially the economy of demobilization. The fundamental problem is to decide as to how much of the wartime state controls in industry, trade, currency, and agriculture, as well as employment, prices and wages ought to be maintained in order that demobilization may be prevented from producing its worst efforts. Reconstruction problems before India are bound to be in the main of the same order as those before other countries.

In the present conditions of under-development the temptation to indulge in comprehensive schemes and fundamental principles of planned industrialization is bound to be great. For the time being, let us combat that temptation in a deliberate manner. Since 1907 the present author has been issuing schemes, plans or creeds for theorists and public workers. Some of the most pressing needs of India in the immediate future which have been discussed in one or other of those creeds are being enumerated below. The object is to suggest a few channels along which the demobilized resources in finance and *personnel* may be utilized.

The plan, designed as it is for all the provinces of India, comprises the following items:

A. TECHNO-INDUSTRIAL

1. Electrification of every municipal area, in order that, among other things, cheap power may be conveniently rendered available to small and medium industries. (The municipalities of India are approximately 1,000 in number.)

2. Construction of roads, inter-district and intra-district, with a view, among other things, to facilitating the marketing of agricultural goods. The poverty of Bengal, especially of East Bengal and Assam, in roads, is noto-

rious. Motor roads between Dibrugarh on the one hand and Sadiya and Chittagong on the other have long been overdue. Perhaps some of them are already under construction as military necessities.

3. Erection of shipyards and equipment of harbours at diverse maritime centres and river-mouths. Narayanganj (Dacca) and Chandpur (Comilla), for instance, may be singled out as first-class sites for seaports in East Bengal no less worthwhile than Calcutta.

B. The Standard of Living of Peasants, Workmen and Clerks

1. Allocation of special funds (of large size) such as may be rendered available to individual cultivators through co-operative societies at convenient rates of interest.

2. Introduction of compulsory social insurance among working men and other employees with adequate state grants. (A Bill is in preparation).

The standard of living and efficiency of the masses in villages and towns is likely to be raised in a special manner by the above two measures.

C. Socio-Economic

1. Training and employment of women in health and other social services at the rate of one per each union board. (The number of union boards is about 5,000 in Bengal).

2. Intensified campaign (large scale pumping, land-reclamation, training of rivers, irrigation etc.) for the eradication of malaria, district by district.

3. Enactment of consolidated Public Health Act. (A Public Health Act has already been passed in Madras in 1939).

This may be regarded as the irreducible minimum of techno-industrial and socio-economic planning during the period of "reconstruction" in the narrow sense, say, five years from the end of the war. A large part of the *personnel* technocratically educated and disciplined during World-War II is likely to be absorbed through road-making, electrification, port construction, river-engineering and allied industrial projects. An avenue may then be found for taking charge of large numbers that are bound to be thrown on the unemployed list, as soon as demobilization commences.

For an outsider who is not in the know as to the exact kinds of industries that the war-economy has brought into life or expansion it is not possible to say how many of them ought to be maintained and under what patterns. The redistribution of working-men and clerks also among new workshops and business concerns can likewise be suggested only by persons acquainted with the activities of the war supply and other offices.

Idealism of the Bombay Plan

Of course this prescription, modest as it is, cannot be expected to bring the Indian infant mortality down to the Anglo-American level or raise the

expectation of life up to the German level in seven or ten years, as reconstruction planners would wish. Nor can the national income *per capita* be possibly augmented hundred per cent within a quiquennium or so as a result of the carrying out of the simple scheme of the eight items formulated here. It would be but crying for the moon if on the strength of these recommendations India were to emulate within a decade or so the figures exhibited in *Japanese Trade and Industry* by the Mitsubishi Economic Research Bureau (London, 1936) or *National Income in Japan* (Japanese Economic Federation, Tokyo, 1939). No economic millennium is in contemplation. And as for the federated world-state of human brotherhood and inter-racial amity, this humble plan is the furthest removed from that consummation.

It is superfluous to observe that the plan put forward in this modest fashion would appear too elementary and primitive by the side of the programme suggested for England in *The Condition of Britain* (London, 1937), by G. D. H. and M. I. Cole. That work, of course, deals with pre-war conditions and formulates fundamental policies. Nor is it possible to encounter here the planifications attempted in Turkey under Kemal Ataturk since 1923 and especially since 1933, the year of her first five year plan. It is from a hated condition of *semi-colonie* prevailing during the previous half century that Turkey has been emancipated by comprehensive state intervention in the domain of agriculture as well as by state aids to industry, as one understands from Conker and Witmeur's *Redressement économique et Industrialisation de la nouvelle Turquie* (Paris, 1937).

The 10,000 crore-finance envisaged by the Bombay Plan is certainly very heartening. But the Plan is vitiated by the fallacy of which the plan-makers are not unconscious. First, it assumes the emergence of a "National Government." Secondly, it assumes the emancipation of India's economic policy—"full freedom in economic matters"—from the British empire economy. No plan could be more superbly idealistic and wide of the mark in regard to the realities.

Planification as an Ideology

In contemporary economic discussions the category, economic planning, planned economy, or planified economy, is being loosely employed in season and out of season. Another category is being no less loosely employed. This has become current coin during the atmosphere of World War II as reconstruction or post-war re-construction. It is extremely difficult to avoid these conventional and much too popular categories while dealing with current economic questions. No less difficult is it to avoid employing these categories in the loose manner of common parlance.

Everybody who has some idea in regard to the economic welfare of his people considers himself to be the author of an economic planning or planned economy. Any and every scheme or plan is said to belong to

"planning" or "planification." And since we all happen to be living in what is perhaps the second phase of World-War II, each one of these economic plans is treated as being equivalent to a scheme of post-war reconstruction. In India, especially, planning and reconstruction have grown to be almost synonymous or identical categories.

In a living science or art looseness in the use of expressions can hardly be prevented or avoided. Virtually every category has to be taken in an elastic sense.

And yet to prevent misunderstandings care should be taken to pin these categories down to specified contents of thought. Literally speaking, be it observed, reconstruction ought to imply nothing more than the transfer or transition of economic morphology from war to peace. We ought to visualize the withdrawal of finance and employment from war industries to normal occupations. This is an aspect of "demobilization" which automatically involves unemployment. Re-employment in certain industries is another item of importance. The re-establishment of trade, tariff, currency, prices, wages and what not on pre-war (?) or rather non-war foundations belong to this phase of economy. The entire complex may be called stabilization or rehabilitation and is generally given over to a five-year period. Be it noted that a literal restoration of or reversion to pre-war condition is neither assumed nor possible.

During the first year or two (1939-40) of the present war, Indian economists, businessmen and politicians managed invariably to identify the war effort with all-round "economic planning." Everybody wanted the Government to utilize the situation in such a manner as might equip India with every conceivable industry and business. It was hardly possible for them to comprehend that war effort could not aim at anything more than specific and temporary economic development for a well-delimited period. Now that the war has been presumably looking forward to its close, Indian economic statesmanship is as a general rule bent upon advising the Government to envisage "post-war reconstruction" as identical with India's techno-industrial development of a comprehensive character. It is invariably difficult for Indian publicists, comprising the authors of the "Bombay Plan", to realize that post-war construction cannot possibly have more than a short-period and very limited scope. In scientific analysis both "war-effort" and "post-war reconstruction" are to be taken in the narrow sense of occasional and temporary or transitional measures.

COMMUNISM *vs.* CAPITALISM IN PLANNING

Planning or planification, in its simplest and most naive form, implies the attempt of even the pre-historic caveman to save his first stone implement for use on a future occasion. It is as old as conscious man. A goalful futurism is to be found in the soul of a plan. In its somewhat mature

form it covers the budgetary activities of all states,—ancient, mediæval or modern,—in regard to the incomes and disbursements of a twelve-month period. Every improvement trust or road scheme is an instance of planning. Finally, in its most hyperdeveloped form, planification means nothing but the communistic economy under state auspices introduced by Soviet Russia in October, 1928. Strictly speaking, planned economy is communism as concretely realized in Soviet Russia since then.

But the success of the first five-year plan of Russia set the world in 1933 thinking of the merits of some of the features, e.g. *étatisme*, centralized control and despotism, etc.,—associated with Sovietic planning. And so virtually every non-Sovietic state,—from Germany, Italy, Japan, England, France and the U.S.A. down to the most undeveloped regions in the two hemispheres,—has pounced upon planning or planification as a new panacea, slogan or technique of public life and national welfare. Today we have to visualize two entirely distinct types of planned economy or economic planning. One is the original, Sovietic, Bolshevistic or communistic type. Its fundamental feature is the abolition of private property, private capital, private interest, private rent, and private profit. The other planning is non-communistic, that is capitalistic or bourgeois. It recognizes the private property and private capital of age-long traditional economy. But both are united in state control.

Today socialism is to be taken in two distinct senses or forms. One is the communistic socialism of Soviet Russia. The other is the non-communistic or capitalistic and bourgeois socialism of all non-Soviet territories. Thus considered, socialism is the prevailing economico-political system throughout the world.

Whether capitalistic or communistic, planification is state control, *étatisme*, or, what is virtually the same thing, socialism. In B. E. Lippincott's compilation entitled *Government Control of the Economic Order* (Minnesota, 1935) pro-control ideas are expressed by Colm, Feiler, Lederer, Means and Nathan. This symposium may be placed by the side of the anti-control symposium edited by F. von Hayek as *Collectivist Economic Planning* (London 1936).

VANSITTARTISM IN WORLD-PLANNING

No reconstruction can possibly realize the ideals or principles, should there be any, of world-wide economic salvation. The coming post-war world-economy or economic reconstruction bids fair to be but a continuation, in the main, of the world-economy at 1939.

Arthik Unnati (economic progress) is a social phenomena of doses and decrees. It is essentially gradualistic and can never claim finality or all-round comprehensiveness.

It is the equations of comparative industrialism and technocracy such as were in evidence in pre-war years that would set the general lines along which the new transformations within the reconstruction complex are likely to proceed. The disturbances or modifications of pre-1939 equations generated by World-War II—in and through war industries, inflated employments, inflated currencies, inflated wages and inflated prices—are to be treated in the main as aberrations of not much permanent value. They are fundamentally short period emergencies. The post-war equations may be taken chiefly as not very great deviations from the pre-war. Reconstruction as such is considerably limited by these positive considerations,—pious wishes or idealistic planifications notwithstanding.

Let us be clear about two terms, post-war economy and world-economy. It is not necessary to indulge in speculation in order to explain the two categories. The economic evolution between World-War I and World-War II, i.e. from 1919 to 1939 furnishes the objective data about these phenomena.

First, then, post-war economy is, realistically considered, the economy of preparation for the next war. Secondly, world-economy is not equivalent to the economic organization of the entire world. It is to be understood pragmatically as the economy of that much of the two hemispheres which it is possible for a people to utilize. This utilization is not, however, to be taken in a similar sense. The spirit of "mutuality" with the other peoples of the same region is not to be excluded.

The present war (since September, 1939) is, generally, being expected to come to an end by 1945. Sweeping proposals for dealing with defeated Germany are set out in a memorandum published (on May 1943) by the Post-War Policy Group of members of the House of Commons and Lords of which Wardlaw-Milne is the Chairman. The memorandum, signed by 34 members of the Group, urges effective occupation of Germany and setting up of an Inter-Allied Council of Control. The first duties of such a Council should be, it is said, preservation of all order and complete demobilization of all German armed forces within six months, dismantling of the aeroplane industry and control, and where necessary, closing down of German war potential including heavy and chemical industries to the extent of which they are the basis for production of munitions; arrests and bringing to trial of persons alleged to be guilty of war crime, disbanding of officers' *corps* and training *corps*. The essential points of the subsequent peace treaty in this plan should be that Allied army and air-forces will occupy Germany until the Allies agree that this may with safety be terminated or relaxed, independent states in East Prussia and Rhineland, restoration of the sovereignty of all countries invaded by the Axis, Allied control of radio, printing and education in Germany, no German army, navy and air-force, civil aviation or aircraft industries until allied nations decide otherwise, return of all loot

or compensation in kind, all costs arising out of Allied occupation to be paid by the German States.

The paper on "A Plan for Germany's Economic Disarmament" by Einzig in the *Economic Journal* (London, June-September, 1942) throws likewise a flood of light on post-war world reconstruction. It may be said that the world-economy is expecting a Super-Versailles by 1946. World-War II cannot therefore be the last war of history. Humanly speaking, a war of revenge may be expected by 1965-70 in spite of the efforts of the victors to prevent that consummation. Some idea of such efforts to be directed by Anglo-American "peace-force" may be seen in King-Hall's *Total Victory* (New York 1942) and Gelber's *Peace by Power* (London, 1942). In June, 1943, the British Labour Party also at their conference declared for the totalitarian disarmament of the German people. They proceeded on Vansittart's hypothesis that there were no "good Germans" in Germany. Post-war world-economy, then, is tantamount to the economic structure and dynamics of the world during these two decades or so (1946-70) of universal war-preparedness or continuation and maintenance of war-organization. Some of the items may be seen in Condliffe's *Agenda for a Post-war World* (New York, 1942), a work, *en passant*, that fights shy of idealistic and millennial world-recipes.*

* B. K. Sarkar: *The Equations of World-Economy* (Calcutta 1943), *Villages and Towns as Social Patterns* (Calcutta 1941) and *The Political Philosophies Since 1905*, Vol. II, Part II (Lahore, 1942).

BACITRA NĀṬAK

By

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The main historical interest of the Bacitra Nāṭak, which may be regarded as an autobiography of Guru Gobind Singh, the last Guru of the Sikhs, is concentrated in seven sections, viz., the seventh to the thirteenth. In his epoch-making work on Sikh Religion, Macauliffe gives us an English translation of the first seven chapters of the work[1] as well as of the last, but these important sections are omitted, the author giving it as his reason that as all the details narrated here had been incorporated in the general biography of the Guru, no separate translation seemed necessary. Unfortunately, from Macauliffe's account of the life of the Guru it is not possible to doctor which portions of it are based on the Bacitra Nāṭak and where the other Sikh records are laid under contribution. But inspite of its limitations, the Bacitra Nāṭak is undoubtedly the most important of all the records about Guru Gobind Singh and it is essential that we should know what it has got to tell us independently. An English version of these sections of the Bacitra Nāṭak is, therefore, a desideratum. The Guru's descriptions, however, are animated and sometimes full of repetitions. We have, therefore, omitted some of these but, on the whole we believe that nothing has been left out, which can be of any use to the student of political history.

I. SECTION VIII

The Battle of Bhangani

When I obtained sovereignty I conducted religious affairs to the best of my ability. I hunted various sorts of game in the forest and killed bears, nilgaus and elks.

Afterwards I left that place and went to the city of Paunta. I enjoyed myself on the banks of the Kalindri and say amusements of various kinds.

1. The third section is, however, skipped over but on the other hand we are given an English translation of the first three verses of the eighth section, another extract from which is incorporated in Macauliffe's work a general account of the battle of Bhangani. Malcolm also incorporates another extract from this section in his Sketch of the Sikhs. These we have used freely and we take this opportunity of acknowledging our indebtedness to their authors. We may add here that for the purposes of this article we have used the printed list published by Gulab Singh and Sons and the annotated edition of Bhai Bishan Singh Gyani.

There I selected and killed many lions, nilgaus and bears. Fatha Shah, the king, became angry and came to blows with me without any reason.

There Sri Shah raged and the five stately heroes took their position firmly on the field of battle—the tenacious Jit Mal and the skilful Gulab, whose graceful figures on the battlefield were wondrous to behold,—the determined Maheri Chand and Gangaram, who defeated and shattered the enemy's forces. Lalchand raged becoming red with anger and his bravery cast into shade even the pride of the peerless lion.

Maheru raged with a fearful expression and killed the brave Khans in battle. The Brahmin Dayaram rushed into the fray with great anger and fought bravely and skilfully like Droṇa of old.

Kripal advanced with a mace in his hand and smashed the head of the fierce Hayat Khan.

* * *

Then Nand Chand rushed into the fray with dreadful ire, wielding his spear and brandishing his sword. His keen sword broke but he drew out his dagger and with great determination saved the honour of the Sodhi race.

Then uncle Kripal advanced in his rage and exhibited the war feats of a true Kshatriya. The mighty hero was himself struck by an arrow but nevertheless made a valiant Khan fall from his saddle.

The brave Saheb Chand entered into the fray and slew a bloody Khan. The stately hero wrought havoc in the enemy's ranks and those that survived fled with their lives.

There, in the arena, Sri Shah fought and brought many Khans to the ground. (On the other side) Raja Gopal stood erect on the field and looked like a lion amidst a herd of deers.

There raged the great hero Hari Chand who skilfully took his position in the field. In great anger he discharged sharp arrows and those whom he struck he sent to the other world.

* * *

Then Jit Mal aimed with his spear and struck Hari Chand down to the ground.

* * *

The bloody Khans drew out their Khorasan swords, the keen edges of which flashed like fire. Arrows crowded upon one another, the bows cracked, the young horses fell and struck the more experienced and firm.

* * *

How far shall I describe the mighty battle! Those who fought (in the front) were killed and thousands fled.

The Hill chiefs spurred their horses and fled; the soldiers retired with

their arrows undischarged. The Rajas of Jaswal and Dadhwal, who had been fighting with zeal, now left the field with all their forces.

The Raja of Chandel became exhausted and perplexed, when the tenacious Hari Chand rose with a spear in hands. He became immediately alive to the duties of a leader and raged furiously. Those who opposed him were cut to pieces and fell.

Then Najabet Khan entered and directed his weapons against Sangu Shah. Several well-equipped Khans joined in the attack and sent Sangu Shah to the other world.

After having killed Najabet Khan Sangu Shah fell fighting. There were lamentations in this world but rejoicings in heaven.

When this insignificant creature saw Sanghu Shah fall in battle he took up his bow and arrows. With the first arrow I struck a Khan . . . who fell to the ground. I then drew out another and aimed it at the face of Bhikhan Khan. The bloody Khan fled leaving his horse, whom the third arrow struck and killed.

After waking up from his swoon Hari Chand directed his shots with unerring aim and then those whom he struck fell senseless and died.

* * *

In his anger Hari Chand drew out his arrows. His first arrow struck my horse. He aimed another at me but God saved me, the arrow only grazing my ear in its flight.

His third arrow penetrated the buckle of my waist-belt and reached my body, but wounded me not. It is only God who protected me, knowing me his servant.

When I felt the touch of the arrow, my wrath was kindled. I took up my bow and began to discharge arrows in abundance.

* * *

I killed Hari Chand and the enemies were trampled under foot. (Even) the millionaire chief was seized by death.

The hillmen fled in consternation and I, through the favour of the eternal God, gained the victory.

Having thus held the battle-field, we raised aloud the song of triumph. I showered wealth on my warriors and they all rejoiced.

When I returned after the victory I did not remain in the city of Paunta. I went to Kahlur and there established the village of Anandpur.

Those who had kept themselves away from the battle, I drove out of the place; and I patronised those who had distinguished themselves there.

Many days passed in this way and I fostered the faithful and rooted out all the wicked.

* * *

II. Section IX

The battle of Nadaun

Many days passed in this way till Miyan Khan of Jammu came and sent Alif Khan to Nadaun. Immediately quarrel broke out with Bhim Chand.

The Raja called me to assist him in the war and I joined his side. They had erected a wooden fort there on a mound and brought the chiefs under control by means of guns and arrows.

There came Raj Singh and the powerful Bhim Chand, the vigorous and manly Ram Singh and the brave Sukhdev of Jassrot, and they managed everything with zeal and enthusiasm.

There came also the determined Prithi Chand of Dadhwar, fully prepared and after having made arrangements for the government of his realm. Kripal Chand arrived with ammunitions and drove back and killed many of the enemy's forces.

Troops from the other side arrived, approaching the other side they attacked and killed many and felled him to the ground and the Raja began to gnash his teeth in great anger. On the other side, the soldiers beat their drums and blew their bugles; the Raja (looked on) from a distance and his mortification knew no bounds.

Then Bhim Chand himself raged, uttering the *mantra* of Hanuman in his mouth. He called all the heroes and myself too. All assembled and advanced in order.

All the great heroes entered into the fray in great anger and advanced, just as a flame advances over a fence of dry weeds, (burning it in its train). On the other side, the valiant Raja Dayal of Bijharwal advanced with Raja Kripal, together with all his forces.

* * *

Then Kripal raged, standing erect on the field of battle with great determination. He discharged arrows in abundance and killed many heroes.

* * *

He made a great fight and the row was heard throughout the nine quarters of the world. His weapons wrought havoc (in the enemy's ranks) and he exhibited the true virtues of a Rajput.

Then the Rajas, in great anger, fought with enthusiasm and immediately the troops of Katoch were encircled by the enemy chief.

The people of the tribes of Nanglu and Panglu advanced in order together with the forces of *Jaswar and Guler*. The great hero Dayal also joined and saved the honour of the people of Bijharwal.

Then this insignificant creature (the Guru) took up his gun and aimed at one of the Rajas. The Raja reeled and fell upon the ground, so unerringly was the shot directed, but even then the angry chief thundered.

I then threw off the gun and took up arrows in my hand. I drew out four and discharged all of them. Then again I took three others and discharged them with my left hand, (though) whether they struck anybody or not I do not know.

Then the Almighty God hastened the end of the fight and the enemy were driven out into the river.

* * *

Alaf Khan fled and all the other heroes retreated precipitately. I remained there on the bank of the river for eight days and visited the palaces of the various Rajas.

Then I took leave of the Rajas and returned home and they proceeded in the other direction to negotiate reconciliation. The two parties came to terms and therefore the story ends.

I came back here after having plundered Alsun (on my way) and, having reached Anandpur, enjoyed myself in various ways.

III. Section x

The expedition of the Khanzada

Many years passed in this way and all the thieves (apostates) were hunted out and killed. Some left the city but came back in utter destitution.

Then Dilwar Khan sent his son against me. At midnight the Khans assembled and prepared for attack.

When the party reached the bank of the river, Alam came and woke me up. There was a great row ; everybody stirred up and took up their weapons with fiery zeal.

Immediately volleys of shots were discharged. The heroes shouted in various ways and the noise was heard even from the other side of the river.

Drums beat, bugles blew, the soldiers thundered, horses danced, the guns roared and all mingled in one huge uproar.

The river wore a dreadful appearance and the soldiers suffered terribly from cold. From this side my heroes thundered and the bloody Khans fled with their weapons unused.

* * *

On their way they plundered the village of Barwa and established themselves at Bhallan. Through the favour of God, the wretched fools could not even touch me and fled.

IV. Section xi

The expedition of Hussain Khan

The Khanzada fled to his father but, being ashamed of his own cowardly conduct, he could not utter a single word. There Hussain thundered, striking his mailed fist (against something) and, with all his troops, prepared for attack.

Emboldened by the strength of his army Hussain advanced. First he plundered the houses (of the hillmen). Then he defeated the Raja of Dadhwal, brought him completely under control and made slaves of the princes.

Next, Hussain thoroughly looted the Dun, nobody being able to withstand the wretched fool. He took away food grains by force and distributed them among his own followers. The big fool thus committed a very dirty act.

Some days passed and Hussain went on with his depredations. Now the turn of meeting the Raja of Guler came.

If they had not met for two days more the enemy chief would have come (upon me, but) destiny had thrown the apple of discord amidst them.

The Raja of Guler came to meet (Hussain) and with him came Ram Singh too. When four quarters of the day had passed they arrived and met Hussain, who felt extremely flattered and became blind in his vanity.

Just as sand becomes heated by the heat of the sun but the wretched thing does not know the sun and becomes proud of itself.

Similarly, the slave (Hussain), in his vanity, did not even condescend to notice them. With the Rajas of Katoch and Kahlur at his side, he thought that he was peerless in this world.

They (Gopal and Ram Singh) offered Hussain the money they had brought with them. In this matter of giving and taking some differences arose and they returned to their own place with the money.

At this the slave became very angry and lost all sense of good or bad. He did not pause to consider the ways and means but at once ordered the beating of the drum for advance.

He threw all tactical considerations to the wind. A party of hares surrounded a lion for the purpose of overawing him. He kept them invested for 15 *pahars* (about 45 hours) and did not allow either food or drink to pass.

The soldiers became indignant at the want of food and drink and sent a messenger for the purpose of making peace. Beholding his valiant Pathan soldiers around him, the slave lost his balance and did not agree to the proposal.

"Either give me ten thousand rupees immediately or take death upon your head," (he said) : I (the Guru) had sent Sangatia there and he brought Gopal (to the enemy's camp), giving him assurance (for his safety).

The two sides could not agree and then Kripal thus thought within himself—"such an opportunity will never come again ; time, in its circle, deceives every body."

"Gopal must immediately be done away with—either he must be made a prisoner or be killed." When Gopal got scent of these intrigues, he, the king of heroes, escaped to his own men.

When Gopal was gone, Kripal raged in his fury. Himmat and Hussain (joined) and rushed into the fray.

* * *

Then raged the Rajas of Kangra and Katoch, their faces and eyes red in anger, and their minds free from all other considerations. From another quarter the Khans entered arrows in hand, and it seemed that leopards were roaming in quest of flesh.

* * *

There had been fighting a hero named Hari Singh, who received, in his body, many arrows from the enemy. In great anger he killed many of the soldiers and, after exhibiting a great fight, went to the other world.

Himmat and Kimmat advanced sword in hand. Jalal Khan joined with a mace. The determined heroes fought, intoxicated as it were. Blows followed blows and weapons crowded upon one another.

* * *

Then Hussain himself entered into the thick of the fight, wielding bows and arrows in both hands. His face and eyes red with indignation, the fierce Khan commenced a great fight.

* * *

Then all the heroes entered arrows in hand and from all the four sides arose the cry, 'kill, kill.' They wielded their weapons with great dexterity and at last Hussain Khan fell and went to the other world.

* * *

(When they saw Hussain Khan fall) all the soldiers of Katoch advanced in their rage, together with the indignant Himmat and Kimmat. Hari Singh also came forward at that time and killed many valiant horsemen, especially selecting them for the purpose.

Then the Raja of Katoch raged, carefully selecting his position in the field. He wielded his weapons with unerring aim, thundering death (upon his opponents).

(From the other side) raged the Raja of Chandel and all attacked indignantly in a body. Those who had entered into the fray were killed and those (who had remained behind) fled with their lives.

Sangat Rai died with his seven companions. On the death of Kripal in the battle Gopal rejoiced. When the leaders fell the soldiers all fled in disorder.

* * *

In this way the enemies were all killed and they began to take care of their own dead. There they found the wounded Himmat and Ram Singh spoke thus to Gopal—

"That Himmat, who has been the root of all these quarrels, has now fallen wounded in our hands." When Gopal heard this he killed Himmat and did not allow the latter to get up alive.

Victory came and the battle ended. The soldiers remembered their homes and proceeded thither. The Lord saved me (from unnecessary warfare) by decreeing the din of battle elsewhere.

V. Section xii

The expedition of Jujhar Singh

In this manner fight continued *endlessly* and the leader of the Turks was killed. Dilwar became very angry and sent another army (in this direction).

From his side came Jujhar Singh, who immediately drove out the enemy from Bhallan. On this side Gaj Singh mobilised his troops and fell upon him early in the morning.

There Jujhar Singh stood erect like a flag-post planted on the field of battle. Even the post might waver but the brave Rajput did not flinch......

The soldiers of both parties moved in detachments, the Raja of Chandel on that side and on this side, the Raja of Jaswar. They were all fired with indignation and the fight commenced.

* * *

The battle continued with great vigour on both sides. Chandan Rai was killed when Jujhar Singh alone continued the fight. He was soon surrounded from all sides.

Without any hesitation he rushed into the enemy's ranks, wielded his weapons with great dexterity, killed many of the valiant soldiers and at last himself went to the other world.

VI. Section xiii

The arrival of the Shahzada

In this manner Jujhar met his death and the soldiers returned to their homes. Then Aurangzib became very angry and sent his son to the Punjab.

At his approach all were frightened and fled to the hills. My own men also were very much frightened as they did not understand the ways of the Almighty.

Some left me and took shelter where the big hills stood. Then the son of Aurangzib became very angry and sent a subordinate in this direction, who pulled down the habitations of those who had left me.

* * *

The name of the man who plundered the apostates was Mirza Beg. The Guru himself saved all those who remained true to him.

There Aurangzib's son's anger knew no bounds and he sent four other officers. These plundered the houses of all those apostates who had escaped Mirza Beg Khan.

THE KINGDOM OF MAGAN

By

The Rev. H. HERAS, S.J.

Magan is a kingdom mentioned in a number of Sumerian documents between 2,630 B.C. to 2,400 B.C. The references to Magan in these documents are of a different nature.

1. Magan is one of the countries conquered by King Sargon of Akkad.[1]

2. Narâm-Sin the son and successor of Sargon went to Magan and defeated its king.[2]

3. Gudea, *pateśi* (lord) of Lagash imported large quantities of products from Magan for a temple he was building.[3]

4. Sundu, probably a merchant from Ur, sent a messenger named Burnügga accompanied by one Akalla, to Magan. The purpose of the expedition was most likely commercial.[4]

These relations between Sumer and Magan partly peaceful and partly violent, have aroused great interest in all Sumeriologists. Accordingly they have tried to identify this kingdom of Magan, and the number of opinions about this identification shows that the kingdom of Magan has not finally been found as yet.

Hommel identifies Magan with Ma'an in the Minaean country of Arabia or Yemen on the south Western coast of the Peninsula.[5] So think also Hitti[6] and Dowson;[7] though the latter, on another occasion puts it on the eastern coast of Arabia.[8]

Woolley suggests that Magan must be "some point on the Persian Gulf";[9] and is finally inclined to localize it "probably on the West coast of the Persian Gulf".[10] The same eastern coast of Arabia is suggested by King.[11]

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1. Smith, *Early History of Assyria*, pp. 86-87, 89.
2. King, *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, II, p. 10, 4.
3. *Cylinder A of Gudea*, Cf. King-Hall, *Egypt and Western Asia in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, p. 203.
4. Nies, *Ur Dynasty* Tablets No. 84 Cf. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 36.
5. *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I, p. 377.
6. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 53.
7. Dowson, *The Age of the Gods*, p. 116.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
9. Woolley, *The Sumerians*, p. 46.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
11. King, *History of Sumer and Akkad*, p. 242.

That Magan was in the Sinaitic peninsula was the opinion of Lenormant[12] and later of King and Hall.[13]

G. Smith says that Magan is "The most ancient cuneiform name of Egypt";[14] an opinion which was brought forward once more in more recent times by Dr. W. F. Allright.[15]

S. Smith avers that Magan is "far to the south-east of Babylonia",[16] though in the same work he acknowledged that Magan "must lie some considerable distance to the south-west".[17]

Langdon believes that Magan is to be found in Jebel Akhdar in Oman;[18] and more recently Peake identifies the place with Jabal al Ma'adan in the corner of Arabian land entering the sea and forming the entrance of the Persian Gulf.[19]

Among all these varied opinions there is none pointing out to India as the possible country of identification of Magan.[20] Nothing was known about synchronism of civilizations in Sumer and India till recent times. The discoveries of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa opened new vistas into the field of oriental research. We know now that India was well known in Sumer. Between Mohenjo Daro and Sumer "a close trade connection is proved by the fact that seals of exactly the same type as those found in India have also been found in Babylonia".[21] Hall and Haddon have already advanced the opinion that the people of Sumer probably came from India.[22] In fact the migration of the Sumerians from India seems to be implied by *Genesis*[23] and

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12. *Journal of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* VI, pp. 348 and 399.
13. King-Hall, *Egypt and Western Asia in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, p. 158.
14. Smith, "Early History of Babylonia", *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, I, p. 52.
15. Allright, "Menes and Narām-Sin", *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, VI, pp. 89-98; Allright, "Magan, Meluha and the Synchronism between Menes and Narām-Sin", *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 80-86.
16. Smith, *Early History of Assyria*, p. 99.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 49.
18. *Cambridge Ancient History*, I, p. 416.
19. Peake, "The Copper Mountain of Magan", *Antiquity*, 1928, p. 457.
20. In order to show how India has been apparently purposely ignored in this respect, it is worth relating that when a committee of inquiry was constituted "to report on the probable sources of the supply of Copper used by the Sumerians" copper specimens were obtained from Asia Minor, Persia, Cyprus, Egypt and Arabia. India was discarded *a priori*. Cf. Peake, *op. cit.*, pp. 452-457.
21. *Ibid.* Cf. Heras, "The Origin of the Round Proto-Indian Seals discovered in Sumer", *B. B. & C. I. Annual*, 1938; Gadd, "Seals of Ancient Indian Style found at Ur", *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XVIII; Langdon, "A New Factor in the Problem of Sumerian Origins", *Ibid.* 1931, pp. 593-596; Langdon, "Another Indus Valley Seal", *Ibid.*, 1932, pp. 47-48.
22. Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, pp. 173-174; Haddon, *The Races of Man and their Distribution*, p. 100.
23. XI, 3.

confirmed by Berosus.[24] A Babylonian chronicle mentions the name of Andubar as of an Indian who taught astronomy to the early inhabitants of Mesopotamia.[25] The Indian tradition about trade relations between India and Sumer is recorded in the *Bāberu Jātaka*.[26] We cannot doubt at present about the frequent intercourse existing between both countries from very ancient times.

This being firmly settled, we may now make a further inquiry: Is perhaps Magan situated in India? In order to elucidate this question we shall study it from different points of view.

I. *The Name.* The country referred to in the Sumerian documents is ordinarily called Magan, which probably was pronounced as Makkan by the Semites.[27] Both the *Babylonian Chronicle* and the *Assyrian Omens* call this kingdom Maganna.[28] On Ptolomy's chart this name is given as Μαγινσα

Now comparing these three names,

1. M A G A N
2. M A G A N -NA
3. M A G I N DA -NA

we find that the first two syllables of this name should doubtlessly be Magan consistent in Nos. 1 and 2 and only once changed into *Magin*. As regards the third syllable there is no doubt that there was a third syllable in the name, for Nos. 2 and 3 each have 3 syllables. Now in No. 3 this third syllable is *da*, while in No. 2 is *na*. But *na* happens to be the fourth and last syllable of No. 3. Hence we may reasonably state that *na* was the last syllable of the name as given in Mesopotamia (through whose geographers and scholars it came to the ears of Ptolomy). The third syllable *da* of No. 3 was very likely lost in No. 2, while reduplicating the syllable *na* instead, which syllable happened to be the last one, a phenomenon which is not infrequent in ancient linguistics. Accordingly the full name of the kingdom as known in Sumer seems to have been Magandana.[29]

Now in India, there existed a country called Magadha from very ancient times. The earliest mention of Magadha is found in the *Atharvaveda*, when fever is wished away to the Gāndhāras and Mūjavants to the west and to the Aṅgas and Magadhas to the east.[30] This passage already shows that the kingdom of Magadha was inhabited by people that appear throughout Vedic

24. Schnabel, *Berossos und die Babylonisch-Hellenistische Literatur*, pp. 253-254.
25. Cf. Rawlinson, "Notes on Captain Durand's Report upon the Islands Bahrein", *J. R. A. S.* (1880), XII, p. 208.
26. Cowell, *The Jātaka*, III, 83; Cf. Heras, "The Origin of the Round Proto-Indian Seals", *loc. cit.*
27. Unguad, in *Orient. Lit. Zeit.* 1908, col. 62, No. 4.
28. King, *Chronicles*, II, pp. 10 and 38.
29. Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, p. 215.
30. *Ath.*, V, 22. 14.

literature as of low reputation.[31] In fact later Vedic texts disclose a clear antipathy to the people of Magadha.[32] The cause of this dislike on the part of the Āryas was the fact that Magadha was not aryanised.[33] Magadha was persistently pre-Āryan long after the Āryas settled in Madhyadeśa.[34] Accordingly the Brahmans living in Magadha were supposed to be bad Brahmans[35] and looked at with great contempt.[36] In fact it was unusual for a Brahman to dwell in Magadha.[37] Even in the Upaniṣadic period there were very few Brahmans in Magadha.[38] The fact that some respectable Brahmans sometimes were living in Magadha is considered to be an exception.[39]

Synonymous of Magadha is the word Kīkaṭa.[40] The Kīkaṭas in fact were a tribe of non-Āryan people living in Magadha.[41] Hence the whole country of the Kīkaṭas is considered to be a non-Āryan country.[41a] Accordingly the Kīkaṭas are classified as low-born and hostile to the Ṛgvedic singer in one of the hymns of the third *maṇḍala*.[42]

Magadha therefore existed in the Ṛgvedic period, and existed as a kingdom, for in the same passage of the *Ṛgveda* its king is mentioned, as we shall see presently. How are we justified in supposing that the kingdom existed long before? It would be a very strange coincidence, indeed, that the kingdom would have been founded just then, at the time of the arrival of the Āryas. It was a Dravidian kingdom, the very name of which discloses its importance, which could not have been acquired in a few years. For *Makadam*, which evidently was the ancient Dravidian name of the kingdom[43] means "the powerful country". Evidently this power and consequent greatness was the natural outcome of hundreds of years of uninterrupted rule. Hence it is not improbable, nay it is practically certain, that the kingdom already existed round the middle of the 3rd millennium B.C., when the Sumerian documents mentioned the kingdom of Magan.

31. Macdonell-Keith, *Vedic Index*, II, p. 116.
32. *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, XXII, 4, 22; *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, VIII, 6, 22.
33. Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 400, n.
34. Weber, *Indische Studien*, I, pp. 52, 53; 185; 10, 99; Weber, *Indian Literature*, pp. 79, n. 1; 111; 112.
35. *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, VIII, 6.
36. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy in the Veda and Upaniṣad*, p. 496.
37. *Sānkhāyana Āraṇyaka*, VII, 13. 38. *Chāndogya Āraṇyaka* VII, 13.
39. Oldenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 400, n; Weber, *Indian Literature*, p. 112. Cf. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, pp. 195-198.
40. Macdonell-Keith, *op. cit.*, I, p. 159.
41. Zimmer, *Altindische Leben*, pp. 31, 118.
41a. Yāska, *Nirukta*, VI, 32.
42. *Ṛg.* III, 53, 14. Cf. Geldner, *Rigveda, Kommentar*, p. 58.
43. There is still now a portion of the South Arcot District which is called *Makadam*.

II. *The King*. The king defeated, perhaps killed,[44] by Nâram-Sin was called Mannu-dannu.[45] In an inscription on the base of a broken statue of Narâm-Sin found at Susa the name of the King is partly wanting. Fr. Scheil reads the name Mani [......] and has suggested that the syllable missing is *-um*, the whole name therefore being Manium.[46] But Thureau-Dangin says that in the *lacuna* following the first part of the name, there are traces of the sign *dan*. Therefore the name must be the same as given in the *Babylonian Chronicle*, Mannu-dannu.[47]

The historian of Sumer draws the attention of their readers to the adjective *dannu*, meaning "powerful", for this king is the only one amongst those defeated by Narâm-Sin, who receives this honorific title. From this fact they deduce the great power this king enjoyed before his being defeated by the Akkadian King.[48]

Now Dr. Allright has identified this king Mannu-dannu with the first dynastic king of Egypt, the famous Menes.[49] His opinion nevertheless has not been accepted by any orientalist.[50]

As a matter of fact if we examine this name carefully we shall easily detect a great resemblance with Dravidian names. *Maṉ* may mean "earth" and also "greatness", "superiority", "excellence". These latter meanings perfectly agree with the dignity of the king. As to the title *dannu*, meaning "powerful" in Sumerian, it is derived from the Dravidian word *tan* or *dan* that means "to give," "to be generous," etc. The name Tanan or Danan "the generous man", "the gift giver" is an ordinary Tamil name in the present and was read phonetically in the Indus Valley inscriptions[51] by the present writer. The Sumerian meaning is a derivative meaning, for a person who gives gifts and is generous and is supposed to be powerful.[52]

Now considering this meaning that the Sumerians gave this word, it is wonderful how it fits most perfectly to a king of Magadha. The Dravidian meaning of this name is "the powerful country"; and the Sumerian meaning of the title of the king of Magadha is the same "powerful". Naturally the king of the "powerful country" was also "powerful". That perhaps

44. According to the Susa inscription: Scheil, *Textes Elamites-Sémitiques*, III, p. 5.
45. King, *Chronicles*, II, p. 10. 46. Scheil, *op. et loc. cit.*
47. King, *A History of Sumer and Akkad*, p. 241, note 2.
48. Allright, "Menes and Narâm-Sin," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, VI, p. 89.
49. *Ibid.*, pp. 89-98.
50. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, VI, pp. 295-296.
51. Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo Daro*, II, pl. LXXXIX, No. 363.
52. The ending -u of both the name and the title of this king also smacks of Dravidian phonetics.

was the reason why this title was given to this king in the Sumerian documents, and not to the other kings subdued by Narâm-Sin.

Now though we do not know of any king of Magadha who could be identified with this early king defeated by the Akkadian ruler, we know of one belonging to a period somewhat later, whom we wish to mention here. In the Ṛgvedic period the Kīkaṭas of Magadha are supposed to be under the leadership of Pramaganda. Pramaganda is said to be the owner of much wealth.[53] He is supposed to be the king of the Kīkaṭas of Magadha.[54] He evidently is a non-Āryan.[55] His real name seems to have been *Periyamakandan*, which means "the great powerful gift" a name which is of special interest while comparing it with that of Manu-dannu, because both bear a suffix title implying the connotation of generosity.

III. *Other neighbouring Kings*. An ancient Babylonian map of the world to illustrate the campaigns of Sargon of Akkad, has been found and published in modern times.[56] The explanation of this map is not unfortunately very elucidating on account of its fragmentary condition. Nevertheless we find there a description of the "circular river" *i.e.* the sea, with the mention of Utnapishtim, who was according to ancient tradition living in an island of the southern sea. Then Sargon is mentioned, and finally Nur-Dagan, "the king of a country whose name is lost," who appears to be living in the same mythical neighbourhood as Utnapishtim.[57] This shows that Nur-Dagan is living in a country bordering on the southern seas; and since we know that one of the countries conquered by Sargon was Magan and that this map was supposed to illustrate his conquests, we may rightly assume that Nur-Dagan was either a king of Magan, or a king of a neighbouring country.[58] Now this name Nūr-Dagan happens to be a purely Dravidian name. Nūr-Takaṉ would mean "a hundred serpents", a significance which is very suggestive considering the numerous *nāga* tribes existing in India, and the *nāga* origin of two later dynasties that rule in Magadha.

Another king mentioned in connection with Narâm-Sin's campaign against Magan is named Sidur. He is one of the nine vassal princes or chiefs who help Narâm-Sin in the conquest of Magan.[59] Now Sidur is a Dravidian name that means "the city of Sid", Sid being the name of the river Indus in the proto-Indian times.[60] Hence the whole country round the river was

53. *Ṛg.*, III, 53, 14. 54. Macdonell-Keith, *op. cit.*, II.
55. *Ibid.* 56. Thomson, *Cuneiform Texts*, XXII, pl. 48.
57. Smith, *History of Sumer and Akkad*, p. 85.
58. The historicity of this king has been doubted, but there is no serious objection against the veracity of the documents that refer to him. Cf. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-88.
59. King-Hall, *Egypt and Western Asia in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, p. 158.
60. Cf. Gnana Prakasar, "An examination of the words 'Hindu' and 'Organ', *The Hindu Organ* (Jafna, Ceylon), XLIX, No. 3, p. 3.

also called Sid from the name of the river. King Sidur was most likely the king of Sidur through whose country Narâm-Sin had to cross before entering the kingdom of Magan. This explanation seems quite natural, since the country of Sid, afterwards named Sind, was well-known in Sumer and in Babylon not long after. Cotton in this country was known as Sindhu, because they knew it came from the country of that name.[61] The king of Sidur had apparently acknowledged the sovereignty of Narâm-Sin, either willingly or after his being defeated, and eventually helped his overlord against his neighbour of Magan.

IV. *A conquest prior to the conquest of Magan.* Before the conquest of Magan by Narâm-Sin is narrated in the *Babylonian Chronicle*, there is the account of the conquest of Apirak, which deserves careful attention. The Chronicle words are as follows :—

"Narâm-Sin, the son of Sargon, [marched] against the city of Apirak, and he constructed mines [against it] ; and Rish-Ad[ad], the king of Apirak, and the governor of Apirak his hand sub[dued]".[62] Apparently Rish-Adad or Rish-Adan was an ally of the king of Magan.[63] If they were allies, their kingdom could not be far from each other. Rawlinson identified Apirak, after removing the augment of locality *-ak*, as is found in many Akkadian names,[64] with the Biblical Ophir.[65] The identification of the Biblical Ophir with the present Sopara on the western coast of India is already of old standing. Yet in modern times Biblical scholars are inclined to place Ophir in Arabia, without knowing that the Phoenicians who were the seafarers employed by Solomon for his maritime expeditions, were originally hailing from India. They naturally would come to India, whose products they knew very well, to supply Solomon with the riches he was seeking for building a worthy temple to God.

Moreover in order to carry out these expeditions Solomon built a new fleet, on the shore of the Red Sea, north-west of Arabia,[66] whence the merchandise was taken to Jerusalem undoubtedly on camel's back. If the products looked for by Solomon were from Arabia he would not have been in need of building up this new fleet nor engaging Phœnician navigators[67] to such a great expense. By land these products could have been taken to Jerusalem, as they were finally taken from Asiongaber, Solomon's fleet harbour. In fact from the harbour of south-west Arabia called Eudaemon

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61. Marshall, *Mohenjo Daro*, I, p. 33.
62. King, *Chronicles*, II, pp. 9-10.
63. Rawlinson, "Notes on Capt. Durand's Report", *J. R. A. S.*, XII, p. 214.
64. For instance Asnunak, Surippak, Susinak.
65. Rawlinson, *op. et loc. cit.*; Prideaux, "The Sepulchral Tamuli of Bahrain", *A. S. A. I. Report*, 1908-09, p. 60.
66. III *Reg.* IX, 26 ; I *Paral.*, VIII, 17.
67. III *Reg.* IX, 27 ; II *Paral.*, VIII, 18.

(Aden) there was a caravan route passing through the land of the Edomites[68] where Asiongaber was situated. Now the products of India were all taken to Eudaemon by sea, if we are to believe the *Periplus*.[69] Hence the fleet built by Solomon was not needed at all if the goods required by him were finally coming from the Arabian peninsula. This shows that the fleet was going much further, in fact to such shores from which land communication with Jerusalem could not be easily established.

As to the products of Ophir they are all Indian and the name given them in the Hebrew original of the Old Testament is Indian too :—

1. Gold ;[70] gold was found in India from very ancient times. The mines of gold of Mysore and Hyderabad were exploited in very early times. Gold jewels were found in Mohenjo Daro.[71] The *Periplus* speaks of gold mines in about Bengal.[72]

2. Thyine trees.[73] What sort of trees were meant by this name, it is difficult to say. Many authors understand that sandalwood or another sort of precious wood hailing from India was meant.[74]

3. Precious Stones.[75] In India they were numerous and were exported from very ancient times. The exportation of precious stones from India is spoken of in the *Periplus*.[76] In particular the following precious stones are mentioned as articles of exports : Agate,[77] carbuncle,[78] carnelian,[79] beryl, diamonds, ruby, spinel,[80] coral,[81] lapislazuli,[82] sapphires,[83] topaz.[84]

4. Ivory.[85] It is well-known that India has always been one of the ivory exporting countries.

5. Monkeys.[86] The word used in the Hebrew original is *kophy*, which some suppose is derived from the Egyptian *gofe*.[87] The ancient Dravidian word meaning monkey is *kapi*, from which the Egyptian word also proceeds.[88]

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68. Kammerer, *Pétra et la Nabatène*, pp. 46-50.
69. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, p. 32.
70. III Reg. IX, 28 ; II, *Paral* VIII, 18.
71. Marshall, *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization*, II, pp. 519, 521-523.
72. Schoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 48, 160, 258.
73. III *Reg.*, X, 11, II, *Paral.*, IX, 10.
74. Hagen, *Lexicon Biblicum*, III, cols. 1188-1189. Cf. Montgomery, *Arabia and the Bible*, p. 178 and note 34.
75. III *Reg.*, X, 11 ; II *Paral.*, IX, 10.
76. Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 37.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 193.
78. Watt, *op. cit.*, 716.
79. *Ibid.*, pp. 561, 716 ; Schoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 190, 193.
80. Schoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 222-224.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 168.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 170.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 226.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 167.
85. III, *Reg.*, X, 22.
86. *Ibid.*, II, *Paral.* IX, 21.
87. Hagen, *op. cit.*, III, col. 1011.
88. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

6. Peacocks.[89] The word used in Hebrew is *tukhim*, which is evidently derived from the Dravidian *tokei* which is still used in Malayalam.

The products mentioned in the Bible as coming from Ophir are so clearly Indian that even Schoff, who does not recognize Ophir as an Indian harbour, says about them : "The Indian names for the products mentioned proved clearly enough that it was a trading centre dealing with India, even if the land itself was not Indian."[90]

Now the Indian Ophir cannot be but the present Sopārā, on the northern Konkan coast. Its name has had the following varieties :

1. Shurpāraka. In Sanskrit literature.
2. Suppāraka. In Buddhist literature.
3. Hopara } Local pronunciation of the name of the town.[91]
4. Opara }

We see therefore that the original initial S has the tendency to be eliminated as it was done by the writers of the Bible ; while it was still kept by Josephus as Sophira[92] and in the name meaning India in the Coptic and Egyptian languages which is also *Sophir*.[93] Moreover Josephus tells us that Sophira was a "regio Indiae," a region of India. In fact Sopāra was one of the most important places of the Western coast of India from very ancient times. In the *Mahābhārata* it is mentioned as a very holy place where the Pāṇḍavas rested on their way from Gōkarṇa (S. Kanara) to Prabhās.[94] It is being referred to as a very large city,[95] where, according to Buddhist traditions, Gautama was born in one of his former births.[96] It was the capital of the Konkan for a very long time.[97]

Against the identification of Ophir with Sopārā, it may be said that the country where Sopārā is, is all round an agricultural track, wherefrom these products of industry and commerce can hardly be expected. But it is also a fact that having in this north-western coast of India excellent harbours, products from other parts of India were brought there to be exported to foreign countries. The author of the *Periplus* says that silk cloth, raw silk and other goods were brought to Broach all the way from Bengal.[98] The products exported from Broach were numerous and varied,[99] amongst them agate and carnelian.[100] The ships from Broach were going up to Egypt.[101] There is therefore no objection in having export ships sailing from Sopāra.

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89. III, *Reg.*, X, 22 ; II *Paral.*, IX, 21.
90. Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 175. 91. *Thana District Gazetteer*, p. 317.
92. Flava Josephi, *Antiquitatum Judaicarum*, 1. VIII, c. 6, No. 4.
93. Champolion, *L'Egypte*, I, p. 98 ; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, I, p. 134.
94. *Mahābhārata*, Vana Parva, CXVIII.
95. *Harivaṁśa*, XXXIX, v. 28 ; XL, v. 39.
96. Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 13 (2nd edition).
97. *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXIII, p. 87 98. Schroff, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
99. *Ibid.*, p. 27. 100. *Ibid.*, p. 42. 101. *Ibid.*

This Sopara, Suppāraka or Opara seems to be the city named as Apirak in the *Babylonian Chronicle*. Narâm-Sin was in need of this city in order to get possession of its harbour where the products of the whole of India used to be taken for exportation.

The conquest of Apirak = Supparaka as a preliminary step to conquer Magan also points to India as a probable country where to locate this kingdom.

V. *Geographical Situation.* Among the lands conquered by Sargon there are some countries mentioned as being "beyond the upper sea," and others being "beyond the lower sea" Ana .... and Kaptara (Crete) are the former ; Dilmun and Magan are the latter.[102] By the upper sea the Mediterranean is evidently meant. The lower sea seems to be the Persian Gulf. Magan therefore should be found beyond the Persian Gulf.

Now beyond the "lower sea" Sargon is said to have reached "the country of the black heads," which becomes the theatre of his military exploits.[103] Who were these "black heads"? Sargon himself calls his subjects *niši salmat kakkadi*, "the black-headed people."[104] The Sumerians therefore were "black heads." Therefore while speaking of "the country of the black heads," Sargon seems to mean "the country where the black heads hail from," "the cradle of the black heads." We have already seen that the Sumerian's country of origin is India. Hence the exploits of Sargon seem to have taken place in India.

Moreover Magan, according to the Sumerian records, appears to be a mountainous country. An inscription on the broken statue of Narmân-Sin found at Susa informs us that the stone out of which that statue was carved out was brought from "the mountains of Magan."[105] This information perfectly agrees with the geographical condition of Magan. The Himalayas rise on its northern boundaries.

As regards the distance from Sumer to Magadha, two small details found in the Sumerian documents give us some useful information. The Lagash *pateši*, Gudea, had brought *na-kalag*, "a stone" from Magan, the expedition taking one full year.[106] Evidently, therefore, the expedition went beyond the Persian Gulf. Magan was evidently accessible from the Indian Ocean.[107] But what side of it, on the Indian shores to the east or on the African coast to the west?

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102. Smith, *Early History of Assyria*, p. 89.
103. Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, p. 214.
104. Kortleitner, *De Sumerüs eorumque cum vetere testamento rationibus*, p. 16.
105. King, *A History of Sumer and Akkad*, p. 242.
106. Cylinder A, 23, 1.
107. Allright, "Magan, Meluka, Menes and Narâm-Sin," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, VII, p. 82.

The messenger sent from Ur to Magan by the merchant Sunda had been furnished with food for his journey.[108] The tablet in which the sums for his food are recorded also speaks of a royal paymaster, accompanied by a guard with his spear and two assistants going to the city of Susa, the capital of Elam, which at this time was in subjection to the Kings of Ur. This seems to show that the merchant Sunda took the opportunity of the expedition of a royal paymaster to Susa to send his own messenger with him up to this capital. If Magan is placed in Arabia, as Nies does, the mention of this royal paymaster and his attendants in this tablet seems inexplicable.

This fact is of great importance. First, because it shows that Magan could be reached on foot all the way from Ur. Second it discloses likewise that Magan being towards the East beyond the Persian Gulf, must be somewhere in the Indian peninsula.

As regards the time employed by the messenger to reach Magan, Nies thinks that it was a month. The whole question depends on the significance of the word Magan. If the word meant the capital of the kingdom, the future Rājagṛha, Bunügga would have employed somewhat more than a month. But if Magan meant only India where Magan was situated, it could be more or less reached within that period of time.

The fact that the ships going to Magan took one full year to reach its shores, inclines me to believe that the ships turning round Cape Comorin went to the eastern coast of India on the Bay of Bengal wherefrom the kingdom of Magadha was much nearer. Trade from the eastern coast of India to the Arabian sea was known in ancient times. *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* speaks of maritime commerce carried on between Sopatma, a port on the eastern coast of India, and Egypt.[109]

VI. *The Ships of Magan.* The kingdom of Magadha being at a certain distance from Sumer, probably the whole of India where Magadha was situated received the denomination of Magan. The ships of Magan are very often mentioned in the Sumerian documents.[110] In fact Magan is called "the land of ships" in Sumero-Babylonian inscriptions.[111] The people of Magan were a seafaring nation renowned for their skill as shipwrights.[112] They were in fact the merchants that established a link between their country and Sumer.[113] A period of anarchy had preceded the reign of Ur-Nammu. This king restored peace and prosperity throughout his kingdom. A dedicatory inscription of the temple of Nannar in Ur by Ur-Nammu commemo-

108. Nies, *op. cit.*, No. 84.
109. Schoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-47.
110. Allright, "Menes and Narâm-Sin," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* VI, pp. 90-91.
111. Dowson, *The Age of the Gods*, p. 78.
112. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I, p. 379.
113. Dowson, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-79.

rates the renewal of commerce with Magan by saying that "the ships of Magan he restored to its hand."[114] They were therefore the ships of Magan that were trading with Sumer, not vice versa.

This sea trade also points to India, the country of the Mīnas, of the Tirayars and of the Paṇis, whose maritime achievements were the only ones in ancient times. There was no nation in Arabia, nor in the African coast who ever carried out maritime trade as the Proto-Indian tribes of India. In fact the Akkadian-Dravidian sea trade is considered as a fact by Schoff.[115]

VII. *Magan Products.* The commerce between Magan and Sumer was of importation rather than of exportation. A religious text clearly says: "The products of foreign lands may he bring to Nippur.[116]

The products of Magan referred to in the Sumerian documents are the following :—

(*a*) *Alabaster.* A vase of alabaster was carried away from Magan by king Narâm-Sin as part of the war booty.[117]

Alabaster is found in several parts of India.[118] "Alabaster, where met with, is largely utilized in the manufacture of ornaments and toys. The dark-green form procured from Garhwal is regularly made into elegant cups and saucers and large bowls that are much admired by the richer native gentlemen of Northern India."[119] The Periplus speaks of *alabaster* as being exported from the Minaen country[120] in south Arabia. It is well known that many of the products exported from the Minaean harbours had originally come from India.[121]

(*b*) *Copper.* Much copper was imported to Sumer from Magan.[122] Magan is called "the land of copper" and "the mountain of copper."[123] The latter expression was known to the author of the *Periplus*, who translated it as *oreichalkos* (mountain-copper).[124]

In India copper is found in Darjeeling, Garhwal and several parts of the outer Himālayas, "where a killas-like rock persists along the whole range, and is known to be copper-bearing in Kulu, Garhwal, Nepal, Sikkim

114. Woolley, *The Sumerians*, p. 133.
115. Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 173.
116. Langdon, *Sumerian Liturgical Texts*, No. 1, obv. col. 2.
117. Thureau-Dangin, *Altsumerische und Akkadische Konigsinschriften*, p. 164; Allright, "Magan, Melūha," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, VII, p. 83.
118. Watt, *The Commercial Products of India, being an abridgement of "The Dictionary of Economic Products of India,"* pp. 716-718.
119. *Ibid.*, p. 718.
120. Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
121. *Ibid.*, p. 115.
122. Smith, *Early History of Assyria*, p. 49.
123. Allright, "Magan, Melūha," *op. cit.*, p. 31.
124. Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

and Bhutan."[125] This is very likely the "mountain of copper" of the Sumerian records.

Copper was already used for making arms, vessels and images by the Proto-Indians. Numerous objects of copper have been found in Mohenjo Daro[126] and Harappa.[127] The exportation of copper from India is also mentioned in very early times.[128]

(*c*) *Diorite.* This very hard black stone was brought from Magan,[129] for fashioning statues.[130]

Diorite is also found in India and has been used for making statues specially for temple worship, from very old times. Diorite statues are found in India very far from diorite quarries. Therefore the shifting of diorite blocks is acknowledged in the history of Indian art.[131]

(*d*) *Goats.* They were also brought to Sumer, though there is no specification of the kind of goats imported.[132]

In India there have been goats of different breeds from very ancient times,[133] among them the one called goat-antelope.[134]

(*e*) *Pigs.*[135] Pigskin is also mentioned as an article of Indian exportation.[136]

(*f*) *Rhinoceros.* It is mentioned in the Sumerian documents with the word *makkanû.*[137]

The existence of the rhinoceros in north-eastern India, is well known. It is used for hornwork in industry.[138]

(*g*) *Wood of different kinds.* Gudea avers that he brought wood of all kinds from Magan.[139] One of these kinds of wood is mentioned in Sumerian documents as *Mus Magana,* "the tree of Magan."[140] It has been identified with the *Acacia nilotica* by the partisans of the Egyptian identifica-

125. Watt, *op. cit.*, p. 401.
126. Marshall, *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization,* I, p. 30; II, pp. 481-488.
127. Watts, *Excavations at Harappa,* I, pp. 85, 99, etc.
128. Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 151.
129. King, *Babylonian Chronicle,* I, p. 52.
130. King, *A History of Sumer and Akkad,* pp. 242, 258, 262; *Cambridge Ancient History,* I, p. 415.
131. Watt, *A Dictionary of the Economic Products of India,* VI, pl. IV, p. 73.
132. Allright, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-83.
133. Watt, *op. cit.*, pp. 644, 743.
134. Watt, *op. cit.*, p. 844.
135. Allright, "Menes and Narâm-Sin," *op. cit.*, p. 90.
136. Watt, *op. cit.*, pp. 702, 752.
137. Allright, *op. et loc. cit.*
138. Watt, *op. cit.*, p. 644.
139. Inscription on Gudea's colossal statue erected in E-ninnu: King, *op. cit.*, p. 262.
140. Allright, "Magan, Meluha" *op. cit.* p. 82.

tion of Magan.[141] Others identify it with the *Acacia seyal.* Yet there seems to be a general consent as regards the genus. *Mus Magan* seems to be an *acacia.* No country may boast of a tree so widely spread as India may boast of the *Acacia arabiga,* called in northern India *babul* (Sanskrit, *vavvula*) and in south India *karuvel.*[142] The karuvel, called then *kolvel* is already mentioned as used for building houses, in the Mohenjo Daro inscriptions.[143]

No other country besides India could offer the rulers of Sumer the extraordinary and rich variety of trees well known to all industrialists: sandalwood,[144] teak,[145] blackwood,[146] elbow,[147] to mention a few.

(*h*) *Reeds.* "The reed of Magan" seems to have been famous, as is referred to in this way in the Sumerian documents.[148] In India there are different kinds of reeds used for making mats or thatching huts;[149] canes or bamboos for basket making.[150] The reed nevertheless brought from Magan as "reed of Magan" was the reed called *sacchari,* from which honey-like sugar is extracted, which was exported from Broach to Egypt already in ancient times.[151] The sugarcane indeed could be very rightly denominated "reed of Magan"; it was a precious agricultural product of great value in countries where it did not grow. In fact, this reed seems to have also been very famous in China, being named after the name Kāśi (the ancient Benares), from which kingdom very likely it was being exported there across the mountains. Thus it happens that later on the word Kāśi is being translated in Chinese Buddhist work as Ti-mao, which means "reed-sprouts."[152]

Having reached the end of our study we may now state that the kingdom of Magan with which the old Akkadian and Sumerian kings had been in contact on different occasions, was most likely India in general, and the kingdom of Magadha in particular. Thus after the conquest of Magan, Narâm-Sin could rightly boast of the title "king of the four quarters of the world."[153]

141. *Ibid.*
142. Watt, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
143. Heras, "La Escritura Proto-Indica y su Desciframiento," *Ampurias,* I, p. 76; Cf. above, p.
144. Watt, *op. cit,* p. 152.
145. *Ibid.*
146. *Ibid.*
147. *Ibid.*, p. 153.
148. Allright, "Menes and Narâm-Sin," *op. cit.*, p. 90.
149. Watt, *op. cit.*, p. 777.
150. *Ibid.*, pp. 98-112; 114.
151. Schoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 27. Cfr. p. 90.
152. Law, *Ancient Indian Tribes,* p. 2. Cf. Watters, Yuan Chwang, II, pp. 58-59.
153. King, *A History of Sumer and Akkad,* p. 242.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF ŚUDDHĀDVAITA

By

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The present paper proposes to be an exposition of the philosophy of Vallabhācāryya and his school, known as the Philosophy of Śuddhādvaita. The Śuddhādvaita philosophy is of interest not merely as an *advaita* interpretation of Vedānta opposed to Śaṅkarite *māyāvāda* and its world-denial, but also as the philosophy of one of the principal Vaiṣṇavika Schools distinct from Viśiṣṭādvaita, Dvaitādvaita as well as Acintyabhedābheda.

The real founder of the School of Vallabhācāryya is supposed to be an ancient *ācārya*, called Viṣṇusvāmī. According to tradition, Viṣṇusvāmī was the son of a Dravidian king who was a vassal of the emperor of Delhi. The exact time of Viṣṇusvāmī is difficult to determine, but if Nāvāji's *Bhaktamālā* can be relied on, Sādhu Jñānadeva belonged to his sect and was an immediate successor to him. If this Jñānadeva be the identical person who translated the *Śrīmadbhagavadgītā* in Mahārāṣṭrī language, Viṣṇusvāmī must be placed somewhere near 1250 A.D., i.e., about forty years before Jñānadeva who flourished in 1290 A.D. Grierson's contention[1] that Vallabha's father, Lakṣaṇa, was a disciple of Viṣṇusvāmī and Viṣṇusvāmī must have flourished in the 14th century A.D. is refuted by the fact that the way in which Mādhavācāryya mentions in his *Sarvadarśana Saṅgraha* the sect founded by Viṣṇusvāmī proves beyond doubt that Viṣṇusvāmī must have flourished long before Mādhavācāryya himself.

The followers of Viṣṇusvāmī were believed to be worshippers of Viṣṇu in the Incarnation of Nṛsimha or the Lion-man. For a long time the sect remained all but extinct and it was Vallabhācāryya who resurrected it and gave it a fresh lease of life. Vallabhācāryya was a contemporary of Śrīcaitanya.

The *aṇubhāṣya* by Vallabhācāryya on the *Brahmasūtras* is the principal authoritative philosophical treatise of the Śuddhādvaita School. Vallabha was a prolific writer and his writings include the *Subhodinī ṭīkā* on the *Śrīmadbhāgavata*, the *Tattvārthadīpa* or *Tattvadīpanibandha*, the *Puṣṭipravāhamaryādābheda*, the *Kṛṣṇapremāmṛta*, the *Siddhāntarahasya*, etc. all which are read, discussed and cherished with reverence by the followers of the school. Vallaba's son, Viṭhṭhalanātha Dīkṣita or Viṭhṭhaleśvara Dīkṣita, was also the author of several works, the principal amongst them being the *Vidvanamaṇḍana* (referred to in Vallabha's *aṇubhāṣya* 4-4 sūtra

1. *Encyclopaedia of Religion & Ethics*, Vol. II.

14), the *Premāmṛtaṭīkā*, the *Puṣṭipravāhamaryyādābheda-ṭīkā*, the *Bhaktihaṃsa*, *Vallabhāṣṭaka*, etc. Viṭhṭhalanātha's fifth son, Raghunātha wrote a commentary on the *Bhaktihaṃsa* called *Bhaktitaraṅgiṇī* and also another *ṭīkā* on *Vallabhāṣṭaka*. Mention may also be made here of the *Śuddhādvaitamārtaṇḍa*—an important work of the school by Śrī Giridharajee Mahārāja, a commentary thereon called *Śuddhādvaitamārtaṇḍaprakāśa* by Śrī Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa and the *Prameyaratnārṇava* by Bālakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa. The *Vādakathā* by Kalyāṇa Raya, a disciple of Viṭhṭhala and the *Bhaktimārtaṇḍa* by Gopeśvaraji Mahārāja also deserve mention amongst the works of the school. Another disciple of Viṭhṭhalanātha called Pitāmbara, was the author of the *Āvaraṇabhaṅga* (which was a ṭīkā on Vallabha's *Tattvadīpanibandhaprakāśa*), the *Puṣṭipravāhamaryyādāvivaraṇa*, etc. Puruṣottama, the son of Pitāmbara, wrote the ṭīkā on the *aṇubhāṣya* called *Prakāśa* as also the *Vidvanmaṇḍanaṭīkā*, the *Bhaktihaṃsaviveka*, the *Bhaktitaraṅgiṇīṭīkāṭīrtha*, the *Vallabhāṣṭakavivṛtiprakāśa*, etc. For an acquaintance with the philosophy of the school, the perusal of the "*Śuddhādvaitamārtaṇḍa*", the "*Prameyaratnārṇava*", Hari Raya's *Brahmavāda*, Gopāl Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa's *Brahmavādaratnārṇava*", Hari Raya's...

The literature of the Vallabhite School will not compare with that of the Rāmānujists or the Mādhva School either in erudition or depth. There is no Vallabhite writer who will compare with Vedantadeśika or Vyāsarājasvāmī either in learning or subtlety of thinking and philosophical analysis.

Vallabhācāryya was the son of a Telugu Brahmin called Lakṣaṇa Bhaṭṭa. Lakṣaṇa Bhaṭṭa started on a pilgrimage to Kāśī with his wife. On the way, his wife gave birth to a son. It was this son of his who subsequently became famous as Vallabhācāryya. Vallabha's time of appearance was 1439 A.D. (1535 Vikramābda). Vallabha spent some time at Mathurā and Bṛndāban. It is said that at that time Gopālakṛṣṇa under the name of Devadamana or Śrīnātha made his appearance to him over the hill called Govardhana. It is also said that at that time the Lord also revealed himself to him in a dream and directed him to build a temple for himself and spread the cult of Puṣṭibhakti.

According to Vallabha, the finite self (*Jīva*) is monadic (*aṇu*), is a fraction (*aṃśa*) of Brahma and is non-different (*abhinna*) from Brahma. Like sparks from a big fire do monadic *Jīvas* shoot forth or emanate from the infinite, inexhaustible and immutable Brahman which is their material cause. *Jīvas* are thus of the essence of intelligence and felicity like their material cause, Brahman, but with the emanation of the *Jīvas* from Brahman, the inherent property of *Śuddhasattva* in Brahman becomes divided (*aṃśabhūta*) and attached in infinitesimal quantities to the monadic *Jīvas*, and, becoming predominant at the will of the Lord, causes the *tirodhāna* or suspension of the element of joy or felicity in the *Jīvas*. Hence *Jīva*, crea-

ture, or finite being is that monadic fraction of Brahman in which intelligence is preponderant while joy or felicity is in abeyance or arrest. (*Tadā nirupādhiko - aṇurūpo-akṣarāṃśaścitpradhānastirohitānando jīvaśabdavācya bhavati.*—"*Prameyaratnārṇava*", p. 7. Chowkhambā Sam. Ser.). In other words, *Jīva* is the name of an infinitesimal fraction of Brahman with intelligence only as its manifest property. From the time of creation, the element of joy or felicity is in abeyance in the *Jīva*, while *aiśvarayya*, i.e. the lordly powers of omniscience, omnipotence, etc. as also other excellences that belong to it as fractions of the divine powers and excellences become *tirohita* or suspended subsequently (Ibid., p. 7). Though the *Jīva* is monadic, infinitesimal (*aṇu*), yet, inspired and filled by the Lord, it manifests the qualities of infinitude and all-pervasiveness that belong to the Lord himself. But this does not establish the intrinsic infinitude or pervasiveness of the *Jīva*, for just as the heat generated in an iron-bar through contact with fire is not intrinsic to the iron-bar itself so also the pervasiveness that manifests itself in the Lord-inspired fractional intelligence called *Jīva* is not intrinsic to the *Jīva* but is due to its contact with the element of joy or felicity in the Lord.

Though Vallabhites speak of the creation of *Jīvas*, yet they do not consider them to be *anitya* or beginning in time. Though *Jīvas* are *nitya* and therefore without beginning, yet their creation (*sṛṣṭi*) is conceivable in the sense of emanation (*niḥsṛti*) which means their *udgama, vyuccaraṇa* or shooting up (like sparks) and not their beginning to be (*utpatti*). The all-pervasiveness of Brahman does not preclude effluxes or emanations from the Lord (like sparks from a blazing fire). In fact, Brahman is not merely the cause but also the effect, not merely the *upādāna*, primordial matter or stuff but also the *upādeya* or final product, the *vyāpāra* or causal operation and the *adhikaraṇa* or seat of the final effect.

Jīvas are either *śuddha*, pure, or *saṃsārī*, unfree, or *mukta*, liberated. The state of the fractional, monadic intelligence immediately after its efflux from Brahman, with the element of joy or felicity in complete suspension, is *śuddhajīvabhāva* or *pure* creaturehood of the finite being. It is a state of unalloyed (*śuddha*) intelligence. After this state, when the *Jīva* contacts *avidyā* and comes under its influence, the condition of pure creaturehood is superseded by one of bondage and entanglement in *saṃsāra* and the vicissitudes of mundane life. At this stage, at the will of the Lord, the lordly powers (*aiśvaryya*) and other excellences, which continue in the *Jīva* in the *śuddha* state in fractional forms, become also suspended. And so the *Jīvas* become *baddha*, unfree and limited by an alien world (*parādhina*). Amongst these unfree *Jīvas*, some are godly or angelic in nature, while others are endowed with a demoniac or wicked nature. Angelic nature (*daivatva*) consists in subtile *vāsanās* or predispositions towards a higher spiritual life which qualify their possessors for *mukti* or liberation. The creatures whom the Lord desires to be his associates in his dramatic disports, he endows

with these higher spiritual aspirations so as to enable them to qualify for liberation. In other words, the *Jīvas* whom the Lord chooses as his elect or consorts are godly *Jīvas* while the *Jīvas* who are espoused or won by *māyā* are the demoniac *Jīvas*. The Lord and the godly *Jīvas* never forsake one another and the same is true of *māyā* and the demoniac natures elected by *māyā*. And in both cases the ultimate cause is the will of the Lord which divides *Jīvas* into good and evil spirits for the enactment of the world-drama. The demoniac natures cannot become one with the Lord, for in them on account of the *moha* or confusion created by *māyā*, the two lordly powers of *Jñāna* or enlightenment and *Bhakti* or devotion become inoperative and so at-one-ment or *sāyuyya* with the Lord becomes impossible for these *māyā*-dominated demoniac beings. In fact, though *māyā* works both in demoniac and godly beings, in the former it is *māyā* that dominates and eclipses the *Jīva's* real nature while in the latter it never succeeds in getting the upper hand and completely obliterating the *Jīvas* self-possession and self-command, i.e., in the one case it is *māyā* that is the ruling principle, in the other case the ruling principle is the *Jīva* himself. And so in demoniac natures dominated by *māyā* at-one-ment with the Lord in the sense of *sāyuyya* or entering the Lord's person is a forlorn hope. In the *Brahmavādavivaraṇa* (pp. 30-31) the prospect of entering the Lord's Person for a demoniac nature is compared to that of the semen of the male, once discharged into a female womb, re-entering the male body again.

It is no doubt true that *Prakṛti* as the *Śakti* of Brahman is non-different from Brahman, *Śakti* being *abhinna* or non-different from the *Śaktimat*. Therefore *Prakṛti* as part and parcel of Brahman must also consist of the felicity or joy which is the essence of Brahman. But this in no way improves matters for the demoniac natures, for they have not the remotest experience of the felicity that is Brahman's essence for the reason that the Lord does not reveal his joyous nature before the demoniac *Jīvas*. *Daivī māyā* and *āsurī māyā* differ from each other even though the work of *māyā* is confusion or *moha* in each case, for *daivī māyā* subserves the end of liberation in the angelic natures while *āsurī māyā* works only towards the entanglement of the ungodly beings in the toils of mundane life. When *Prakṛti* becomes dissolved in the Lord and with it the demoniac beings are also reabsorbed in the Lord, even then, despite indirect unity with the Lord through *Prakṛti*, these demoniac beings have no experience of the felicity in the Lord because of the presence of barriers. These barriers demarcate dissolution from liberation. In liberation there is experience by the *Jīva* of the inherent felicity in the Lord as part and parcel of the Lord Himself, but dissolution is mere resting in the Lord and the consciousness of this in oneself without any experience of the Lord's essential joy or felicity. The experience of this inherent divine felicity is attainable through devotion only (*Bhaktimātrasādhya*) and such devotion is of the nature of affectionate

love (*snehar̄upā*). The experience of this joy arises in the liberated state. Then the devotee rests in the heart of the Lord as Lakṣmī or His Beloved Consort. In *pralaya* or dissolution there is no experience of positive felicity, there being then only negative cessation from pain as in sleep or drowsiness. Though all *Jīvas* are intrinsically partial elements (*svāṃśa*) of the Divine Personality, yet the division into godly and ungodly beings is there, at the Lord's will, for His dramatic disport.[2] When the *Jīvas* heart is inspired by higher spiritual aspirations, it does so at the will of the Lord. Contrarywise when the *Jīva* gives way to low and evil desires and becoming filled with wicked tendencies acquires a demoniac nature, that also happens at the will of the Lord. The demoniac *Jīvas* live disreputable lives in their coarse, corrupt bodies and on account of their misdeeds become degraded more and more in their rebirths, becoming reborn into ever lower forms of life. Thus they become slaves of their carnal desires and are enthralled by the mundane life. It is only the Lord's will that can lift them out of their degradation and till the Lord wills their salvation, they cannot escape from *avidyā* and its effects. But when the Lord pleases to take them back to himself as his consorts, their *avidyā* and the *saṃsāra* and its toils that result from it forth-with cease at the Lord's will. Then the *Jīva* does not require to go through the discipline of *praxis* or *sādhanā* for his salvation but becomes purified through the Lord's grace and realises at-one-ment or unity with him.

Mukta or liberated *Jīvas* are of two classes—*Jīvanmukta* and *Parama-mukta*. *Jīvanmukti* commences with the cessation of *avidyā*. Of the class of *Jīvanmuktas* are Sanaka and several other sages. Theirs is the *mukti* of *kaivalya*, the freedom which is dispassion or detachment, the freedom which comes through enlightenment or *Jñāna* and is possible in the embodied state. Those who live in the Infinite (*vyāpaka*) *Vaikuṇṭha* or in other realms of the Lord barring *Paramavyoma* are *mukta* or liberated *Jīvas*. Thereafter when through a special grace (*viśiṣṭakṛpā*) of the Lord they enter *Parama-vyoma*, there is *parāmukti* which is pure Brahmahood. Amongst the godly beings some become participators in the Lord's eternal disports (*nityalīlā*) through disinterested, self-contained, (*svatantrā*) *Bhakti*. Such *Bhakti* is awakened by hearing, etc., in those in whom spiritual aspirations have been generated through associations with pious and devout people.

According to Vallabhites, Para-Brahman is Kṛṣṇa himself as signified by the word Puruṣottama. He is the subject of all sorts of *aprākṛta* or immaterial excellences and virtues and has a nature of everlasting joy or felicity. All His dramatic disports are eternal, and all supernatural qualities are ever manifest in Him. When Para-Brahma desires to be many, then there arises in Him a change of *rūpa* or form. The Form which thus arises in Him is the cause of all causes and is *Akṣara* or Immutable Brahman. In this *Akṣara* state owing to the preponderance of *sattva* the element of feli-

2. *Brahmavādavivaraṇa*, pp. 26-27

city or *Ānanda* becomes dormant or latent. *Akṣara Brahman* is differently apprehended by the *Jñānī* and the *Bhakta* respectively.

(1) To the *Bhakta* or the devout lover he appears as the Form of the pervasive *Vaikuṇṭha* and other realms (*lokas*) of the spirit. In the Immut-able Form as it presents itself to the perception of the *Bhakta* some excel-lences appear manifest while other qualities remain non-manifest, though all qualities continue in being. The appearance or manifestation and the dis-appearance or vanishing from sight are nothing but the Lord's special powers (*śaktiviśeṣa*). When qualities become imperative or defunct they are said to have passed over into the non-manifest or *aprākṛta* state. This disappear-ance is not the work of *māyā*. The *tirobhāva* which is caused by *māyā* is not objective but subjective; *māyā* does not cause the disappearance of the object but only of our knowledge of the object. *Māyā* operates in unfree beings and causes *pratīti-abhāva* or non-apprehension in respect of *sadviṣaya* or things that are or exist. But the disappearance caused by the Lord is an objective transition into the *aprākṛta* state.

(2) To the *Jñānī* or enlightened, however, *Akṣara Brahman* appears as reality, intelligence and joy, as beyond space and time, as self-luminous, and as beyond all qualities or determinations. In the appearance in this form what remains manifest in Brahman is the power of *tirodhāna* or suspension while all other qualities remain non-manifest. Hence the *Akṣara* or Immu-table Brahman of the enlightened or *Jñānīn* is described as *nirdharmaka*, featureless or indeterminate. In reality however He is not featureless. If He were really featureless then the unreal would have to come into being. Valla-bhites say, what is called *abhāva* or non-existence is only *tirobhāva* or non-manifest existence, and production or coming into being and destruction or ceasing to be have no intelligible meaning except as becoming manifest and ceasing to be manifest. Since *duḥkha*, suffering, misery, etc. are figments of *māyā* and therefore false appearances, therefore the cessation or absence of *duḥkha*, etc. must also be a false appearance. Hence assertions of the absence of *duḥkhādi* in Brahman amount to the assertion of the falsity of *duḥkhādi*. It follows therefore that the Form of Brahman as conceived by the *Jñānī* or enlightened reduces to a featureless being with all powers abstracted therefrom and therefore beyond description in judgments for practical purposes (*sarvavyāvahārātīta*).

One particular form of Puruṣottama which is noticeable in the *Sūryya-maṇḍala* is his form as *antaryyāmī* or inner controller. This *antaryyāmī* is called Puruṣa or Nārāyaṇa. Three kinds of Puruṣa may be noted in this connection — (1) *Puruṣa* as creator of Mahat, (2) *Puruṣa* as immanent in the world-embryo (*Brahmāṇḍasaṁsthita*), and (3) *Puruṣa* as indwelling presence in all *bhūtas* or beings (*sarvabhūtastha*). Out of *Puruṣa* come forth the Incarnations of the Lord's Līlā or dramatic sport in the forms of the Great Fish, the Great Tortoise, etc. The *antaryyāmins* that come

out of the *Akṣara* or Immutable are all parts or partial forms (*aṃśa*) of this Principal *Antaryāmī*. They are all marked by their joyous natures, are numerically different, like *Jīvas*, in different corporeal forms and are the inner controlling agents of the *Jīvas* in which they dwell. In short, the *antaryāmins* of sentient beings and non-sentient things are all partial modes or manifestations of the Primary or Principal *Antaryyāmī*—a part or fraction of the Principal *Antaryyāmī* being manifest in every individual *antaryyāmī* in a sentient being or a non-sentient thing.

According to Vallabhites, just as there is *viśuddha* or pure *sattva* other than *prākṛta sattva* or *sattva* as the matter or stuff of the world, so also there are *aprākṛta rajas* and *aprākṛta tamas* besides *prākṛta rajas* and *tamas* that constitute the world-stuff or material cause of the world. *Aprākṛta* or Immaterial *Sattva* after creating the forms of fish, etc. appears therein after the manner of fire in an iron-ball and carries on their functions. In such forms consisting of pure *sattva* the Lord enters with a view to maintaining the world. The Lord as informing such *Viśuddha-Sattva*-forms for the purpose of world-maintenance and the like is called Viṣṇu. In the same way the Lord as inspiring *aprākṛta* or Immaterial *Rajas*-forms is called *Brahmā*, and as informing Immaterial *Tamas Vigrahas* is called Śiva. Though they are all *aprākṛta vigrahas* or immaterial forms, yet as also controlling and directing the material or *Prākṛta guṇas* they are to be regarded as *Saguṇa* or related to the *guṇas*. That they have been described in the Purāṇas as *Para Brahman* is due to there being no real difference between them and the Lord. Though Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva are all Incarnations or Forms of *aprākṛta guṇas*, yet the form of Viṣṇu is to be regarded as the highest amongst the three on account of the presence in it of the distinctive qualities of the Lord in a special manner.

The Lord has an infinite multitude of Forms. Every form of the Lord is Brahman in its completeness. This explains the fact why on the path of enlightenment there is no difference between *praxis* (*sādhanā*) and its consequence (*phala*). It is otherwise however with the way of *Bhakti* or devotion. Just as the Lord creates the world for the purpose of dramatic disport, so also he has chalked out a separate path of *Bhakti* for those who desire to realise Him through loving devotion. In the Forms of the Lord's *Vibhuti* or Powers, both the *praxis* and the end achieved thereby are limited, relative and circumscribed. The highest and most complete result cannot be achieved through these works, such result being attainable not through the worship of the *Vibhutirūpas* but of the *Svayaṃrūpa* or Intrinsic Form of the Lord which is the Form of Kṛṣṇa. The highest end or result is *sāyuyya* and *sāyuyya*, according to Vallabhites, is not identity with Brahman but direct connection (*yoga*) with Brahman. Such connection or intimate relation is attainable not by enlightenment but through single-minded devotion to and service of Lord Kṛṣṇa. There is no worship unless the Lord presents himself

externally to the worshipper as the object of devotion. That is why *Bhajanā* or worship must be the worship of the Lord in his manifestations as external to oneself.

Liberation (*mukti*) is of two kinds—*saguṇā mukti* and *nirguṇā mukti*. The primary result of the worship of any deity is *sāyuyya* or direct union with the deity. Where the deity is *saguṇa* the resulting union is *saguṇā mukti* or liberation within the guṇas. In other cases, *mukti* is *nirguṇā* or liberation beyond the *guṇas*. All deities barring Lord Kṛṣṇa himself are *saguṇa*. Hence *nirguṇā mukti* or liberation beyond the *guṇas* is intimate union with Kṛṣṇa (*Kṛṣṇa-sāyuyya*). There is no *nirguṇā mukti* on the path of enlightenment. The Immutable (*Akṣara, Kūṭastha*), though transcending the *guṇas*, also consists with the *guṇas*. Enlightenment is the realisation of the *Akṣara* (as immanent in guṇas) through *śravaṇa, manana*, etc. The liberation which results therefrom is *Kaivalya, Detachment*, or *Jivanmukti*, freedom in embodied being. *Kaivalya* is *sāttvikajñāna* or enlightenment arising from *sattvaguṇa*. Therefore it is *sāttvikamukti* or liberation in *sattvaguṇa*. The enlightened turns away from the world scared by the miseries of *saṃsāra* and takes to the way of freedom through knowledge. It is a condition within the *guṇas* and not one beyond the *guṇas*. With knowledge or enlightenment comes liberation in the embodied state. In that state illusory identification with prakṛti (*adhyāsa*) ceases and consequently attachment to the material world and its modes falls off. Such liberation in embodied life is liberation within the *guṇas*, for in that state creature-hood or creature-consciousness as under the sway of *Vidyā* and *Avidyā* continues. *Bhakti* makes its appearance subsequently to the realisation of *Brahmabhāva*—one then reaches beyond the *guṇas*. If *Bhakti* does not awaken after *Brahmabhāva*, one then has to continue in the *Jivanmukta* state of embodied freedom. Such was the condition of Sanaka and the like : theirs was a state (of freedom) in the *guṇas*, not one beyond the *guṇas*. Till *Bhakti* is reached, one continues within the *guṇas* : with the awakening of *Bhakti* one gets beyond the *guṇas*. The first is a condition of enlightenment as such, the second one of *Bhakti* conditioned by enlightenment. The first is illustrated in Sanaka, etc., the second is illustrated in Śuka and others.

The *praxis* or *sādhanā* by *Bhakti* laid down by Vallabhites is called the way of *puṣṭi* (*puṣṭimārga*). *Puṣṭi* means the Grace (*kṛpā*) of the Lord. It is an attribute of the Lord and is counteractive of time. Its effects are manifold—both natural and supernatural. *Puṣṭi* is inferred from its effects. *Mahāpuṣṭi* is Grace *Par Excellence* and consists in effecting the attainment of one's real status in the teeth of powerful obstacles. The great obstacles are the resistance of one's own nature or *svabhāva* and the resistance caused by one's works. *Puṣṭi* accomplishes all the four *puruṣārthas* or ends of life, *viz.*, *dharma, artha, kāma* and *mokṣa*. The *puṣṭi* which realises these four ends is *sāmānyapuṣṭi* or grace of the common or ordinary sort. There is

however a special grace (*viśiṣṭapuṣṭi*) from which results *Bhakti* culminating in the realisation of the Lord's *svarūpa* or intrinsic nature. The *Bhakti* which results from such special grace is called *puṣṭibhakti*. *Puṣṭibhakti* arises from the Lord's favour alone and not from anything else. (*Puṣṭimārgo-anugrahaikasādhyah pramāṇamārgāt vilakṣaṇaḥ* — "*Anubhāṣya*", 8-8-9).

Every kind of *Bhakti* depends on the Lord's favour. But the *Bhakti* that arises from the Lord's ordinary favour is called *Maryyādābhakti*. The *Bhakti* that is kindled by the Lord's special grace is technically called *puṣṭibhakti*. In *puṣṭibhakti* the only object sought is the Lord himself and there is no desire for anything other than the Lord. Even *mukti* or liberation appears trivial in the eye of the devotee who has attained to *puṣṭibhakti*.

According to Vallabhites there are four kinds of *puṣṭibhakti*, viz. :—

1. *Pravāhapuṣṭi*. *Pravāha* means the stream of *saṃsāra* or world-life consisting in the consciousness of the "I" and the "mine" in relation to things. And the *puṣṭibhakti* which arises in association with this *saṃsāra*-consciousness is characterised by *karmaruci* or the liking for works. In other words, in *puṣṭibhakti* bound up with *saṃsārapravāha* there are works suited to the nature of the Lord.

2. *Maryyādāpuṣṭi*. In the condition of *maryyādā*, there is cessation from the pursuit of objects arising from attraction or attachment so that the *Jīva* turns to the way of *nivṛtti* or world-denial and its consequent practices or duties. In the *Bhakti* that arises in this state or condition, the *Jīva* conquers his lust for objects and acquires a zest for hearing, etc., of discourses on the Lord and His nature.

3. *Puṣṭibhakti*. Those who attain to this third type of *puṣṭibhakti* are *puṣṭibhaktas* who, owing to another favour of the Lord conducive to the awakening of the enlightenment that is suited to His worship, become omniscient or all-knowing. Such *bhaktas* know all about the Lord, the Lord's personal attendants and courtiers, His dramatic sports, the world, etc.

4. *Śuddhapuṣṭibhakti*. Those who are *bhaktas* of this fourth type are inspired by love and intrinsic affection. They serve the Lord and sing his praise out of pure affection and love. Theirs is a devotion that is very rare indeed.

Hari Raya has described this *śuddhapuṣṭibhakti* in twenty-one verses (*vide Prameyaratnārṇava*, pp. 19-24), the substance whereof is as follows :—

In the way of *Śuddhapuṣṭibhakti*, the *phala*, consequence or end achieved is *Bhagavatprāpti*, attainment of the Lord, but for the realisation of this end, no *sādhanā* or prescribed course of discipline is necessary. In other words, the method or means here is the absence of any prescribed means or method. Or, one may say, the end (i.e., the Lord himself) is here the means. *Siddhi* or fruition is dependent on the Lord's favour and not on individual efforts. In fact, individual effort hinders instead of furthering the

realisation of the end. The Lord elects *Jīvas* out of Free Grace irrespective of their worthiness or unworthiness (according to human standards). And the devotee also does not try to judge the rightness or otherwise of the Lord's act of Grace but simply feels and recognises its super-excellence. For such a *Bhakta* there is neither a sense of frailty or weakness in such acts of the Lord Kṛṣṇa as shedding tears when chastised by His mother Jaśodā, plundering the storeroom, etc., nor a sense of the uncommon or extraordinary when overpowering and subduing the Snake-king Kāliya or extinguishing the conflagration, etc. For him all acts point to the Lord or Master as their end and no special direction, Vedic or otherwise, is necessary to discover the intrinsic import and end of all our efforts. The Lord elects *Jīvas* unto himself out of free Grace—His favour is *ahetuka*, not measurable in terms of human reason. And this is the reason why the end which the disciplined and much-practised man fails to achieve by his strenuous spiritual efforts is easily attained by a man who may appear to be comparatively unworthy of him. Even at the time of separation from the Lord, such a *bhakta* has experience of the Divine felicity, for such *Bhakti* is autonomous in respect of its joy-producing virtue and does not depend on the presence of the Lord's Person for producing the felicity that arises from it. As in *Bhakti* in this form the consciousness of the Lord overshadows every other experience, the fear of this as well as the other world vanishes so that the *bhakta* feels the Lord's Presence in himself as obliterating all sense of time, all consciousness of moral obligations as well as all ideas of himself and of the qualities intrinsic to himself. On the way of *Śuddhapuṣṭibhakti*, the means is union, physical and mental, of the finite being with the Lord, and the end is the union of all the senses with the Lord. And the union takes place at the will of the Lord. The consequence of it is the consciousness of the Lord in all that is allied to the Lord, a feeling of repugnance to all things that are inimical to the Lord and a sense of indifference to all that is neither allied nor inimically related to Him. The *Bhakta* in this state is prompted to the preservation of the body not from a feeling of personal ownership in it but from the consciousness of its being God-given and therefore belonging to the Lord. And even at the time of separation from the Lord it is preserved in the hope of a future reunion with the Lord. In the path of *Śuddhapuṣṭi*, worship does not consist in the rendering of any service to the Lord, and the Lord also does not insult the devotion of the worshippers by bequeathing rewards for their worship. *Śuddhapuṣṭi*, in other words, is *śuddha* or pure *bhakti* for its own sake—it is love for love's sake—i.e., man's love of God out of pure zest for such love as also God's love of man for pure love's sake. In separation one tastes greater felicity in such *Bhakti* than in union, because separated one has inward realisation of a new aspect of the Lord's *līlā* or self-display at every new moment. In the path of *Śuddhapuṣṭibhakti*, the means and the end exchange positions so that the means is also the end and the end the means.

Thus the means which is here *Bhakti* or love of God for its own sake is also the end which it aims at and in which it culminates. Similarly the end which is *Bhagavatprāpti* or attainment of the Lord is also the means inasmuch as such attainment or realisation comes only as a Gift of the Lord Himself who is to be attained or realised. The *dainya* or consciousness of nullity and insignificance which is not dependent on anything else is the cause of the appearance of the Lord, i.e., when the *Jīva* feels his own insignificance or nullity, the Lord reveals Himself. Hence such *dainya* must be distinguished from the sense of emptiness (*dainya*) that arises from separation, this latter being an effect or *phala* (of the separation) and not a cause. In *Śuddhapuṣṭi* the *dainya* is intrinsic, *anyanirapekṣa*, non-dependent on anything else and this brings on the revelation of the Lord. *Śuddhapuṣṭi* brings on complete renunciation of all worldly objects and surrender of everything including the body, but while as worldly they are renounced, as gifts of the Lord they are again accepted. In short, in *Śuddhapuṣṭi*—the consciousness of "I" disappears, and the will, not as "my will" but as "Thy will" or the Lord's will, prevails. In this state the *Jīva* realises the hand of providence in everthing.

According to Śuddhādvaitins, the *Jīva* is consubstantial with Brahman but only as a partial element thereof and not as Brahman in all-completeness and fullness. Therefore worship is necessary for restoration or recovery of the *Jīva's* real status as a partial element within the All-Inclusive Brahman. Worship, in other words, is necessary for overcoming *avidyā* which is responsible for the *Jīvas* self-forgetting and consequent fall into *saṃsāra* or the stream of mundane life. Worship effects his reinstatement as a *Bhakta*, i.e., his restoration as a partial element within Brahman and in necessary intimate relation of love and unity with the whole. With the cessation of egoism and its powers or *aiśvaryya* and the *nivṛtti* or overcoming of *avidyā*, one attains to unity with the Lord. Even then however differences amongst *Jīvas* continue.[3] Though the *Bhakta* attains to sameness with the Lord in respect of person, personal beauty, etc., yet, as without difference there is no real commerce of spirit, differences continue at the stage. It may be asked, as *avidyā* ceases in the pure *puṣṭimārga* so as to make one fit for devotion or *bhajanā*, what use is *bhajanā* or worship in this *Śuddhapuṣṭi* stage? The Vallabhite answer is: for the purpose of *līla* or dramatic sport—the separated *Jīva* reunites with the Lord through *bhajanā* and thereby tastes the joy of the reunion. But since *bhajanā* in the *Śuddhapuṣṭi marga* does not consist in works but is *bhāvātmaka* or an emotional realisation, therefore it is *phalarūpā* in spite of its being of the nature of *sādhanā* or a preparatory means. Hence such *bhajanā* never loses its character as *Śuddhapuṣṭi* for *puṣṭimārga* is the way in which the end is itself the means to the end (*puṣṭimārgaḥ sa eva yatra phalam svayameva sādhanam*).[4]

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3. *Cf. Brahmavādavivaraṇa*, p. 20. 4. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

ON SOME SPURIOUS CALUKYA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS

By

Dr. MORESHWAR DIKSHIT, PH.D., Poona.

In his paper contributed to the Tenth All India Oriental Conference held at Tirupati, in March 1940, Rao Bahadur C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU[1] has discussed the dates of four spurious records of the time of Cālukya Vinayāditya which range from Saka 516 to 520. As these dates are too early for the king who issued these charters and as the palæography of the inscriptions is far too much removed from the period in which they purport to record the donations, it is obvious that these copper-plate grants are forgeries. After alluding to certain other spurious records of a Western Cālukya (?) chief Vira-nonamba-cakravarti, Rao Bahadur CHARLU[2] has put forward a tentative theory that in recording the exaggerated early dates, the forgerers have calculated the dates (*i.e.* the Saka year, the name of the Samvatsara, *tithi*, week-day etc.,) as if the events took place 600 years earlier and that the forgeries were actually made in the eleventh century A.D. He also surmises that for the purposes of those grants the year Saka 600 must have been adopted as the starting of an era, which may possibly be in celebration of, or in commemoration of certain epoch-making and important political event in the reign of the Western Cālukya king Vinayāditya Satyāśraya. In the light of these remarks he has examined critically the dates and suggested how these with certain emendations support his contention.

Though the suggestion made in this paper is really a very ingenious one, as I shall presently show, the calculation of dates involve certain difficulties which cannot easily be solved. For, since the above paper was written I have come across two more spurious grants of Cālukya Vinayāditya which register donations made by him in the Saka year 520. The first one of these sets was long ago discovered in the village called Pāli near Karad in the Satara district of the Bombay Presidency. It was published in July 1922, in the *Quarterly of the B. I. S. M.*, III. pp. 6-16. This grant is dated Saka 520, Kālayukta Saṁvatsara, Kārttika Śuddha 5, Bhānuvāra. Its object is to record the donation of a *vāṭikā* in the village Ellāpura, in Karahāṭaka 1000, to a Brahmin named Vāsudeva belonging to the Bhāradvāja *gotra*.

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1. Proceedings and Transactions of the Tenth All India Oriental Conference, Tirupati, March 1940, pp. 359-65.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 362.



Plate



The second set was made available to me through the courtesy of Messrs. S. V. Avalaskar and S. N. Patwardhan-Joshi, both residents of the village Divē Āgar, in the Janjirā State (Dist. Kolaba, Bombay Presidency). It was unearthed in that village some three years ago by a farmer and before it reached my hands was still covered with thick verdegris. The plates are three in number (each measuring about 10" X 5½") and are strung in a circular ring bearing the seal of a boar to left. The grant is dated in the Saka year 520, Kālāyukta Saṁvatsara, Caitra Amāvāsya, Vyatipāta, Thursday, when it is stated that there was a solar eclipse. Its object is to record a donation by Cālukya Vinayāditya of the village Kollāpura along with its hamlets situated in the Datiga 2000 Viṣaya, to 3500 Brahmins headed by Keśava Dvivedi, Bhāskara Trivedi, Sankara Dvivedi, and Mādhava Bhaṭṭa, of the Ātreya and Bhāradvāja *gotras*. I quote below the relevant text of the inscription for easy reference :

EXTRACT.[3]

Plate II b.

Line 27—श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीविने(न)यादित्य स-

Line 28—त्याश्रयवल्लभनरेंद्रदेव कुषल (शली) सर्व्वानेवतः मल्हरीनद्युत्तरतटे र-

Line 29—क्तापुर राजधानेस्थि(स्थि)रतरस्वस्छा(स्था)नेन पद्दं(त्रं)धोत्सवसंपादनान्वित कु

Line 30—रुंदमुपागतेन पुण्ययशोदि(भि)वृद्धये पूर्व्वविलुप्तानपि देवभोगाग्रह (हा)

Line 31—रानुपालयतः विंशत्योत्तरपंचशाति(ते)षु शकवर्षप्रातीति(त)षु कालयुक्तसं-

Line 32—वत्सरे प्रवर्त्तमाने। चैत्रप्राप्तामावास्यायां व्यती(ति)पाते बृ(बृ)हस्पतिवारे सू(सू)र्यग्रहण

Line 33—तत्काले राजविदितं विप्रकुलविमलकरान्वे(न्व)ये आत्रेयगोत्र केशवद्विवेदिभ-

Line 34—ट्टानां भ(भा)रद्वाजगोत्र भास्करत्रिवेदिभट्टानां शंकरद्विवेदिभट्टानां तस्याग्रज मा-

Line 35—धवभट्ट प्रमुख पंचशतोत्तरत्रे(त्रि)सहस्रविप्राणां दतिगद्वि-सहस्र विषयोपलक्षितं को-

Plate III a.

Line 36—ल्लापुरं नाम ग्रामः सवृक्षमालदेयाभ्यंतरं महालक्ष्मीस्छा(स्था)न नवपुर सहितं घटिका श्वेतछत्रचा

Line 37—मरशासनसमेतं पादप्रक्षालनधारापूर्व्वकं सर्व्वनमस्यं महानृपतिदत्तं ॥ चतुःसी-

Line 38—मांतरेतस्य पूर्व्वदिशोभागे उत्सुकग्रामः तस्य पश्चिमभागे स्रोतः प्रमाणं तस्य

Line 39—दक्षिणभागे उज्वलदेवि(वी) स्छा(स्था)न नगः प्रमाणं । तस्य पश्चिमभागे कंचलदेवी

Line 40—स्छा(स्था)नं प्रमाणं । तस्य पश्चिमभागे वासवो नामग्रामः तस्योत्तरभागे स्रोतः

Line 41—प्रमाणं । तस्योत्तरंदिशोभागे वृषभग्रामः । तस्य पूर्व्वदिशोभा-

Line 42—गे अगारपरिखा प्रमाणं । तस्योत्तर (रे or रेण) नदी प्रमाणं तस्य पूर्व्वतः भ-

Line 43—गवनदी प्रमाणं तस्य दक्षिणतः गोमतीसंगमः प्रमाणं । भूमि प्रमाणं

Line 44—जलपाषाण समेतं पंचोत्तरअशीति सहस्रं । ... (Imprecating verses).

Line 47—........................ ॥ रामदेवलिखितं ।

3. From the original Plates. See Figs. 1-2.

Both the Pāli and the Dive Agar grants have almost identical texts excepting of course the details regarding the donees and the property granted. Both of them are dated in the same year Saka 520, but palæographically their script[4] resembles the characters of the 11th century A.D. Curiously enough both of these refer to Raktāpura situated on the northern banks of the river Malapahāri (Malaprabhā); and the village Kurunda like the four grants studied by CHARLU.

If we accept Rao Bahadur CHARLU'S suggestion taking 600 as the starting point of an era, the dates[5] of the Dive Agar and Pāli grants would correspond to 8th April and 7th October A. D. 1198 respectively. The week-days in both cases do not tally with those recorded in the inscriptions. There has been no solar eclipse in the Saka year 520 as stated in the Dive Agar plates and consequently all the other details specified in the grants do not concur.

I have therefore tabulated all the spurious records of Cālukya Vinayāditya in the accompanying chart and a careful examination of their dates would reveal that there is no uniformity or any method in the calculation of their dates even after taking 600 as the starting point for each date. All the dates except in Grant D have to be adjusted in one way or the other to suit our needs and in the case of Dive Agar and the Pali grants even these adjustments do not work well. It may be noted that the Dive Agar grant supplied the evidence from an unknown tract for inscriptions.

From the dates newly supplied by the Dive Agar and the Pali grants it is clear therefore that there is no method attempted in forging the spurious records of Cālukya Vinayāditya.

4. Though no facsimiles accompany the article on the Pāli plates, I have examined the original set, now preserved in the Bhārata—Itihāsa Saṁśodhaka Maṇḍala, Poona.

5. cf. Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, III, pp. 398-99.

SPURIOUS COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF CALUKYA VINAYADITYA.

	Plate	Date	Donee	Property granted.	Reference.	Adjusted Date.	Remarks.
A.	Bellary	Saka 512, Sādhāraṇa Māgha Suddha 13, Somavāra.	?	Pāpārenuru.	Annual Report of S. I. Epigraphy (1907), App. 3.	January 12, A. D. 1191.	Week-day not regular.
B.	Kopbal	Saka 516, Ananda, Vaiśākha Paurṇimā Thursday, Vyatipāta.	Bhāskara - Cauvera-Bhaṭṭa of Kammeya family and Kāśyapa *gotra*.	Niḍugundi in Kisukāḍu 70.	Shastri's Note.	May 5, A. D. 1194.	Date regular for the previous day.
C.	Dive Agar	Saka 520, Kālayukta, Caitra Amāvāsyā Thursday, Vyatipāta, Solar Eclipse.	3500 Brahmins headed by Keśava Dvivedi of Ātreya *gotra*; Bhāskar Trivedi of Bhāradvāja *gotra*; Sankar Dvivedi and his elder brother Mādhava Bhaṭṭa.	Kollāpura with its hamlets in Datiga 2000.	Unpublished.	April 8, A. D. 1198.	Week-day not regular. No solar eclipse on the day as stated.
D.	Karnatak Historical Society.	Saka 520, Kālayukta, Vaiśākha Amāvāsyā Thursday.		Hoḍaluru in Vā (Bā) gadage 70 of Kuṇḍikā 1000.	Annual Report of S. I. Epi. (1933-34) App. No. 2.	May 7, A. D. 1198.	Date regular.
E.	Pāli	Saka 520, Kālayukta, Kārttika Suddha 5, Bhānuvāra (Sunday).	Vāsudeva Bhaṭṭa of Bhāradvaja *gotra*.	Ellāpura in Karahāṭaka 1000.	B. I. S. M. Q. Vol. III, p. 6.	October 7, A. D. 1198. Wednesday.	Week-day not regular.
F.	Madras Museum	Saka 520, Kālayukta, Pauṣa Suddha 13, Somavāra (Monday).	Keśava Trivedi of the Vājiya family and the Bhāradvāja *gotra*.	Mittere in Draupadi 70, in Balakunde.	Annual Report of S. I. Epi. (1906) App. 12.	December 13, A. D. 1198.	Week-day not regular.

PRATĪTYA-SAMUTPĀDA
AS BASIC CONCEPT OF BUDDHIST THOUGHT

By

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Though it may sound rather strange to say that every great thinker or true philosopher of the world is really a man of one thought, it is nevertheless a truism of history. Just as a central idea, called moral, runs through an epic narrative interweaving various episodes into a unity, so a central thought pervades a whole system of thought or of faith built upon its basic concept or creed. As regards Buddhist philosophy, its basic concept is *pratītya-samutpāda*, a term which has been variously represented in English by '*causal genesis*', 'dependent origination' and 'causation'. We need not quarrel over words. Let us better try to realize its full philosophic and doctrinal significance as the basic concept of Buddhism in general and of Buddhist thought in particular.

In the *Ariya-pariyesana-Sutta*, Buddha tells us that the noble quest which had impelled him to pass from home into the homeless state of a wanderer or seeker of truth happily led him to a twofold discovery, *viz.*, (1) that of *iha pratyayatā pratītya-samutpāda*, and (2) that of *nirvāṇa*. The discovery meant the finding out of the thing or things longed for. That was in Buddha's case the non-contingent, that which is not subject to the limiting conditions of life and existence.[1]

If thus the claim made be that of a discovery only, it stands to reason to premise that the discoverer himself does not create the thing he discovers but simply finds it out as it is (*yathābhūtam*). Buddha's discovery is, therefore, aptly compared to the accidental discovery by a traveller of an old, buried and forgotten city as well as of the path leading to it.[2] Hence was his well-deserved epithet of *Tathāgata*, meaning the Truth-finder and Path-finder.[3] Buddhism which was an outcome of that discovery became thus both a way of truth and a way of life. As way of truth it became concerned with *the thing as it is or the things as they are*, and as a way of life, its concern was with *the thing as it ought to be or the things as they should be*,

1. *Majjhima*, i, p. 161 ff.; Barua, Ceylon Lecture on *Buddhism as personal religion*. The *Mahabodhi*, Vol. 52, p. 60.

2. *Saṃyutta*, ii, p. 104 ff. ; Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism* (Home University Series), p. 33 ff. ; *Laṅkāvatāra-Sūtra*, ed. Bunio Nanjio, pp. 143-4 ; Suzuki's Transl., pp. 175-6 ; Barua, *Asoka and His Inscriptions*, Pt. I, Ch. IV.

3. I accept above English renderings of the epithet offered by the late lamented Mrs. Rhys Davids.

i.e., the ideal or ideals of life conformably to the form or forms of truth as stated as well as to the nature of reality as discovered. To be intelligible to human understanding and effective as guidance to thought and action the form or forms of truth must be either philosophical or scientific, logical or psychological. To be inspiring to life and appealing to human heart and effective in their diverse expressions, the form of the ideal or ideals must be either ethical or aesthetic, literary or artistic, social or political, religious or educational, national or international.

So far as the mental or subjective aspect of the discovery goes, it is an unprecedented experience with an objective content referring to an existing fact, an actuality or a reality. This experience has to pass successively through three mental modes before it becomes a public property as a body of doctrine and discipline (*dharmavinayam*) or a system of thought and faith, namely, intuitional or mystical, conceptual or apprehensible, and achitectonic or systematic. With each mode is connected a particular form of mental activity, whether it be nöetic, ideational or rational, where the prospect of success calls up the emotion of joy (*prīti*) and the attainment of success is followed by the enjoyment of self-satisfaction, happiness, bliss or beatitude (*sukha*). The experience which is presentative at the first mode becomes representative at the second and expressive or presentable at the third.

According to the Pali scholiast Dhammapāla, whilst reflecting on the nature of reality the Blessed One got hold of the causal genesis in his mind.[4] This may be taken to mean that with Dhammapāla *pratītya-samutpāda* or causal genesis represents the true nature of reality. But in the words of Buddha, the term is applicable as much to the true nature of reality as intuited as to the true nature of reality as conceived and formulated ; it is applicable to the same as presented, interpreted, expounded, elaborated, elucidated and applied.

Pratītya-samutpāda as intuited in its presentative character is otherwise known as *paurāṇa-dharmasthititā*, and it stands for the ancient or eternal nature of reality which exists by its own right, independently of the advent of the Tathāgatas, independently of all modes of knowing and all forms of thought-construction and rational interpretation. The same as conceived or formulated in its representative character is otherwise known as *pratyātma-dharmasthititā*,[5] and it stands for the basic concept of Buddhism and Buddhist thought as the unalterable cosmic law. The same as presented, interpreted, expounded, elaborated, elucidated and applied is known variously by the name of *pratyayākāras*[6] (causal forms), *satyas* (truths), and the like,

4. *Udāna Commentary*, Siamese Ed., to the Bodhi Sutta, I, : *Bhagavā Bodhirukkhamūle dhamma-sabhāva-paccavekkhana-vasena paṭicca-samuppādam manasākāsi.*

5. *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, pp. 143-44.

6. *Vibhaṅga*, Ch. VI, where *paccayākāra* is used as a substitute for *paṭicca-samuppāda*.

and all of them stand for the various architectonics of thought as well as the moral law. The ideals of life and action are set out in conformity with the truths as formulated and presented, the truths are formulated on the basis of the central concept,[7] while the central concept has behind it the nature of reality as intuited or experienced. The Buddhist creed formula, *ye dharmāḥ hetuprabhavāḥ*, etc. applies to *pratītya-samutpāda* as conceived, formulated, presented, interpreted and applied. Regarding the *paurāṇa-dharmasthititā*, the *pratyātma-dharmasthititā*, and the system of thought and faith based upon the second, Buddha's significant statement in the *Saṃyutta* is : " Because of birth, monks, decay-and-death. Whether there be an arising of *Tathāgatas*, or whether there be no such arising, in each this nature of things stands, this causal status, this orderliness, the relatedness of this to that. Concerning that the *Tathāgata is fully enlightened, that he fully understands. Fully enlightened, fully understanding*, he declares it, teaches it, reveals it, sets it forth, manifests, explains, makes it plain, saying : Behold ! conditioned by this, that comes to be."[8]

In the above statement, Buddha clearly refers to and distinguishes between the three successive mental modes :

(1) becomes enlightened or awakened as to the nature of reality which exists by its own right—*abhisambujjhati* ;

(2) formulates with the suggestion therefrom the fundamental law of the cosmos, which is to say, forms the basic concept of his doctrine—*abhisameti* ;

(3) states, addresses, sets forth, establishes, discloses, expounds, elucidates, in short, presents as a system—*ācikkhati, deseti*, etc.

Pratītya-samutpāda as the essential nature of reality is characterized in Pali as the elementary datum of experience, the standing order of becoming (*dhammaṭṭhitatā*), the way of the happening of things (*dhammaniyāmatā*), suchness (orderliness, *tathatā*), uncontrariness (*avitathatā*), unotherwiseness (*anaññathatā*), background of relatedness (*idappaccayatā*). It is further characterized in the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* and other Mahāyāna treatises by such predicates as vacuity (*śūnyatā*), realness (*bhūtatā*) and actuality, (*satyatā*). The same set of predicates applies, *mutatis mutandis*, also to *pratītyasamutpāda* as formulated, presented, interpreted and applied,[9] though in a somewhat different sense.

The positive thesis of the philosophy of Nāgārjuna, who is not without reason honoured in the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* as the second Buddha, is generally missed. This is, however, clearly stated in the two opening verses of his *Kārikā*. These indicate that Nāgārjuna's primary interest was to call

7. According to the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, pp. 143-44, Buddha's discourses were all based on the *pratyātma-dharmasthititā* and not on the *paurāṇa*.

8. *Saṃyutta*, ii, p. 25 ; The Book of the Kindred Sayings, ii, p. 21.

9. *Visuddhimagga*, ii, p. 518.

attention to the *pratītya-samutpāda* as the fundamental nature of reality which is not capable of verbal representations and not apprehensible by the intellect, the mode of understanding. It refuses to accept all the predicates the intellect can devise, e.g. cessation (*nirodha*), origination (*utpāda*), annihilation (*uccheda*), eternality (*śāśvata*), singleness (*ekārtha*), manifoldness (*nānārtha*), advent (*āgama*), and egress (*nirgama*). The only mental mode of witnessing or being face to face with it is intuition, immediate perception, first-hand experience or direct vision, all being means within the reach of mysticism. The powerful dialectics employed throughout his *Kārikā* are directed to expose the incapacity of all the intellectual and verbal modes of representing that nature of reality as it is, as it exists by its own right, independently of all thinkers and all ideal constructions. If the last word of Nāgārjuna's dialectics be 'be quiet', it only means the futility of the modes of understanding and the expressions of language as means of representing and stating that nature of reality, and nothing else. The incapacity of intellect and language is not to be used as proof against the objective reality of that nature as intuited, witnessed or experienced,—the nature of reality to which the Buddha-mind was awakened and being awakened to which the Buddha felt with the deepest conviction that he became supremely enlightened (*abhisambuddho*). The utility of this intuition or supreme experience is not denied, for therein lies the means of stopping all aberrations of intellect and getting tranquillity which is the *summum bonum* (*prapañcopaśama śiva*).

Dr. Satkari Mookerjee characteristically observes : "The Sautrāntika may rejoin that (his) philosophy is the most perfect possible explanation of the objective world and is absolutely immune from the logical difficulties which are the besetting sins of other realistic philosophies. But the justice and validity of this claim have been disputed by Nāgārjuna and Śaṅkara, who have shown in unmistakable language that causation is the hidden rock on which the barque of realism has suffered shipwreck."[10] But reading between the lines, one cannot fail to understand that here Nāgārjuna's way of thinking is not different from the general Buddhist way. *Pratītya-samutpāda* or the essential nature of reality which exists by its own right is not the law of causation as conceived, formulated and applied. Proceeding from the experience with its elementary datum, one may come to conceive and formulate the law of causation or dependent origination, but one cannot resolve it back into the experience itself which occurred once only when it occurred and remains nevertheless a point of reference to *pratītya-samutpāda* conceived and formulated as the law of causation. According to the general Buddhist way of thinking, one may proceed from a chemical combination of all the ingredients used to account for the possibility of the preparation of a dish of pudding, but one cannot for that reason resolve the taste of the pudding, which is something unique, into the separate tastes of the ingredients themselves

10 *The Buddhist Philosophy of Universal Flux*, p. 57.

that have lost their individualities in course of the cooking.[11] The experience which is a momentary affair and never occurs twice in one and the same form accounts similarly for the possibility of the conception and formulation of a law of causation, and the law of causation or the system of thought built upon it derives its significance therefrom, but that does not mean that the experience is restorable from the law itself, far less its elementary objective datum which is not an ideal construction, and hence deserves the name of an *asaṃskṛta dhātu* or uncreated element of reality. As it is constituted, mind can just once peep into the nature of reality as it flashes through intuition or mystical experience.

Now, considered with reference to the noble quest described in the *Ariya-pariyesana Sutta*, is the discovery claimed to have been made by Buddha two-fold or single? If twofold, are we not compelled to entertain the notion of there being two *asaṃskṛta dhātus* or uncreated elements of reality, namely, *pratītya-samutpāda* and *nirvāṇa*, which is logically absurd?[12] The uncreated elementary objective datum of experience must be single or unitary. But how is it stated to be double or twofold? Suppose we assume that *pratītya-samutpada* alone is the element of reality, can it not be shown that *nirodha* or *nirvāṇa* is just a side-issue or an aspect of it?

Whether we objectively watch cosmic life, or individual life, or life of consciousness, we can have just momentary peeps or glimpses into it. At the most we can have 'point instants' or 'snapshot views' within a limited duration. In the kaleidoscopic or cinematographic view, one picture seems to pass away or to appear in quick succession or in an order of sequence, while just one picture is always present before the eyes that gaze on without reflecting or thinking. The impression left on the mind of the observer is that of the movement of pictures or appearances in the continuity of an order of change or becoming, in short, of orderliness in a continuity of which the first beginning (*pubbakoṭi, pubbanta*) and the ultimate end (*aparakoṭi, aparanta*) cannot be seen and determined. So far as the cosmic life, individual life, or life of consciousness is concerned, certain experiences occur that remind us of those occurred in the past and are preserved in memory. But for the memory, the experiences that occurred previously would be lost or non-existent for ever. If the case be that of a person continuing to write a new figure on a black board with his right hand and to efface the old figure with his left, there is present always a single figure before the observer and that which is effaced is gone for ever. But for the memory the past is past, the present is present and the future (*anāgata*) is that which is not come, that which is yet to be. With regard to the past, the correct statement is that it was (*ahosi*), with regard to the present, that it is (*etarahi paccuppanno*) and with regard to the future, that it will be (*bhavissati*).[13] There is no other mental

11. *Milinda*. p. 63.

12. *Kathāvatthu*, VI, 2.

13. *Poṭṭhapāda Sutta, Dīgha*, i. p. 200 ff.

mode of describing historically the event watched than representing it in terms of the three portions of time, viz., a past (*atīta*), a present (*paccuppanna*), and a future (*anāgata*), while the event itself has nothing to do with these mental modes that introduce into it the ideas of sequence, succession and duration, and thus relate it to the concepts suggestive of time and its reality. As we watch, that which strikes us is the continuity of a process of genesis at every juncture (*pratisandhi*) of which is to be noticed something ceasing-to-be and something coming-to-be, in other words, *nirodha* and *utpāda*, but the objective datum of experience is always the *utpanna* or something which has come-to-be. Something which has ceased-to-be becomes a thing of the past, and non-existent for us but for memory. We proceed from the *utpanna dharma* to *utpanna dharma*, the ceasing-to-be and the coming-to-be being the mental modes of representing the junctures in the process of genesis. The observed order of sequence applies to one *utpanna dharma* ceasing-to-be and to another *utpanna-dharma* coming-to-be. One can say, therefore, that the notion of cessation is just a side-issue and a negative aspect of the fact of sequence, either that something having ceased-to-be, something ceased-to-be, or that something having come-to-be, something came-to-be. This indeed is known as the original formulation (*ādi naya*) of *pratītya-samutpāda* conceived as the fundamental law or mode of happening in the process of genesis:

(*1*) *Imasmiṃ sati idaṃ hoti, imass' uppādā idaṃ uppajjati;*
(*2*) *Imasmiṃ asati idaṃ na hoti, imassa nirodhā idaṃ nirujjhati.*

The first setting, called *anuloma-desanā*, is set forth in terms of advent or appearance, and the second, called *paṭiloma-desanā*, is set forth in terms of cessation or disappearance.[1] In the second Pali Abhidhamma text called *Vibhaṅga*, as well as in the Sarvāstivāda texts, the *pratiloma-deśanā* is altogether dispensed with and just the *anulomadeśanā* is retained.[15]

In the above formulation of the general law of genesis, happening or becoming, the mental representation or verbal statement is in terms of sequence between two *utpanna-dharmas*, one ceasing-to-be and the other coming-to-be. If we cannot causally connect or inter-relate them, the building up of a system of thought is impossible. When we causally inter-relate them in thought we make different causal relations out of the simple fact of sequence, and take them to subsist between the *paccayas* (causal factors, conditions or circumstances) and the *paccayupanna-dhammas* (causally induced states, i.e., effects.).[16] If the causal relation subsumed between two successive events or stages in a process of genesis involving the notions of

14. *Udoṇa*, I, 1-3; *Majjhima*, i, 262; ii, p. 32.
15. *Vibhaṅga*, Ch. VI; P. C. Bagchi in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XI, pp. 194, 199; B. C. Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, p. 47 ff.
16. According to Vasubandhu, between the *samutpāda* (i.e., *hetu*) and the *samutpanna* (i.e., *phala*). *Abhidharma-kośa*, III. 28.

advent and cessation, single terms are the convenient devices of thought to designate these events or stages. The notion of temporal sequence is out of place in the causal interpretation of an event, which when it takes place, takes place as a unit with regard to time and is to be viewed as a common performance of several causal factors and conditions in their momentary unification. One may think of simultaneity but not of priority or posteriority. If any one speaks here of priority, it must be understood in a logical sense (*uppāda-paccayaṭṭhena*).[17] A rational explanation of the possibility of the occurrence of an event, mental or otherwise, lies not in any single efficient cause (*eka kāraṇa*), whether it be God or Time or Fate, but in a conjuncture of circumstances or causal factors and circumstances (*paccaya-sāmaggi, samavāya*), a view, which is in different ways adopted in the Sāṃkhya, Pūrva-mīmāṃsā, Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems of Indian thought. Though the Pāli scholiast Buddhagghosa pleads for the plurality of causes (*aneka-hetuto vutti*),[18] Buddhist realism stands really for the unification (*samanvāya* or *ekīkaraṇa*) or combination of causal factors and circumstances excluding the idea of mere juxtaposition or collection.[19] The unification or combination must be sufficient to produce the result, which is to say, enough in itself to account for the possibility of the result produced.

The general law of happening in terms of temporal sequence (*tabbhāva-tabbhāvitā*)[20] with its causal implication was sought to be illustrated by a causal scheme of life exhibiting the twelve successive stages in the process of genesis, each denoted by a single term called *nidāna*. The twelve terms are *avidyā, saṃskāra, vijñāna, nāma-rūpa, saḍāyatana, sparśa, vedanā, tṛṣṇā, upādāna, bhava, jāti* (*janma*), and *jarā-maraṇa-śoka-paridevana-upāyāsāḥ*). The convenient mode of expressing the causal nexus between any two successive stages is because of this, that: *avidyā-pratyayāt saṃskārāḥ, saṃskāra-pratyayāt vijñānam*, etc. Unfortunately this illustrative causal scheme represented as a wheel of life (*bhava-chakra*),[21] has been mistaken for the whole of *pratītya-samutpāda* conceived and formulated as a general law of happening. The illustrative causal scheme or chain of life, as its twelve terms and eleven links indicate, is suited only to represent the common experience of mankind and animal world in connection with the biological development of a living being and its bearings on the feelings of

17. *Dhammapada Commentary*, i. p. 23.
18. *Atthasālinī*, p. 59: *samavāya-saṅkhāto samayo aneka-hetuto vuttiṃ dīpeti, tena eka-kāraṇa-vādo paṭisedhite hoti. Samavāyo ca nāma sādhāraṇa-phala-nipphādane aññamaññāpekkho. Tasmā eko kattā nāma n'atthi.*
19. *Atthasālinī*, p. 60: *sādhāraṇa-phala-nipphādakattena hi ṭhitabhāvo sāmaggi na anekesaṃ samodhānamattaṃ na ca andhānaṃ dassanaṃ nāma sādhāraṇa-phalaṃ.*
20. *Abhidhammattha-saṃgaha*, Ch. VIII; *Atthasālinī*, p. 60: *assa bhāvena bhāvo.*
21. *Abhidharma-kośa*, III. 16.

others interested in his welfare. If we stop at *jarā-maraṇa* (*decay-and-death*), the scheme applies only to the biological career of an individual from its beginning to its end. The three terms, *śoka*, *paridevana* and *upāyāśā* (sorrow, lamentation and despair), represent the painful feelings of the kith and kin of a person on account of his death, and should, therefore, be omitted, as Vasubandhu has done, while discussing the biological career of an individual *qua* individual. The continuity of the biological career carries with it the notion of sequence or succession of *ātmabhāvas*, bodily appearances or individual existences within limited durations. Before we proceed further with the discussion, we should consider Vasubandhu's interpretation of *pratītya-samutpāda* in the *Abhidharma-kośa* and Yaśomitra's interpretation of the same in his *Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā*.

Vasubandhu and Yaśomitra seem to interpret *pratītya-samutpāda*, the former tacitly and the latter explicitly, under its four aspects, viz., (1) as representing the momentary character of all forms in which the nature of reality presents itself to experience, i.e., as *kṣaṇika-pratītya-samutpāda*, (2) as representing the continuity of the order of becoming, i.e., as *prākarṣika-pratītya-samutpāda*, (3) as involving the idea of inter-relation between cause and effect, i.e., as *sāmbandhika-pra°-samutpāda*, and (4) as differentiating the successive stages in the career of individuals, i.e., as *āvasthika-pratītya-samutpāda*.[22] According to Vasubandhu, by the causal scheme of life Buddha meant the *āvasthika* aspect, and by the twelve terms outlining the same, the twelve successive stages, each exhibiting predominance of a particular feature, whether it be *avidyā*, *saṃskāra*, or the like. At each stage is to be recognized a particular organic combination or development of the five aggregates.[23]

In this architectonic of thought conceived in terms of the three portions of time, out of the twelve *nidānas* the first two, namely, *avidyā* and *saṃskāra* are relegated to past, the last two, namely, *jāti* and *jarā-maraṇa*, to future, and the middle eight, from *vijñāna* to *bhava*, to present. The *nidānas* are classified also under three heads, viz., *kleśa*, *karma* and *vastu*. *Avidyā*, *tṛṣṇā* and *upādāna* are to be treated as *kleśas*, i.e., the mental properties or co-efficients that stain or contaminate our nature, the nature of consciousness (*citta*). *Saṃskāra*, and *bhava* stand for *karmas* or the volitional phases of action shaping the destiny or determining the form of birth and rebirth. The remaining seven signify *vastus* or *loci* of *kleśa* and *karma*; these stand also for *phalas* or resultants.[24]

Viewed under the *āvasthika* aspect of *pratītya-samutpāda*, the process of genesis gives rise to the idea of an orderly sequence between successive *ātmabhāvas* or bodily appearances within limited spans or durations of life.

21. *Abhidharma-kośa*, III. 16.
22. Abhidharma-kośa, III. 25.
23. *Ibid.*, III. 25 : *āvasthikaḥ kilesto'yam, prādhānyātvaṅga-kirtanam.*
24. *Ibid.* III. 27.

The junctures in the connected narrative of a continuous biography are called *sandhis* or *pratisandhis*. Here the past existence or episode is represented as followed by the present, and the present by the future. So far as the past existence is concerned, we are required to take cognizance of these two distinctive features, viz., *avidyā* and *saṃskāra*. Here *vidyā* and *avidyā* stand for two kinds of knowledge running counter to each other, just as two enemies who are both men are hostile to each other in their intentions and actions.[25] The term *avidyā* does not imply the absence (*abhāva*) of *vidyā* or knowledge of some kind.[26] The real difference between the two lies in the fact that the animal instincts and impulses, sex-urges and lower passions are subservient to one kind of knowledge[27] and the higher instincts and impulses and nobler desires and ideals are led by the other kind. Vasubandhu defines the *avidyā* stage as the total natural disposition of the animal instincts and impulses, sex urges and lower passions of an individual in his past life, and the *saṃskāra* stage as the sum total of the effects of past deeds of an individual as determining his destiny.[28]

As to the present life, the *vijñāna* stage is the condition of the individual just at the moment of conception and at the inception of organic development. The next stage, called *nāma-rūpa*, covers the period of organic development, the development of the fœtus in the womb, prior to the development of the six sense-organs. This is immediately followed by the *saḍāyatana* stage which is just prior to the stage of *sparśa* in which the organs of sense begin to function, bringing the individual into contact with the external world and enabling him to communicate with and feel interested in persons and things other than himself.[29] In the *sparśa* stage the individual acquires the potentiality for experiencing different feelings. The *vedanā* stage prevails when the individual begins to experience certain feelings for an object of enjoyment, and it is followed by the *tṛṣṇā* stage when he conceives the longing for the object during its enjoyment.[30] The next is the stage of *upādāna* when the individual runs after the objects of enjoyment for obtaining them. In the *bhava* stage he begins to perform such deeds as may enable him to attain to the desired future state.[31] In relation to the future life, the *tṛṣṇā* and *upādāna* stages act as the *avidyā* stage, and the *bhava*

25. *Abhidharma-kośa*, III. 28 : *vidyā-vipakṣo dharmo'nyo'vidyāmitrānṛtādivat.*
26. According to Yaśomitra, *vidyāyā abhāvo 'vidye ti tu nābhipretā.*
27. According to Yaśomitra, *kleśair-anugatā hi avidyā.*
28. *Abhidharma-kośa*, III. 21 : *pūrva-kleśādaśāvidyā, saṃskārāh pūrva-karmaṇah.*
29. *Abhidharma-kośa*, III. 21-22 : *sandhiskandhas tu vijñānaṃ, nāmarūpaṃ ataḥparaṃ prāk ṣaḍāyatanotpādāt ; tat pūrvaṃ trika-saṁgamāt.*
30. *Ibid.*, III, 22-23 : *sparśaḥ prāk sukha-duḥkhādikaraṇa-jñāna-śaktinaḥ. Vittiḥ prāṅ maithunāt ; tṛṣṇā bhogamaithuna-rāginaḥ.*
31. *Ibid.*, III, 23-24.

takes the place of the *saṃskāra*. In the scheme of future life, the *jāti* stage is just another name for the *vijñāna* and the term *jarā-maraṇa* denotes the stages from the *nāma-rūpa* to the *vedanā*.[32]

The poetical imagery depicting the *āvasthika pratītya-samutpāda* as a *bhavacakra* or wheel of life must be handled with caution. If in the order of sequence one *ātmabhāva* be followed by another and the second be neither the same as nor quite different from the first, there is no room for the imagery of a wheel, the series running as $a, a^1, a^2, a^3, a^4 \dots a^n$.

The imagery comes in only in so far as similar stages recur in the same theoretical order of sequence in each *ātmabhāva*, and yet we are not to picture to ourselves the procession by the analogy of a single wheel in motion, it going on rather in a spiral or chain-like movement.

Vasubandhu maintains that the above formulation of the law of *āvasthika pratītya-samutpāda* was intended to set at rest all doubts as to the past, present and future existences of individuals as individuals.[33] The typical questions raised concerning the three are : Did I exist in the past or not, do I exist now or not, shall I exist in future or not, after having been what I am now what I am, what shall I become after having been what I am now ? These questions as problems are said to have been discarded by Buddha in the Sabbāsava Sutta on the simple ground that to admit the questions is to beg the questions, i.e., to admit the answers suggested in them. Arguing therefrom one is apt to arrive at one or the other of the following six conclusions : that one possesses an entity, that one does not possess an entity, that one knows self by self, that one knows not-self by self, that one knows self by not-self, that there is a soul or percipient within him, and that soul is the only entity which perdures through the whole series of bodily changes, not itself being liable to change.

All that Vasubandhu means amounts to saying that by the above statement of the law the Blessed One both avoided and met the two extreme positions of self-existence and self-extinction, in other words, of eternalism and annihilationism. To subsume an entity, be it soul or spirit, which remains unaffected by organic transformations is to take up an arbitrary position in a reality where all things change but the soul or spirit alone enjoys the imperial or royal prerogative of remaining where it is, being always above the law. Nowhere in the process of genesis, in no stage of individual existence, is to be noticed such disparity between one element of reality and another, i.e., between matter and spirit, body and soul. Wherever there is any bodily appearance or individual existence, there is an inseparable combination of the five aggregates, all being equally subject to one and the same law of causal genesis. But the question still is—how far will the procession go without coming to an end for good ? Does or does not *nirvāṇa* imply, in

32. *Ibid.*, III, 24.
33. *Ibid.* III. 25 : *pūrvāparāntamadhyeṣu sammoha-vinivṛttaye.*

other words, the total cessation of the process of becoming meaning the *uccheda* or annihilation of individuality, of a changing individuality ?

Once we assume that *nirvāṇa* means the cessation of the eschatological process of individuality, there is no escape from the charge of annihilationism which was always denied by Buddha. If, from the eschatological point of view, we say with Ajita Keśakambala, a veritable Cārvāka philosopher, that individuality ceases with death, and after death a person is not, it is a bold case of annihilationism. Suppose the next man comes and avers that to completely get rid of individuality one must utterly exhaust the *karmic* force, which is not possible through the effort of one life. Individuality ceases entirely to be only when a perfect man dies after experiencing the first state of trance. The third man pleads for the second state and the ninth man for the eighth, and the Buddhist were to come at last to plead for the ninth state of *samāpatti*. Can we defend any of them against the above charge ?[35] The *Vedānta* position is no better, if it be like this that individual selves become ultimately merged in the universal self like the rivers losing themselves in the sea, abandoning their separate entities. The *Sāṃkhya* position is worse if it means that when an individual reaches the highest conceivable state of perfection, after death his soul becomes separated for ever from *prakṛti* or matter, which contains the potentiality and possibility for all organic changes, including mental. Is this precisely the ultimate eschatological position to which we are led by the logical conclusion from the trend of Buddha's *āvasthika pratītya-samutpāda* ?

We can well appreciate Buddha when he took Bhikṣu Svāti to task for construing his philosophic thought as implying that *vijñāna* alone runs from existence to existence, through the entire series of embodiments. By *vijñāna* Svāti obviously kept in view the Upaniṣadic *vijñānātman* or soul made up of a mass of intelligence (*vijñāna-ghana*)[36] or bare consciousness. But the criticism put into the mouth of Buddha goes to show that the word *vijñāna* was taken to mean sense-cognitions and not that because of which these mental acts and developments are possible, i.e., the *bhavāṅga citta* or *ālaya-vijñāna*,—the life-continuum, the individuated consciousness.[37] Even if Svāti's *vijñāna* were taken in this very sense, he could not be absolved from the guilt of misrepresentation. There is nowhere this suggestion that *vijñāna* or *citta* alone can exist apart from being a component factor in some form or other of the organic unity of the five aggregates.

We can similarly appreciate that in the *Khandha Saṃyutta* Bhikṣu Yamaja is severely criticised for having given out that as he construed Bud-

34. *Majjhima*, i, p. 7.
35. *Brahmajāla Sutta*, under *ucchedavāda*, *Dīgha*, i, p. 34 ff.
36. *Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Up.*, V, 5. 13. Note that *prajñāna* and *vijñāna* are used as variants.
37. *Majjhima*, i, p. 256 ff.

dha's doctrine, it meant the cessation of the process of individuality of an Arahant with death. To put it in his own words, "On the dissolution of the body a *kṣīṇāśrava* becomes annihilated as an individual, after death he is not (i.e., does not evolve further)." The stereotyped Buddhist arguments employed to bring the upholder of the wrong opinion to a right way of thinking are to these three effects: (1) that none of the five aggregates as constituents of an individual existence is a permanent entity; (2) that in no stage an individuality is identifiable either with a single aggregate or with a sum total of all the five aggregates; and (3) that no individuality in any of its stages is conceivable apart (*aññatra*) from the five aggregates.[38]

By the illustrative formula, because of *avidyā*, *saṃskāra*, because of *saṃskāra*, *vijñāna*, etc. just one aspect of *āvasthika pratītya-samutpāda* is sought to be brought out. Viewing in the light of this particular formula, we are to picture to ourselves an orderly sequence of the various stages of individual life with *avidyā*, *saṃskāra* etc. as their distinctive features. In Theravāda Buddhism, this formula is supplemented by another, namely, because of the cessation (*nirodha*) of *avidyā*, the cessation of *saṃskāra*, because of the cessation of *saṃskāra*, the cessation of *vijñāna*, etc., to bring out another aspect of the same. Viewing in the light of this second illustrative formula, we are to picture to ourselves an orderly sequence of the various stages of individual life with *avidyā-nirodha*, *saṃskāra-nirodha*, etc., as their distinctive features. The *nirvāṇa* stage is to be reached when there takes place a complete cessation of *avidyā* as well as of the instincts, impulses, passions and desires led by it (*avijjāya asesa-virāga-nirodhā*). Considered from this point of view, *nirvāṇa*, which is held out as the *summum bonum* of life, is negatively characterised as a state implying the exhaustion or extinction of all *āśravas*, the complete cessation of *avidyā* and of *duḥkha*. This has led many a critic of Buddhism, particularly John Caird, to think that Buddhism offers us but 'a heaven of nothingness' as the goal of life, which is to say, that in Buddhism the world has arrived only at a negative result.[38a] This is undoubtedly due to the sequential setting of the stages of life in terms of *nirodha* and *kṣaya*, instead of in terms of *samudaya* and *paripūri*.

In point of fact, whether such a setting be in terms of one or the other, behind it is the reality of causal genesis, the trend of life running through the successive stages of development. Neither the course of cosmic life, nor that of individual life, nor even that of the life of consciousness is negated thereby; it is, on the contrary, posited. By negating it, we render the signi-

38. *Saṃyutta*, iii, p. 109 ff

38a. The popular prospects of an eternal and everlasting life of bliss and glory in a paradise as held out by Hīnayāna Buddhism in the Buddhakhetta (*Buddhavaṃsa*), by Mahāyāna Buddhism in Sukhāvatī (*Sukhāvatīvyūha*), and by other religions in the Vaikuṇṭha, the Heaven, and the like should not be brought in to bear upon the present discussion. These must be relegated to the realm of poetic fancy.

ficance of all such causal settings and thought schemes of existence and of life and experience nugatory. The negation of it means the denial of the factual reality existing by its own right on which these must have their bearings in order to be significant both in thought and in the life of efforts.

To understand Buddha's real trend of thought one may do no better than to take clue from its various *mātikās* or architectonics. According to one of them, four are the express or implied aims of a life of efforts, namely, the stoppage (lit. non-production) of the appearance of those sinful and unwholesome states that have not as yet arisen, getting rid of such states that have already arisen, the inducement of those wholesome states that have not as yet arisen, and the preservation, non-confusion, augmentation, increase in magnitude, development and fulness of such states that have arisen.[39] Here the first two aims relate to *nirodha* or *kṣaya* and represent its two modes, and the last two relate to *samudaya* and denote its two modes. Does it not follow from this way of stating the matter that the aim, upon the whole, is the fulfilment (*pāripūri*) of all the higher possibilities of life? The question of negation arises only when we think of getting rid of and guarding against those diseased states and future diseases that stand in the way of the healthy development of life and its progressive course.

But we must also consider here the implication of two other architectonics of Buddha's thought. Going by them, we are to adopt two different modes in classifying the living individuals, one complementary to the other, one in which the individuals are assumed to be stationary, i.e., *at rest*, and the other in which they are taken to be changing, i.e., *in motion*. According to one, they fall into these four classes: elevated (*unnata*), degraded (*avanata*), both elevated and degraded (i.e., elevated in one sense, some respects and degraded in another sense, other respects), and neither elevated nor degraded. According to the other, which is really Buddhistic, they are to be classified as degraded-elevated (*avanata-unnata*), degraded-degraded (*avanata-avanata*), elevated-degraded (*unnata-avanata*), and elevated-elevated (*unnata-unnata*).[40] Accordingly the individuals may be judged either as degraded though they appear to be at the present moment, they are tending towards elevation, or as not only degraded now but also proceeding headlong towards degradation, or as elevated though they be now, they are tending towards degradation, or, fourthly, as not only elevated now but also proceeding towards further elevation. Is it not evident also from the second classification that the aim of Buddhism is to lead life from elevation to elevation by arresting its course from degradation to degradation?[41] Is the emphases laid here on the negative or the

39. These are known as *cattāro sammappadhānā*. See *Saṅgīti Suttanta*, *Dīgha*, iii. p. 221.

40. *Puggala-paññatti*, iv. 20.

41. This trend of Buddha's thought goes against Stcherbatsky's forceful opi-

positive aspect of the results of life's efforts, the passage of life from stage to stage being always the nature of reality behind all resulting efforts? To do justice to Buddha's balanced mind and comprehensive view, one can say that in his thought schemes and methods of training, the emphasis has been equally laid on both the aspects.

The Pāli or Theravāda illustrative formula is mostly two-armed (*anuloma-paṭiloma*) and rarely one-armed (*anuloma*); the *Sarvāstivāda* formula is invariably one-armed (*anuloma*), precisely as in the *Vibhaṅga*, Ch. VI. Whether one-armed or two-armed, the formula betrays the mental preoccupation about the general run of life under the sway of *avidyā* and *tṛṣṇā*. Under the aspect of cessation, too, it suggests the mental preoccupation about the stoppage of the unwholesome and the elimination of the troublesome factors, in short, negative results of life's efforts. In the *Vibhaṅga* chapter on *paṭicca-samuṭpāda* alone, we have specimens of different causal formulas (*paccayākāras*) including those applicable to the course of life that starts from *kusala-mūlas*.[42] Here, too, the application of the law of causal genesis to the progress of higher or better life on the *lokottara* level of consciousness is barely indicated. It is clearly shown that if a course of life starts from a *kusala--mūla*, play of *avidyā*, *tṛṣṇā* and *upādāna* has no place in it, in each series *prasāda* (i.e. *śrāddhā*, serene faith) is substituted for *tṛṣṇā* and *adhimokṣa* (strong bent of mind) for *upādāna*. *Prasāda* or *śraddhā* implies faith or belief in better states of existence and their realizability through right-directed efforts, etc., and *samyak dṛṣṭi*, translated by 'right view', whether *laukika* or *lokottara*,[43] is rooted in it.[44] In that case, *samyak saṅkalpa*, translated by 'right resolve', whether *laukika* or *lokottara*, may be taken to be rooted in *adhimokṣa*. Unfortunately for Buddhism, it has nowhere been clearly shown what the illustrative formula of *āvasthika pratītya-samutpāda* should be to set forth the procession of the better stages of life that start from *vidyā*. The series from *vidyā* to *vedanā* running like that from *avidyā* to *vedanā*, its continuation may be outlined by the following terms: *samyak dṛṣṭi, samyak saṅkalpa, samyak vāk, samyak karmānta, samyak ājīva, samyak vyāyāma, samyak smṛti, samyak samādhi, samyak jñāna, samyak vimukti*.[45]

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nion (*The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, p. 29) that "the moral law conduces through a very long process of evolution the living world into a state of final quiescence, where there is no life, but something lifeless or inanimate. In this sense the Vaibhāṣika outlook resembles the materialism of modern science." For the modern scientist's view, Julian Huxley's *Essays of a Biologist*, first and last chapters (Pelican Series).

42. I am greatly indebted to my esteemed cousin Mr. Birendra Lal Mutsuddi, author of the *Abhidharmārtha-saṃgraha* for drawing my attention to this.

43. See *Mahā-cattālisa Sutta, Majjhima*, iii. p. 231.

44. *Saddhā-mūlikā sammādiṭṭhi, Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*, i. p. 231.

45. *Digha*, iii. pp. 291; B. C. Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, p. 36.

In the progressive course of life which proceeds from health to health, from wholesome to wholesome, one may notice a twofold process of *nirodha*, namely, *apratisaṃkhyā* (natural, temporary) and *pratisaṃkhyā* (through knowledge).[46] When the *kuśala* states prevail, say, during the *rūpa* and *arūpa dhyānas*, the *akuśala* states cease to be present then in consciousness, but these may make their appearances after the *dhyāna* periods are over. Thus there are chances of lapses or recurrences, though not in identical forms. The prescribed course of training is intended, therefore, to exhaust these unhappy possibilities to eliminate these chances. We reach the *nirvāṇa* stage when these possibilities are completely exhausted and these chances are entirely eliminated. Thus the fulness of life reached through the progression of wholesome stages and the thorough elimination of obstacles on the way by means of two kinds of *nirodha*[47] may be taken to meet at a point, which seems to have led Nāgārjuna to hold that the ultimate reaches (*koṭis*) of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* are the same.[48] But how far will the process of life go without coming to an end?

If negatively *nirvāṇa* and positively fulness be held out as the final goal of life's efforts, the highest conceivable state of perfection reached by Buddha or any other man, does it follow from Buddha's doctrine of *pratītya-samutpāda* that there is such a finality? Does the recorded history of men bear testimony to that? I would say, No. It is negatived also by the evidence of history. Theoretically only *nirvāṇa* or fulness of life is the finality. History attests that there was a time when *nirvāṇa* or *vimokṣa* was claimed to have been realized through the first *rūpa-dhyāna* and during the first *samāpatti*. World progressed and subsequently this was found to be wrong. It came to be claimed that some one else realized it through the second *rūpa-dhyāna* and during the second *samāpatti*. Proceeding in this manner, and already before the rise of Buddhism, the claim was made in favour of the eighth *samāpatti*. This, too, was declared by Buddha to be inadequate, and he came to base his claim on the ninth *samāpatti*. Thus the number of *samāpattis* swelled up from one to nine as well as the number of *vimokṣas*.[49] If the number could go up from one to nine, why should it not be that like the growing number of planets, it will increase from more to more with

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46. *Abhidharma-kośa*, I, 6: *Pratisaṃkhyā-nirodho yo visaṃyogaḥ pṛthak pṛthak. Utpādātyanta-vighno'nyo nirodho 'pratisaṃkhyaya.* See for other definitions of these two *nirodhas* Satkari Mookerjee's *The Buddhist Philosophy of Universal Flux*, pp. 5, 101, 244-46, 248-49, 252.

47. The utility of *apratisaṃkhyā-nirodha* lies in preventing the rise of the hindrances that have not arisen, and that of *pratisaṃkhyā-nirodha* in getting rid of those which have arisen. Cf. Satkari Mookerjee, *op. cit.*

48. i.e., *yā koṭi nirvāṇasya sā koṭi saṃsaraṇasya ca.*
I have used the word *saṃsāra* in a somewhat different sense in my Ceylon lecture on Buddhism as personal religion, p. 9.

49. *Brahmajāla Sutta, Digha*, i. p. 36 ff.; *Digha*, iii. p. 262.

each fresh realization or discovery? Then, again, we are not to think, when we speak of the number of planets, only of one solar system. Even assuming for argument's sake that under the present condition of human beings belonging to our planet the state of perfection reached by Buddha was not the penultimate but the very ultimate one, it does not follow from it that there are not still better conditions of beings elsewhere in the universe. The *uttaritara* slogan of Buddha, precisely like the *parātpara* slogan of the *Upaniṣads,* is inconsistent with any claim to finality, unless it be a finality so far, a finality hitherto known and recognized as such. Just as in a numerical series, 1, 2, 3, 4....*n*, the *n* remains always the theoretical finality, the same as to *nirvāṇa*, which is held before us as the final goal and which is bound to recede like an ever-retreating horizon as we advance towards it.[50]

One more question still remains to discuss. How is it possible to turn the *avidyā* series of *āvasthika pratītya-samutpāda* into a *vidyā* series, if *vidyā* and *avidyā* be diametrically opposite in fact? They are mutually contradictory as logical terms, no doubt. But, in fact, *avidyā,* as we saw, does not imply the absence of *vidyā* or knowledge of some kind. Just as two contradictory logical terms red and not-red, comprehend together the whole universe of discourse regarding the subject of colour, so *vidyā* and *avidyā* (not-*vidyā*) may be shown to comprehend together the whole universe of discourse regarding knowledge. *Avidyā* as a kind of knowledge, based upon a certain reading of the nature of reality, which impels us to follow the so-called normal course of life guided by our natural instincts and impulses, sex-urges and wordly desires and passions. *Vidyā* as another kind of knowledge, based upon two readings, one on the lines of *avidyā* and the other on its own new lines, the latter inspiring us to change the direction of life, to follow a different course which is calculated to elevate our nature. The *vidyā* form of knowledge, too, may be shown to emerge out of *avidyā*, here *avidyā* and *vidyā* standing respectively for that which is not brought and that which is brought into clear recognition. In these senses indeed the terms *avidyā* and *vidyā* were used by the Buddhist Sister Dhammadinnā (Dhamadattā) when she spoke of the *avidyā* stage resulting as a counterpart (*pratibhāga*) by way of a reaction from the *naduḥkha-nasukha*, of *vidyā* as a counterpart by way of a reaction from *avidyā*, of *vimukti* from *vidyā*, and of *nirvāṇa* from *vimukti*.[51]

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50. Barua, Ceylon Lecture on *Buddhism as personal religion*, p. 8 ff.

51. *Culla-vedalla Sutta*; *Majjhima*, i. p. 304. According to Buddhaghosa, *upekkhā pana andhakārābhibhūtā duddīpanā, avijjā 'pi tādisā vā'ti, ten 'ettha sabhāga-paṭibhāgo.*

EARLY LIFE OF CHANDRAGUPTA MAURYA

(*From Jaina Sources.**)

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Chāṇakya was born in a village called Chaṇaya in the Golla District (*Gallavisae*).[1] His father Chaṇaka was a Brāhmaṇa by birth (*Māhaṇo*) but a Jaina by faith (*sāvao*). The baby Chāṇakya was born with full-grown teeth (like Minerva born in panoply!).[2] At that time were staying in his house some Jaina saints (*sāhū*) who, when they saw it, predicted that the new-born babe was destined to be a king (*rāyā*). Chaṇaka, who was religiously inclined, considered earthly kingdom to be a hell which his son

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* Mainly based on the *Sukhabodhā* of Devendragaṇin, a commentary on the *Uttarajjhayaṇa*, the first of the four *Mūlasuttas* of the Śvetāmbara *Siddhānta*. Other works consulted are the *Chuṇṇi* on Bhadrabāhu's *Āvassaya Nijjutti*, the *Āvaśyaka Vṛitti* of Haribhadra Sūri, and Hemachandra's *Sthavirāvalicharita*, or *Pariśishṭaparvan*. Prakrit passages cited within brackets are from the *Sukhabodhā* (on the *Uttarajjhayaṇa*, iii. 1, Nijjutti, 166).

1. *Āvaśyaka-Niryukti-Chūrṇi*, p. 563 (Jainabandhu Printing Press. Indore 1928); *Āvaśyaka-Sūtra* [*Vṛtti*], p. 433 Āgamodaya Samiti Edition, Bombay 1916-17); *Pariśishṭaparvan*, viii. 194.

No clue is to be found in our sources with regard to the location of either the village or the district associated with Chāṇakya's nativity. Golla, however, may be identified with Gola as mentioned in one of the Bharhut inscriptions (Cunningham, *Stūpa of Bharhut*, p. 140. No. 21). Gola seems to be the name of a town, but it can also be the name of a district as well as of its head-quarters.

According to the Buddhist tradition, Chāṇakya was born at Taxila (*Vaṁsatthappakāsinī*, p. 119, *l.* 35. Sinhalese Edition). Whether that famous city was situated in a district (*visae*) called Golla or Golya is not known to us so far.

In the *Chuṇṇi* on the *Āvassaya Nijjutti*, the village where Chāṇakya was born, has been mentioned as Chaṇiya and, strangely enough, the same name has also been given to Chāṇakya's father in that work. According to the Jaina *Bṛhatkathākośa* (cxliii. 3), Chāṇakya, son of Kapila, belonged to the city of Pāṭaliputra, which was his ancestral home.

2. "*Putto se jāo saha dāḍhāhim*" (*Sukhabodhā*). Cf. Shakespeare:

"The midwife wondered; and the women cried,
'O, Jesus bless us, he is born with teeth!'
And so I was; which plainly signified
That I should snarl, and bite, and play the dog.
Then, since the heavens have shaped my body so,
Let hell make crook'd my mind to answer it."

(*King Henry VI*, pt. iii, Act V, Sc. vi).

Kauṭilya, 'the Crooked One,' might have thought also on the same line as the dramatist puts it through Richard, Duke of Gloucester.

should be spared ('*mādoggaṁ jāssai 'tti*). He then took the drastic step of scraping out the baby's teeth (*daṁtā ghaṭṭhā*) as signs of royalty.[3] At this, the saints foretold that Chāṇakya would then rule by a substitute ('*ettāhe vi biṁbaṁtario rāyā bhavissaï 'tti*).

As he grew up, Chāṇakya was educated in the fourteen branches of knowledge then extant, in all of which he became highly proficient (*ummukkabālabhāveṇa choddasa vijjāṭhāṇāṇi āgamiyāṇi*).[4] When he had completed his education, his father married him in a respectable Brāhmaṇa family (*bhaddamāhaṇakulāo bhajjā pariṇīyā*).[5]

Chāṇakya's wife once went to her mother's place (*māigharaṁ*) to attend her brother's marriage celebrated with great pomp. Her three sisters and their aristocratic husbands (*khaddhādāṇiyā*) also came to the function attired in the finest dress, jewellery, and ornaments.[6] As a contrast, Chāṇakyā's wife entered in tattered garments and without ornaments, but bearing on her body the necessary auspicious marks of a married woman. Seeing her dress, her sisters at once burst into laughter of scorn, together with the assembled guests.[7] There she remained alone all the time, for nobody cared the least for her. She returned home dejected and weeping. When Chāṇakya heard the details from her, he understood the cause of her insult, viz, his poverty (*niddhaṇattaṁ*), and swore that he would acquire wealth anyhow ('*dhaṇaṁ uvajjiṇāmi keṇavi uvāeṇa*').

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3. According to the Buddhist tradition, Chāṇakya himself had his teeth removed. Cf. Moggallāna :

"*Māluyā pi vacho sutvā Chāṇakkabrāhmaṇo sakaṁ* |
adhimattasinehattā dāṭhaṁ bhindāpayi tato" ||
(*Mahāvaṁsa*, v. 68*b*-69*a*).

4. The fourteen *vijjāṭhāṇas* (branches of knowledge), according to the Jainas, are: (1) Six *Aṁgas* (subjects), viz, (i) *Sikkhā* (Phonetics), (ii) *Vāgaraṇa* (Grammar), (iii) *Nirutta* (Vedic Etymology), (iv) *chhaṁda* (Prosody), (v) *Joisa* (Astronomy), and (vi) *Kappa* (Ritualism); (2) Four *Veyas* (Vedas), (3) *Mimaṁsā* (System of Philosophy); (4) *Nāyavitthara* (Logic), (5) *Purāṇa* (Mythology; and (6) *Dhammasattha* (Legal treatise). (Cf. *Sughab.* on *Uttaraj.* iii. 1. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. i. Ch. iii.

5. It may be noted here that, except the Jaina, no other tradition does even adumbrate that Chāṇakya had the good fortune of taking to himself a wife. His hatred for the fair sex is perhaps indicated in one of the aphorisms which is commonly attributed to him. What had actually led Chāṇakya to be a misogynist is not known, but at least two historical works in Pali literature, represent him as the ugliest human specimen and, hence, unnegotiable in matrimonial market! (*Vaṁsatth.*, p. 120, *ll.* 9-11. e.g. Sinh. Ed.; Moggallāna's *Mahāv.* v. 70*b*-71*a*). According to a later Jaina tradition, the wife of Chāṇakya was a 'dark beauty' (*śyāmā*) named Yaśomatī (*Bṛhatkathākośa*, cxliii. 5).

6. The word "*khaḍdhādāṇiya*" which occurs in the *Āvassaya Chuṇṇi* as well as in the *Sukhabodhā*, may be translated as 'aristocratic' (*mahebhya*), in which sense it has also been taken by Hemachandra (*Pariś.* viii. 203; *Āvas. Chuṇ.*, p. 563).

7. *Pariś.*, viii. 206-208.

At that time King Nanda[8] used to distribute large charities among the Brāhmaṇas (*diyāṇa*) on the full-moon day of the month of Kārttika (*Kattiya-puṇṇimāe*).[9] Chāṇakya proceeded to Pāṭaliputra forthwith and reached there early in the morning of the appointed day. He then entered the palace and occupied the every first seat (*āsaṇe paḍhame nisaṇṇo*) which was, in fact, kept there permanently for the members of the royal family (*taṁ cha tassa pallīvaïssa rāulassa sayā ṭhavijjai—Sukhab.*; *taṁ cha tassa sālliyātassa rāuiassa satā ṭhavijjati—Āvas. Chuṇ.*) King Nanda entered the hall accompanied by his son, Prince Siddhaputra,[10] who asked the maid in attendance to give another seat to Chāṇakya. When it was given, Chāṇakya placed on it his drinking pot. He also placed his other belongings, to wit, the staff (*daṁḍayaṁ*), the rosary (*gaṇettiyaṁ*), and the sacred thread (*jaṇṇo-*

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8. He is evidently the ninth king of his dynasty. Cf. "*Tao Pāḍaliputtaṁ, tatthatthi Naṁdavaṁse navamo Naṁdarāyā.*" *Sukhab.* on *Uttaraj.* ii. 17. See also *Āvaś. Sūt.* [*Vṛtt.*], p. 693.

9. According to orthodox Buddhist tradition as recorded in the *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī*, the royal charities were distributed daily and not on any particular day of the year (*Vaṁsatth.*, p. 120, *ll.* 12-19. Sinh. Ed.) From the same source it also appears that for the proper distribution of his charities, which amounted to over a crore annually, King Nanda (Dhanananda) had set up an 'Alms Department' (*Dānagga*) and vested the power to control it in a 'Board' (*Saṁgha*) specially constituted for the purpose. It appears further that only the eminent and learned Brāhmaṇas could be the members of that Board and that the most learned Brāhmaṇa scholar or one who would be held as such by those members, was to be elected its 'Chairman' (*Saṁghabrāhmaṇa*). It was one of the duties of the Chairman, who appears also to have acted as the Controller of the Alms Department, to supervise daily the distribution of charities in the royal 'Alms-hall' where the king himself also used to come from time to time for the very same purpose. The Chairman appears to have held his office on the express condition that he would resign, if he were defeated in scholastic disputations by another Brāhmaṇa of much superior learning.

It was the misfortune of the last Nanda king that Chāṇakya came so far as Pāṭaliputra to have polemical discussions in that great centre of learning, succeeded in removing the Chairman of the Board of Almoners by taking advantage of the condition specified above, and occupied his place. As the king could not stand the repulsive appearance of the new Chairman, he practically had him removed by force from the alms-hall. He thus incurred the malice of that astute politician and brought ruin on himself and his family (Cf. Moggallāna's *Mahāv.*, v. 72*b*-83*a*; *Vaṁsatth.*, p. 120, *ll.* 12-40 Simh. Ed.)

10. According to the Jainas, Siddhaputra (Siddhaputta) was the son of the last Nanda king. Hemachandra refers to him as 'Nandaputra' but does not mention his name (*Pariś*, viii. 218). According to the orthodox Buddhist tradition, the name of the son and heir-apparent of the last Nanda was Parvata, while the same, according to the *Bṛihatkathā* tradition, was Hiraṇyagupta or Harigupta (*Vaṁsatth.*, pp. 121 ff. Sinh. Ed.; Moggallāna's *Mahāv.*, v. 86 ff.; Chatterjee, C. D., *Ind. Cult.*, i. pp. 220 and 223).

The ninth Nanda probably had only one son, for in all the sources there is reference to only one, though mentioned under different names.

vaiyaṁ) on three more seats as they were offered to him. Finding that Chāṇakya was vain enough not to vacate the royal seat and was even appropriating the other seats, the maid had no patience with his insolent behaviour and made him get up by a kick (*'dhiṭṭho' tti nichchūḍho*), whereupon he flew into a rage and uttered the following vow in the presence of the whole assembly :

"Like the high wind laying low by its invincible velocity the tallest tree, I will uproot Nanda with all his riches and retinue and throw him down with the overspreading branches of his family in all its progeny and kinsmen."[11]

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11. "*Kośena bhṛityaiścha nibaddhamūlaṁ* |
putraiścha mitraiścha vivṛiddhaśākham ||
utpāṭya Nandaṁ parivartayāmi |
mahādrumaṁ vāyurivo'gravegaḥ" ||

[*Sukhab.* on *Uttaraj.* iii. 1. Instead of '*mahādrumaṁ*', we find '*hataddrumaṁ*' in the *Āvassaya Chuṇṇi* (p. 563). The former is undoubtedly a better reading.]

The imprecation uttered by Chāṇakya, which has been differently expressed by different writers, forms an interesting study by itself. In Jaina literature, it occurs for the first time in the *Āvassaya Chuṇṇi* in the form as given above, which has been apparently copied by Devendragaṇin in his *Sukhabodhā* with slight modification. In his *Pariśishṭaparvan* (viii. 225), the celebrated Jaina writer Hemachandra puts it as :

"*Sakośabhṛityaṁ sasuhṛitputraṁ sabalavāhanam* |
Nandamunmūlayishyāmi mahāvāyuriva drumam" ||

One will be interested to note that, although in the *Āvassaya Chuṇṇi* and the *Sukhabodhā*, the story of Chāṇakya and Chandragupta occurs in Prakrit, the imprecation as we find in them, is couched in Sanskrit. Evidently, this change has been made under the belief that a learned Brāhmaṇa like Chāṇakya is not expected to speak in a language, at least in public, which is considered to be unrefined and is intended for the masses. No such linguistic bias, however, is to be observed in Buddhist literature, for the two specimens of the imprecation which is alleged to have been uttered by Chāṇakya at the time of his expulsion from the alms-hall, are in Māgadhī (Pali). Thus, the annonymous author of the *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī* (first half of the 10th century A.D.), on the basis of the tradition as recorded in the two oldest Sinhalese commentaries, viz, the *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā* of the Theravādins (3rd cent. B.C.) and the *Uttaravihāraṭṭhakathā* of the Dhammaruchikas (*c.* 1st cent. A.D.), to which he had access, translates it from the original Sinhalese as "*Imāya cha chāturantāya paṭhaviyā Nandino vaḍḍhi nāmā mā hotū' ti*" (p. 120, *ll.* 38-39. Sinh. Ed.; the form '*Nandino*' which stands evidently for '*Nandassa*'. has been retained, probably because it was to be found in the originals). Incidentally it may be pointed out here that, through this form of imprecation, which is the oldest on record, an interesting side-light has been thrown on the fact that the Nandas, who were of Śūdra origin, were contemptuously called 'Nandins' by the Brāhmaṇas and also possibly by others of higher social standing.

Following the traditions of the Theravādins and the Dhammaruchikas, the chronicler Moggallāna writes :

Chāṇakya burning with indignation left the city of Pāṭaliputra (*niggao nayarāo*). He recalled the prophecy made about him by the Jaina saints that he would rule by proxy (*suyāṁ cha teṇa, 'bimbaṁtario rāyā hokāmi' tti*)[12]. While wandering about in the guise of a *Parivrājaka* (*Parivvāyagaliṅgeṇaṁ*)[13] in search of a person who would be fit for kingship, he came to the

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"*Tasmiṁ kuddho samuṭṭhāya yaññasuttañ cha chhindiya* |
kuṇḍikaṁ paṭihaññitvā indakīlamhi tāvade ||
'*Vuḍḍhimāhotu tasseva*' *abhisappesi brāhmaṇo*" |
(*Mahāv.*, v. 81-82*a*).

12. "*Bimbaṁtario*" (Skt. *bimbāntaritaḥ*) literally means 'screened by mirror'. Haribhadra, Devendragaṇin, and Hemachandra appear to have used it in the sense of 'a substitute' which is evidently its secondary meaning (*Pariś.*, viii. 227).

13. In the *Dharmasūtras*, the terms '*Parivrājaka*' and '*Bhikshu*' have been applied to refer to the Brāhmaṇas sometimes of the third and sometimes of the fourth Stage of Life called *Āśrama* (Gautama, iii. 2; Āpastamba, ii. 9. 21. 7; Vaśishṭha. vii. 2; Baudhāyana, ii. 6. 11. 12). The *Parivrājakas* are, thus, the Brāhmaṇas who have renounced their worldly life and, as the term indicates (*pari-vraj-aka* = a wanderer), have embraced the life of vagrancy. They are broadly distinguished as the *Ekadaṇḍikas* and the *Tridaṇḍikas*, according to the nature of the staff, i.e., whether its top was single or triple, carried by them as an emblem of asceticism. In ancient literature, they have been represented as itinerant ascetic-philosophers, noted for their versatility, wisdom, and saintliness and visiting by turns the chief centres of culture, such as Vaiśālī, Champā, Śrāvastī, and Rājagṛiha, in quest of truths relating to Life and Death, Ātman and the Supreme Bliss, Brahman and the Universe, and of their discussions with their comrades in learning. Although '*Parivrājaka*', like '*Charaka*,' is a generic name for the Wandering ascetics in the Brahmanical system, in the Buddhist and Jaina texts, the term is applied to both the Brāhmaṇa and the non-Brāhmaṇa ascetics (*Majjhima-Nikāya*, ii. pp. 22 ff. and 29 ff.; for the *Brāhmaṇa Parivrājaka*, *ib.*, pp. 40 ff. P. T. S.; etc.). Thus, the Jaina *Uvavāiya*, or *Upapādika-Sūtra* (erroneously called *Aupapātika-Sūtra*), while admitting the life in *Brahmaloka* as good for a *kalpa*, or cycle of existence (*Bambhaloe kappe devattāe uvavattāro bhavaṁti*), to be the supreme end of all the *Parivrājakas*, distinguishes the *Brāhmaṇa* (*Māhaṇaparivvayā*) from the *Kshatriya Parivrājakas* (*Kattiyaparivayā*) and divides them into seven classes, viz, (i) the followers of the Sāṁkhya system of Kapila (*Saṅkhā Kāvilā*), (ii) the followers of the Yoga system of the Bhṛigu school (*Jogī Bhiuvvā*; the *Bhārgava Yogins* were probably the followers of Bhṛigu, whose technique of meditation is enunciated in the *Bhṛiguvalli* of the *Taittirīyopanishad*), (iii) the Haṁsas (*Haṁsā*), (iv) the Paramahaṁsas (*Paramahaṁsā*), (v) the Bahūdakas (*Bahu-udagā*), (vi) the Kuṭibratas (*Kuḍivvayā*), and (vii) the Kṛishṇa-parivrājakas (*Kaṇha-parivvayā*) (*Uvavāiya*, §§ 76 & 81). In certain non-Brahmanical works, there are also references to the *Parivrājikās* or female Wandering ascetics both Brāhmaṇa and non-Brāhmaṇa, who used to take part also in the intellectual life of the country by discussions in philosophical circles.

With regard to the dress and outfit which mark out a *Parivrājaka* (*Parivrāyagaliṁga*), so far as one could see them from outside, perhaps the best poetic description is to be found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Araṇyakāṇḍa*, xlvi, 2-3). That epic, while laying stress on the fact that a *Parivrājaka* is a *Brāhmaṇa* (*ib.*, xlvi. 36;

village of the Peacock-rearers (*Moraposagā*) in the service of King Nanda. At that time, the daughter of their headman (*mayahara*) was expecting a child. Chāṇakya promised to appease her pregnancy-longing (*ḍohalo*) of drinking the moon on condition that, should she give birth to a male child, he must be made over to him. As the father of the girl, finding no other alternative, accepted the condition imposed on him, Chāṇakya, too, satisfied her desire by a clever contrivance. He then left the place for an unknown destination.

In due course of time, a son was born to the daughter of the headman, when her father, remembering the way in which her longing was satisfied, gave the name of Chandragupta ('Moon-covered')[14] to the new-born babe

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xlvii. 2), describes him as an ascetic, attired in saffron-coloured robe (*kāshāya*), having a tuft of hair on his head (*śikhī*), wearing sandal (*upānahī*), and carrying an umbrella (*chhattrī*), a staff (*yashṭi*), and a water-pot (*kamaṇḍalu*). Articles not mentioned by its author are apparently those hidden under the upper robe, such as the *brahmasūtra* (sacred thread), the *kaupīna* (loin-cloth), and the *kaṭiveshṭana* (girdle), as well as those which could be optionally carried, such as the *vṛishī* (seat of Kuśa grass), the *pātra* (vessel), and the *śikya* (loop or swing made of rope) (Govindarāja on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Araṇyakāṇḍa, xlvi. 3). The non-Brāhmaṇa *Parivrājakas* wore different kinds of dress, some of them, like the Digambaras, even going naked (*Achelakas* or *Naggāchariyas*).

Unlike the non-Brāhmaṇa *Parivrājakas*, dubbed '*vṛishalapravrajita*' by Kauṭilya (*Arthaś.*, Bk. iii. Ch. xx), such as the Śākyas or Śākyaputtras (Buddhists), the Ājīvakas (a sect of the naked ascetics), and the Nirgranthas (Jainas), who belonged to different castes including even the Chaṇḍālas, and lived in organized religious communities, the Brāhmaṇa *Parivrājakas* lived by themselves as individuals and not as members of any fraternity (*Gaṇa* or *Saṁgha*). They did not believe in organization as an aid to spiritual life, which depended more upon one's own efforts in privacy and in solitude. All classes of *Parivrājakas* were, however, at one in taking to the life of Wanderer as the indispensable requisite for spiritual life. A limit to their wandering was set only by the conditions of the season. In rains, they had to keep to fixed habitations, lest by wandering they should tread upon sprouting life and be thus led to sins of violence. There were also codes of discipline for each of these classes of ascetics, viz, the *Pātimokkha* for the Buddhists, the *Āyāraṁga* for the Jainas, and the *Bhikshu-Sūtra* of different schools for the Brāhmaṇas (Pāṇini, iv. 3. 110, 111).

14. There is a slight discrepancy between the Buddhist and the Jaina tradition with regard to the family and ancestry of Chandragupta Maurya. According to the former, he belonged to the family of the Chief of the 'Peacock-clan' (*Moriyā*) and his father was a Chief himself, while according to the latter, his maternal grandfather was the Headman (*mayahara*) of the community of 'Peacock-rearers' (*Moraposagā*). The later Jaina writers thus considered Chandragupta to belong to a professional caste and not to any tribe or clan, from which it may be assumed that they had no authentic information about the nature of the connection, if any, between the peacock and the name of the emperor's family. There is also nothing on record to show what the earlier Jaina writers knew about the same.

Whatever might be the significance of the clan-name *Moraposagā* (Skt. *Mayūrapashakāḥ*) occurring in the *Āvassaya Chuṇṇi* and the *Sukhabodhā*, it is perhaps the only sensible interpretation of the Pali appellation *Moriyā*, that has

come to our notice so far. In Pali literature, the word *Moriyā* occurs invariably as the name of a Kshatriya tribe; and it appears from the *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī* (p. 119, *ll.* 10-16. Sinh. Ed.), the *Mahābodhivaṁsa* (p. 98, P. T. S.), the *Mahāvaṁsa* of Moggallāna (v. 94*b*-101*a*), and other Pāli works that the Moriyas were a branch of the Śākyas who had separated themselves from the main body, shortly before the death of the Buddha. The tradition is so persistent and is also so consistent that it may be difficult to see eye to eye with Prof. B. M. Barua, when he brushes it aside as the result of the 'Śākya-phobia' of the Buddhists (*Ind. Cult.*, x. p. 32). When the Kośalan king Viḍūḍabha threatened to massacre the Śākyas, some of the Śākyan nobles along with their families and followers entered into a forest of Pippala trees (*Pipphalivana*) somewhere in the sub-montane tract of the Himalayas, while others migrated to other parts of Northern India. Those who had taken refuge in the aforesaid forest, adopted the name *Moriyā* (from Pali *mora*, 'a peacock'), because of the abundance of peacocks in their new settlement. Strange though it may seem, the adoption of a totemistic name by those migrants was nothing but an artifice to avert the impending national calamity, by passing themselves off as one of the many Austro-Asiatic tribes living in the hills and jungles of the vast Gangetic basin, such as the *Ajas* (Goat Clan), the *Sigrus* (Horse-radish Clan), the *Vayāṁsis* (Bird Clan), the *Tarakshas* (Hyena Clan), the *Kuliṅgas* (Sparrow-hawk Clan) and the like, mentioned in ancient literature. But this clever ruse to conceal the identity was entirely misunderstood by the later authorities recording the Moriyan tradition, as is evident from the fact that the Jaina writers were led to believe that the Moriyas were a community of 'Peacock-raisers', (*Moraposagā*). Grammatically speaking, the Prakrit '*Moraposagā*' is a rational interpretation of the Pali *Moriyā*, if we stand only on the etymological meaning of the latter.

Dr. F. W. Thomas draws our attention to the fact that the surname *Maurya* as borne by Chandragupta, is explained by the Indian authorities as meaning 'son of Murā', who is described as a concubine of the king Nanda, while "a more flattering account makes the Mauryas an Himalayan offshoot of the noble sect of the Śākyas, the race of the Buddha" (*Camb. Hist. of Ind.*, i. p. 470). How for a Hindu king, it could be a *flattering account*, whether more or less, to be described as the son of a concubine passes comprehension, though we admit that the same was not the case with some of the non-Hindu rulers of India. To what extent the Hindu rulers were sensitive to the purity of their descent, is evident even from the fact that led to the massacre of the Śākyas mentioned above. But surely all the Indian authorities do not agree that the emperor Chandragupta Maurya was the son of Murā. While some of them inform us that he was the grandson of Murā, others want us to believe that he was her son. We are also at a loss to find out, where exactly Murā has been mentioned as a concubine of King Nanda as stated by Dr. Thomas; for, so far as we know, she has been represented either as the queen* of the last Nanda king or as the morganatic wife† of King Nanda *alias* Sarvārthasiddhi, the founder of the royal house of the Nandas. But can we possibly accept the theory that Chandragupta or his father was called *Maurya* because he was the 'son of Murā'? According to Pāṇini, the regular metronymic

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* Cf. *Vishṇu-Purāṇa Commentary* of Ratnagarbha ("*Chandraguptaṁ*" : *Nandarvaiva patnyantarasya Murāsaṁjñasya putraṁ, Mauryāṇāṁ prathamaṁ*). This work does not appear to be earlier than the first half of the eighteenth cent.

† Cf. *Upodgāta* in the *Mudrārākshasa Commentary* of Dhuṇḍhirāja and also Ravinartaka's *Chāṇakyakathā* (*v.* 9).

form for the son of Murā is *Maurah* (iv. 1. 113 ; cf. *Siddh. Kaum.*, 1116), but not *Mauryaḥ* which is the only regular patronymic form for the 'son of Mura' (iv. 1. 151 ; see also *Gaṇapāṭha* on the same ; *Siddh. Kaum.*, 1175).* We are, thus, left to choose between the two origins of the surname *Maurya*. It may be taken either as the patronymic of the 'son of Mura' and of his lineal descendants or as the phonetic variant in Sanskrit of the Pali surname *Moriya* (*mo* = *mau* ; *riya* = *-rya*). None of the early Sanskrit writers, in whose works the word *Maurya* has been actually found to occur, has taken it to be a metronymic form as has been done by their successors belonging to the sixth cent. A.D. and after.

In Sanskrit literature, the word *Maurya* occurs for the first time in the *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali (*c.* 150 B.C. cf. Patañjali on Pāṇini, v. 3. 99) and later on, in the historical portion of the original *Bhavishya-Purāṇa* (*c.* 260 A.D.) to signify the Imperial Maurya dynasty. As the word *Moriyā* (pl.) has been found to occur twice in the original Buddhist Canon, viz. in the post-Nirvāṇa portion of the Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta (*Dīgha-Nikāya*, ii. pp. 166-167. P. T. S.), compiled sometime between B.C. 483 and 383, and in the Nandapeta-vatthu (*Peta-vatthu*, p. 57. P. T. S.), composed about B.C. 247, there cannot possibly be any doubt that it is the oldest form of that tribal name which has been differently represented in different languages, viz. *Mauryāḥ* in Sanskrit *Muriyā*, *Muruā* and *Morī*, and even *Moriyā*, in Prakrit, and *Moriei* in Greek (Hindī, *Muraī* and *Murāo*).

The association of Chandragupta's family with the peacock is not only evident from the authoritative Buddhist and Jaina works, but also from the monuments of the Mauryan and the post-Mauryan period. The peacock ensign of the royal house of the Mauryas, about four inches in length, has been found in the Lauriya-Nandangarh pillar of Aśoka, in the unpolished portion below the ring-like projection buried under the ground, and a pair of peacocks is to be seen on either side of the lowest architrave of the East Gateway (outer face) of the Great Stūpa at Sanchi, representing the scene of Aśoka's visit to the Bodhi-tree. In the pairs of peacocks, Grünwedel finds a special allusion to the Maurya dynasty, since the peacock was the canting badge of that royal family (*Buddhist Art in India*, p. 70 ; cf. *Monuments of Sanchi*, Marshall and Foucher, ii. Pl. 42, see the explanatory note on the Bottom Lintel).

In the narrow compass of this paper, it will not be possible for us to assess further the historical value of the Buddhist tradition relating to the origin of Chandragupta, which Dr. F. W. Thomas has summarily dismissed as a 'flattering account'. We should, therefore, be content with examining two more facts which have a direct bearing on the subject under discussion. Firstly, the Theravādins aver that the Moriyas as a separate tribe, came into existence shortly before the death of the Buddha ; and their affirmation seems to receive valuable support from the fact that, unlike the other autonomous tribes, nowhere in the sermons of that great saint, the Moriyas even incidentally have been referred to. Secondly, the reason that appears to have led the later Sanskrit writers, viz. Viśākhadatta, Somadeva, Kshemendra, Iravi Chākyar, Ananta Kavi, Ḍhuṇḍirāja, and Ratnagarbha, to assume that Chandragupta was a scion of the Nanda family, is a passage in the *Purāṇas*, which tells us that the rulers after Mahāpadma Nanda 'will be of Śūdra origin' ('*tataḥ prabhṛiti rājāno bhavishyāḥ Śūdrayonayaḥ*'). The vagueness of this statement coupled with the fact that the word *Maurya* cannot be equated grammatically to the Pali word *Moriya*, must have led those later Sanskrit writers to conclude that both the Nandas and the Mauryas were Śūdras. They should have, however, borne in mind that a strong champion of the *varṇāśrama-dharma* like Kauṭilya, who strove so hard to exterminate the Śūdra royal family, would be least expected to raise a Śūdra to the throne (cf. *Arthaś.*, Bk. i. Ch. iii ; Bk. viii. Ch. ii ; and Colophon), and that the word *Maurya* can never be used in Sanskrit as a regular metronymic form for the 'son of Murā'.

The introduction of Murā as a historical character in Sanskrit literature, whether as the mother or the grandmother of Chandragupta, to explain the surname *Maurya*, is a hoax that has confounded the Indian and European scholars alike ; and the sooner we realize this mischief of the later paṇḍits, the better for our successors in the field of historical research.

* This was pointed out by me to Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji, when he was writing his book on *Chandragupta Maurya and His Times* (see now p. 16). It may be noted here that the metronymic form *Maureyaḥ* which we can have by the application of the rule "*Stūbhyo ḍhak*" (Pāṇ., iv. 1. 120), is irregular in face of the rule "*Avṛddhābhyo nadīmānushībhyastannāmikābhyaḥ*" (Pāṇ., iv. 1. 113).

(*Chaṁdagutto se nāmaṁ kayaṁ*). Chandragupta grew up among the village boys whom he dominated by his superior bearings and signs of greatness. Chāṇakya happened to come to the village again after a long interval, which he had profitably employed by secretly collecting gold by means of metallurgical process in which he was an adept (*dhāubilāṇi*).[15] He was particularly struck by Chandragupta's behaviour, which seemed to mark him out for kingship. He saw him already playing the rôle of a king at games with the other village boys, like one proficient in statecraft (*rāyaṇīe*), and tested him by asking for some present.[16] As the boy was prepared to grant it then and there, Chāṇakya asked for the cows but feared, lest he might

15. Cf. Hemachandra :

"*Suvarṇopārjanadhiyā Chāṇakyo 'pi paribhraman* |
gaveshayitumārebhe dhātuvādavisāradān" ||
(*Pariś.*, viii. 241)

Chāṇakya's proficiency in Metallurgy (*Śulbadhātuśāstra*) and Inorganic Chemistry is amply borne out by the knowledge exhibited by him in his *Arthaśāstra* (Bk. ii. Chaps. xii, xiii, and xiv). The *Śulbadhātuśāstra* referred to in the *Arthaśāstra* is no longer extant. Chāṇakya also appears to have utilized his knowledge of metals, non-metals, and their compounds in studying their effects on the human system and to have written a separate treatise incorporating the results of the same. That valuable work had disappeared from India long ago without leaving any trace behind, though it was known to the early Arab writers to whose country it had migrated like so many other Sanskrit works (Zachariae, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, xxviii. p. 206 f. ; the Arabic form of the name 'Chāṇakya' is 'Sānaq').

16. Cf. Moggallāna :

"*Dārakeh' eva nikkhamma Chandragutto kumārako* |
gopāladārakā disvā nāyakam akaruṁ tato ||
Rājakīḷāvhayaṁ kīḷaṁ kīḷanto so kumārako |
senāpati amachche cha katvā gopāladārake ||
kehichi uparājādi-adhikāram akārayi |
majjhe tesaṁ sayam eva khattiyo va nisīdati" ||
(*Mahāv.*, v. 110-112).

not be able to carry them unopposed. Chandragupta retorted that the earth was for the heroes (*vīrabhojjā puhaī*). The answer impressed Chāṇakya so much with the boy's quality for kingship that he could not resist the temptation of enquiring about his identity from his playmates. They informed him that Chandragupta was the son of a *Parivrājaka* ('*Parivvāyagaputto esa*'). Thus, coming to know that Chandragupta was the same boy whose mother had been helped by him in the guise of a *Parivrājaka,* Chāṇakya promised to make him king ('*jāmu jā te rāyāṇaṁ karemi*'). He then made away with the boy forthwith from that place (*so teṇa samaṁ palāo*).[17]

With the riches he had accumulated by his knowledge of metallurgy, Chāṇakya now began preparations for overthrowing the king Nanda.[18] By spending money lavishly, he recruited men (*logo milio*) for his army and invested (*rohiyaṁ*) the city of Pāṭaliputra. King Nanda, however, with his superior military strength, surrounded the army of Chāṇakya and completely destroyed (*bhaggo*) his vastly inferior forces. At this sudden and unexpected reverse of fortune, both Chandragupta and Chāṇakya took to flight with their army scattered. The king then sent some of his officers on horseback in their pursuit (*assehiṁ pachchhao laggā purisā*) with a view to putting an end to their ambitious career. When one of the pursuers was about to overtake them, Chāṇakya concealed Chandragupta in a tank that was near and thickly overgrown with lotus (*paümiṇīsaṁḍe chhubbhittā*), and himself assumed the guise of a washerman (*rayao jāo*).[19] When the

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17. According to the Buddhist tradition, Chandragupta was taken by Chāṇakya to his own place of residence (*attano vasanaṭṭhānaṁ netvā*), i.e., the city of Taxila, for education (*Vaṁsatth.*, p. 122, *ll.* 12-13, Sinh. Ed.).

18. According to Moggallāna and the anonymous author of the *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī,* Chāṇakya manufactured fraudulent silver coins (*kahāpaṇa*) and buried them somewhere in the Vindhyan forest (*Viñjhāṭavi*). The vast sum of money thus collected, was subsequently utilized by him in building up a huge army for the conquest of the Nanda kingdom (*Vaṁsatth.*, p. 121, *ll.* 17-20, Sinh. Ed.)

Cf. Moggallāna :

"Aṭaviṁ tattha vasitvā sambhāre pariyesiya |
Katvā kahāpaṇarāsiṁ' sītikoṭippamāṇakaṁ" ||
(*Mahāv.*, v. 92)

19. Here we find a glaring discrepancy between the *Pariśishṭaparvan* and the *Sukhabodhā*. According to the former (*Pariś.*, viii. 257-278), King Nanda had sent two horsemen one after another in pursuit of Chāṇakya and Chandragupta. Before the first pursuer named Sādi (!) could overtake them, Chāṇakya asked Chandragupta to conceal himself in a tank that was near and thickly overgrown with lotus, while he himself sat down on its bank in the guise of an ascetic. When the horseman reached there and asked Chāṇakya, whether he had seen a young man running off, the latter only pointed to the tank but gave no reply. The signal thus given enabled the horseman to understand where Chandragupta exactly was. When he removed his sword and armour and was about to plunge into water, Chāṇakya instantly seized the sword and cut him into two. Chandragupta then came out of the water, and the two made off with the horse

horseman reached there and asked him about Chandragupta, Chāṇakya pointed to the tank and said, "He has dived into water and is still hiding there." When the horseman spotted Chandragupta (*āsavāreṇa diṭṭho*), he immediately made over his horse to Chāṇakya and put down the sword (*khaggaṁ mukkaṁ*). But no sooner did he remove his armour with the intention of plunging into water (*jāva niguṁḍio jaloyaraṇāe kaṁchugaṁ mellaï*) than Chāṇakya seized the sword and cut him into two (*khaggaṁ dhettūṇa duhākao*). On being signalled, Chandragupta came out, and afterwards the two hurriedly left that place (*palāyā*). On the way, Chāṇakya asked Chandragupta, what he had felt, when the horseman had been directed to the tank. The boy cooly said, "Perhaps it is good, for my master knows best" ('*haṁdi evaṁ cheva sohaṇaṁ havaï, ajjo cheva jāṇaï' tti*). The reply highly satisfied Chāṇakya ; for it not only convinced him of the worthiness of the boy for the crown, but also of his unflinching devotion and loyalty towards him as his preceptor (*tao neṇa jāṇiyaṁ, 'jogo, na esa vipariṇamaï'*).[20]

In course of their wanderings, the two came to a village where in a certain house, they heard a boy crying, because his fingers had been scorched in his attempt to eat hot rice-gruel (*vilevī*) right from the middle of the plate

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of the hapless pursuer. While still continuing their flight, Chāṇakya asked Chandragupta, what he had thought, when the horseman had been directed to the tank. The boy coolly said, "Perhaps it is good, for my master knows best." The reply highly satisfied Chāṇakya, for he was convinced that, even as king, Chandragupta would remain loyal and devoted to him. When the second horseman sent by King Nanda was about to overtake them, Chāṇakya asked Chandragupta to plunge into the tank which they had reached by that time, and also scared away a washerman from that place by saying that the king was extremely annoyed with his guild and that he would be killed by that horseman coming at top speed, should he remain there any longer. When the bewildered washerman fled leaving his bundles behind, Chāṇakya took his place. On being questioned as before, Chāṇakya directed the horseman to the tank, and when the latter was about to dive after removing his sword and armour, he suffered the same fate as the other.

It may be noted here that the story of Sādi and Chāṇakya as given in the *Pariśishṭaparvan,* is not to be met with in the *Sukhabodhā*. In the *Āvassaya Chuṇṇi,* we come across another such story, but, unfortunately, it is difficult to form an idea even of its bare outline, because of the brevity. Haribhadra, Devendragaṇin, and Hemachandra, too, have also taken no notice of it, apparently because of the same difficulty. In the *Chuṇṇi,* the story occurs in the following form : "*Chaṁdaütto ya paümasare nibuḍḍho, imo upaspṛiśati* (?), *saṇṇāe bhaṇati, boliyatti, uttiṇṇā nāsaṁti*" (p. 564). We do not find any possibility of equating it with the story of Sādi as given above.

20. Here follows a fantastic story common to both the *Āvassaya* and *Uttarajjhayaṇa* traditions. It tells us how Chandragupta was famished for want of food and how his life was saved by Chāṇakya. So says Devendragaṇin : "*Pachchhā Chaṁdagutto chhuhāio. Chāṇakko taṁ ṭhavettā bhattassātigao bīheti. 'mā ettha najjejjā'. Modoḍassa bāhiṁ niggayassa poṭṭaṁ phāliyaṁ dahikūraṁ gahāya gao. Jimmio dārao.*" Cf. *Āvas. Chuṇ.*, p. 564.

in which it had been served to him.[21] The mother of the boy, an old lady (*therī*), who had also served the same frugal meal to her other sons, scolded him saying that he was as stupid as Chāṇakya and did not know how to eat ('*Chāṇakkamaṁgula! bhottuṁ pi na jāṇasi*'). Chāṇakya, who was exceedingly surprised to hear his name mentioned and the compliments paid to him in so glowing a term, appeared before the old lady and asked her what she meant by that comparison. Then said she, "Don't you know that that fool of a Chāṇakya without securing his rear, rashly invested the capital of Nanda with an inadequate force and brought defeat on himself? He should have started the campaign right from the frontiers, which he should have first consolidated ('*pāsāṇi paḍhamaṁ gheppaṁti*') before advancing into the interior of the kingdom. So this greedy boy also, instead of eating the rice-gruel gradually from the sides, hurriedly eats into the hotter middle with his fingers, which are thus burnt."[22]

Profiting by her suggestion (*taṁ paribhāviya*), Chāṇakya now altered his strategy. He then went to Himavatkūṭa (*Himavaṁtakūḍaṁ*) and made alliance (*mettīkayā*) with its ruler named Parvata (*Pavvao rāyā*) by promising that the kingdom of the dispossessed Nanda would be equally divided between him and Chandragupta ('*Naṁdarajjaṁ samaṁ sameṇaṁ vibhaṁjayāmo*').[23] Parvata agreed to the terms laid down by him (*paḍivaṇṇaṁ*

21. Hemachandra takes *vilevī* (Skt. *vilepī*, 'rice-gruel') in the sense of *rabbā* (probably the same as the Hindī *rabā*). It might be a preparation of granulated flour cooked with milk and sugar (*Pariś.*, viii. 292, 296).

22. For the Buddhist version of the story of the old woman and her son, see *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī* (p. 123, *ll.* 6-15. Sinh. Ed.) and Moggallāna's *Mahāvaṁsa* (v. 141-146).

23. According to the Buddhist tradition, Parvata was the son of King Dhanananda (*Vaṁsatth.*, p. 121, *l.* 9. Sinh. Ed.). In the Brahmanical tradition, he figures under the names of Parvataka ('Mountaineer'), Parvatendra ('Ruler of the Mountains'), and Parvateśa ('Lord of the Mountains'); and the story as given by the dramatist Viśākhadatta in his *Mudrārākshasa* (second half of the 6th century A.D.), the poet and actor Iravi Chākyar *alias* Ravinartaka in his *Chāṇakyakathā* (*c.* 1615 A.D.), the poet and pseudo-historian Ananta Kavi in his *Mudrārākshasapūrvasaṅkathā* (*c.* 1660 A.D.), and the commentator Ḍhuṇḍhirāja in his *Mudrārākshasavyākhyā* (A.D. 1713-14) represents him as a Mlechchha and the ruler of the Mlechchhas, whose kingdom lay at a distance of about 900 miles north (? north-west) of Pāṭaliputra (*Pāṭaliputrādudichyāṁ śatayojane*). Being duped by Chāṇakya with the false hope of getting a share of the Nanda kingdom, he invaded Magadha with his army composed of the Yavanas (Greeks), Śakas (Scythians), Kāmbojas (? Indo-Iranians), Pārasīkas (Iranians), Kirātas (tribesmen of Tibeto-Burman origin), Khasas (polyandrous tribesmen of Tehri-Garhwal), Kulūtas (Koltās of the western Himalayas, originally of the Kulu valley), Śabaras (Austro-Asiatics), Bālhīkas (tribesmen of the north-west frontier), and Hūṇas, and killed all the *nine* Nandas in battle. He then occupied the city of Pāṭaliputra and conspired with Rākshasa, the former minister of the Nandas, to retain for himself the entire Nanda kingdom; but before he could put his plan into action, he lost his life from the effects of poison through physical contact with a *vishakanyā*

teṇa) and promised to give him the military help required for the purpose. Then the combined forces of Parvata and Chandragupta invaded the territory of Nanda from its frontiers as planned before, and gradually advanced into the interior. But their scheme received a complete setback, when they failed to occupy an important city which proved to be invulnerable *oyariumāḍhatto egattha nayaraṁ, na paḍai*), because of its tutelary goddesses. Chāṇakya then entered that city incognito in the guise of a Tridaṇḍin ascetic and saw the deities, the daughters of the god Indra, for whom it could not be conquered (*Iṁdakumāriyāo diṭṭhāo, tāsiṁ taṇaeṇa na paḍāi*).[24] The citizens being

(poison-maiden), who was, in fact, sent by Rākshasa to kill Chandragupta but was passed on by Chāṇakya to that treacherous Mlechchha king for the very same purpose.

Hermann Jacobi identifies Parvata with Parva, the eleventh king of the Kirāta dynasty of Nepal, as mentioned in the *Bauddhapārvatīyavaṁśāvali*, on the ground that in the reign of the seventh king Jitedāsti, the Buddha visited Nepal, and in that of the fourteenth, Sthuṅka, Aśoka also visited that country (*Pariś.*, 2nd Ed., pp. lxxv-lxxvi; cf. *Ind. Ant.*, vii, p. 90; xiii. p. 412). Parva might have been a contemporary of Chandragupta, for Sthuṅka, great-grandson of the former, and Aśoka, grandson of the latter, were contemporaries.

While we do not question the historicity of Parva *alias* Pañchem, the 11th Kirāta king of Gokarṇa, it passes comprehension, how an astute politician and strategist like Chāṇakya could count so much on the military assistance of a barbarous Mongoloid ruler of a hill-state for overthrowing the last Nanda king, when the war-veterans under Alexander, who had brought under their heels the vast tract of Asia stretching from the Hellespont to the Hyphasis, wavered for want of confidence in their success against the most powerful Xandrames, King of the Prasioi and the Gangaridai, and ultimately retired almost from the frontier of his kingdom. That makes us suspect whether the later Jaina writers (*c.* 200-1150 A.D.) have truly depicted the court tradition of the Imperial Mauryas, when they represented Parvata to be 'a mountain-chief' (*pārvatiko rājā*) and 'the ruler of the Himalayas' (*Himavatkūṭapārthivaḥ*). *Āvaś. Sūt.* [*Vṛit.*], p. 434; *Pariś.*, viii. 338; cf. *Sukhab.* "…. *gao Himavaṁtakūḍaṁ, tattha Pavvao rāyā*"; *Āvassaya Chuṇṇi*, p. 564). There is no information on record to show what the earlier Jaina writers knew about Parvata; nor is there any reference to that king in the *Kathā* literature of the Jainas.

24. The *Indrakumārīs*, 'Daughters of Indra', who are otherwise unknown to Hindu mythology, have been identified by Hemachandra with the *Saptamātṛikās*, 'Seven Mother-goddesses' (*Pariś.*, viii. 303; *Āvas. Chuṇ.*, p. 564; *Sukhab.* on *Uttaraj.* iii. 1.). Oddly enough, there are two groups of the *Saptamātṛikās*, one, according to the *Mahābhārata* (ii. 229. 10), viz, Kākī, Halimā, Mālinī, Bṛimhitā, Āryā, Palālā, and Vaimitrā, and the other, according to the *Purāṇas* (Agni, Matsya, Mārkaṇḍeya, Varāha, Devī, etc.) and certain religious works of the Śaivas, viz, Brahmāṇī (also Brāhmī) Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaishṇavī, Vārāhī, Indrāṇī (also Aindrī), and Chāmuṇḍā; and it is difficult to ascertain which particular group was admitted by the Jainas to be 'the daughters of Indra.' Both the groups of *Saptamātṛikās* are believed to be the nurses or protectors of Skanda, son of Śiva and the War-god of the Hindu pantheon; but while in Śaivism, the second group is worshipped with Skanda, we have no evidence to testify to the worship of the first group along with the same god. It may be noted here that with the excep-

unable to bear the strain of the siege any longer, approached the ascetic and asked him, how long it would still continue. He replied, "As long as the city's tutelary goddesses remain here." The citizens thus being duped, dug out the circle of deities and had them removed from the city (*nīṇāriyāo*), whereupon Chāṇakya sent a message to Parvata and Chandragupta asking them to invest it at once.. When the overjoyed citizens had been completely thrown off their guard, the besieging army returned and invested the city afresh, which now fell (*gahiyaṁ nayaraṁ*). Under Chāṇakya's leadership, the army then extended its conquests so as to occupy the territory of Nanda as far as Pāṭaliputra.[25] Next the two leaders, Parvata and Chandragupta, marched with their army towards Nanda's capital, the city of Pāṭaliputra, and besieged it (*Pāḍaliputtaṁ tao rohiyaṁ*). When the city was stormed, King Nanda surrendered near the gate called Dharmadvāra and entreated Chāṇakya to save his life.[26] Chāṇakya permitted him to leave the city loading his chariot with all the riches that it could carry. King Nanda took with him his two wives, his daughter, and as much wealth as he could carry in his chariot and left the city. On the way, his daughter (? Durdharā or Suprabhā) fell in love at first sight with Chandragupta (*kaṇṇā niggachchhantī puṇo puṇo Chaṁdaguttaṁ paloei*), who also responded to her gesture.

The amorous behaviour of his daughter did not escape the notice of King Nanda. He gladly permitted her to marry Chandragupta by *svayaṁvara*, as she was a Kshatriya princess.[27] Thus, having her father's consent

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tion of Chāmuṇḍā, each of the seven Divine-mothers of the second group is but the deified female energy of some prominent male god of the Hindu pantheon.

Being the protectors of the War-god, 'the Seven Mother-goddesses' were believed by the ancient Hindu kings to protect a sovereign who takes refuge in them. Epigraphic evidence tends to show that the Kadamba and the Chalukya kings of the earlier period recognized the *Saptamātṛikās* and Skanda as their tutelary deities (*Ind. Ant.*, vi. pp. 27 and 74; vii. p. 162; xiii. p. 137 f.). As stated by Hemachandra, even a town was believed to be invulnerable, if 'the Seven Mother-Goddesses' were worshipped there (*Pariś.*, viii. 303 ff.). Public worship of this group of deities in certain towns is amply borne out by the lithic records discovered at Gangdhar and Bihar Sharif (*Cor. Ins. Ind.*, iii. pp. 49 and 76).

25. Cf. *Pariś.*. viii. 311-312.

26. '*Dharmadvāra*' seems to be the same as '*Mahādvāra*' of the Nidānakathā of the *Jātaka* (i. p. 63, Fausböll's Ed. and '*Brahmadvāra*' of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (Bk. ii. Ch. iv). The significance of the word '*Dhammadāra*' in the passage, "*Naṁdo Dhammadāraṁ maggai*" (*Sukhab.*), is not difficult to understand; but Hemachandra appears to have put a new meaning to it, when he says, "*dharmadvāramayāchishṭa*", i.e., "prayed for a lawful or safe passage." (*Pariś.*, viii. 314; *Āvas. Chuṇ.*, p. 564, *l.* 13, "*Dhammaduvāraṁ*").

27. No definite information is available regarding the caste of the Nine Nandas. According to the Jaina tradition, the first Nanda, who succeeded king Udāyin, was the son of a courtezan by a Barber named Divākīrti and evidently therefore was of the barber caste ('*gaṇikākukshijanmā*' and '*nāpitakumāra*,' *Pariś.*, vi. 231-232; '*nāpitadāsa*,' *Āvaś. Sūt.*-[*Vṛit.*], p. 690; '*nāpitagaṇikāsuto*'; *Vividha-Tīrthakalpa*, ed.

to marry, the princess got down and attempted to get into Chandragupta's chariot; and as she was doing so, nine spokes of the wheel gave way (*nava aragā bhaggā*). Chandragupta took it to be an ill omen and therefore requested her to get down ('*amaṁgalaṁ' tti nivāriyā teṇaṁ*). Chāṇakya, however, considered it to be a good omen and allowed her to get into the chariot. He informed Chandragupta that the breaking of nine spokes portended that his dynasty would continue for nine generations after him ('*nava purisajugāṇi tujjhaṁ vaṁso holi*').[28]

Jina Vijaya. i. p. 68). For, according to the *Vishṇupurāṇa* and other authoritative texts, it is the caste of the father, and not of the mother, that determines the caste of a child, whether born in lawful wedlock or not ("*mātā bhastrā pituḥ putta yena jātaḥ sa eva saḥ*," *Vishṇu*, iv. 10, 12; cf. *Arthaś.*, Bk. iii. Ch. vii). The information preserved in Jaina literature cannot possibly be an instance of *odium theologicum* for, while the Nine Nandas have nowhere been represented as antagonistic to Jainism, at least one of them appears to have been a great supporter of that religion (*Hathigumphā Inscription of Khāravela*, *l.* 12). In support of the *Āvassaya* tradition, which both Haribhadra and Hemachandra have followed, it may be mentioned here that when Alexander the Great was gathering information about the king of the Prasioi and the Gangaridai, evidently a Nanda king, Poros is said to have informed him that the ruler of those two nations was hated and despised by his subjects, because of the meanness of his origin, for he was the son of a barber (Curtius, *Alex.*, Bk. ix. Ch. ii; Diodôros, *Bibl. Hist.*, Ch. xciii); and it appears that the same opinion was also maintained by Chandragupta (Plutarch, *Lives*, Ch. lxii). Again, when the *Purāṇas* characterize the first Nanda as a '*Śūdrāgarbhodbhavaḥ*' (*Bhāgavata*) and his descendants as the '*Śūdrā bhūmipālāḥ*' (*Vishṇu*), the Jaina tradition only receives additional confirmation; for originally the barbers were considered to be a 'low-caste' people ('*hinajachcho*' *Jātaka*, ii. p. 5, Fausböll's Ed.), following a 'filth-cleaning' pursuit (*hinajachcho* '*malamajjano*' *nahāpitaputto*, *Jāt.*, iii. p. 452), and were undoubtedly classed amongst those Śūdras who were allowed to live within the pale of the Aryan society ('*Śūdrāṇāmaniravasitānām*', Pāṇini, ii. 4. 10; cf. *Amarakośa*, Śūdravarga, 10), whatever might be the theories regarding their origin or social grade, which were started at a later period (*ūrdhvanāpita*, *Nāpita*, *Adhonāpita*. cf. *Sūta-Saṁhitā* of the *Skandapurāṇa*, I. xii. 15, 32. Anand. Sans. Series).

But this cumulative evidence pointing to the low origin of the Nandas has been practically set at naught by certain later writers, such as Viśākhadatta, Iravi Chākyar, and Ḍhuṇḍhirāja, according to whom the Ten Nandas, viz, King Sarvārthasiddhi Nanda and his nine sons (*nava Nandāḥ*) were true-born *Kshatriyas*. What had led those scholars to increase the number of the Nandas and represent them to be *Kshatriyas*, is not known; but we cannot possibly praise Hemachandra of being consistent, when he has used the word '*Kshatriya-kanyā*' with reference to the daughter of the last Nanda (*Pariś.*, viii. 320), forgetting that he himself has described elsewhere the eldest of the Nine Nandas as the 'son of a barber, begotten on a courtezan' (*Pariś.*, vi. 231-232).

No key to the solution of this historical problem has been afforded by the Buddhist authorities. According to the *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī*. Uggasena, the eldest of the nine brothers and founder of the royal house of the Nandas, belonged to some unknown family ("*tesaṁ hi jeṭṭho pano aññātakulassa putto*," see p. 117, *ll.* 13-14. Sinh. Ed.).

28. It is evident from the *Uttarajjhayaṇa* tradition as recorded by Deven-

Chandragupta and Parvata then entered the royal palace (*rāulamai*) accompanied by Chāṇakya, where they divided between themselves the kingdom and the vast riches of the ex-king Nanda. In the palace, King Parvata noticed a girl of exquisite beauty and became enamoured of her. As he expressed the desire to have her as his consort, Chāṇakya at once began preparations for their marriage. Unfortunately, that virgin was a poison girl (*visakaṇṇayā*) ; and although Chāṇakya himself had discovered that fact, he approved of the marriage knowing fully its consequence. During the ceremony before the sacred fire (*aggipariyaṁchaṇe*), when Parvata seized her hand, he was affected by the poison exuding through her perspiration and began to succumb to its fatal effects (*visaparigao mariumāraddho*).[29] Moved by the dying man's pathetic cry, when Chandragupta came to his rescue (*Chaṁdagutto 'ruṁbhāmi' tti vavasio*) by a remedy, he was frowned off it by Chāṇakya (*bhiuḍī kayā*). As no antidote was given, Parvata soon breathed his last.

Chāṇakya thus acquired without any trouble the territories of both Nanda and Parvata (*do vi rajjāṇi tassa jāyāṇi*) and placed Chandragupta on the throne. This event took place on the expiry of *one hundred and fifty-five years* reckoning from the date of the earthly deliverance (*mukti*) of Lord Mahāvīra.[30]

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dragaṇin, that the Imperial Maurya dynasty comprised *ten* rulers, viz, Chandragupta, the founder of the house, and his nine successors. This is perfectly in consonance with the *Āvassaya* tradition which Hemachandra has evidently followed ("*gāmī purushayugāṇi nava yāvattavānvayaḥ.*" *Pariś.*, viii, 326 ; *Āvas. Chuṇ.* p. 565 ; *Avaś. Sūt.* [*Vṛit.*], p. 435). Out of the five *Purāṇas* which have preserved the dynastic list of the Mauryas, at least three, viz, *Matsya*, *Vishṇu*, and *Bhāgavata*, give the number of those rulers as *ten* and only two, viz, *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa*, as *nine*. Thus, the well attested number is *ten*.

29. According to the *Mudrārākshasa* (Acts I and II), after the murder of the old king Sarvārthasiddhi Nanda, his minister Rākshasa had sent a beautiful poison-maiden to the Sugāṅga Palace thinking that Chandragupta would be snared by her exquisite beauty and would die eventually from the effects of poison by coming into physical contact with her. But the stratagem was discovered by Chāṇakya, who had her sent instead to his treacherous ally Parvataka, and the latter lost his life through her. According to the *Gesta Romanorum* (xi), an Indian queen in order to take revenge on Alexander the Great, had sent him a poison-maiden as present ; but the life of that Macedonian hero was saved by his master Aristotle, who foiled the trick in time (*Kathāsaritsāgara*, trans. C. H. Tawney, i. p. 149 and note). In dealing with Toxicology the celebrated physician Suśruta (2nd cent. A.D.), has also admitted the fact that the system of a *vishakanyā* is charged with poison to such an extent that a man is apt to lose his life through having carnal knowledge of her ("*vishakanyopayogādvā kshaṇājjahyādasūn naraḥ.*" *Suśruta-Saṁhitā*, Kalpasthāna, i. 3).

30. So says Hemachandra :

"*Evaṁ cha śrī-Mahāvīramukter varshaśate gate* |
pañchapañchāśadadhike Chandraguptobhavannṛipaḥ" ||
(*Pariś.*, viii. 339.)

It has been pointed out by Dr. Jacobi (*Pariś.*, Intro. p. xx), that the date of Chandragupta's accession as given by Hemachandra, viz, 155 years after the demise of Mahāvīra, has been confirmed by Bhadreśvara, who in his *kahāvali* writes : "*Evaṁ cha Mahāvīramuttisamayāo pañchāvaṇ(ṇṇ)avarisasae ṇuchhaṇṇe* (*uchchhiṇṇe*) *Naṁdavaṁse Chaṁdagutto rāyā jāu tti.*"

It is evident therefore that Bhadreśvara, too, is of opinion that the Nanda dynasty was exterminated and Chandragupta was placed on the throne on the expiry of 155 years reckoning from the date of the earthly deliverance (*mutti*) of Mahāvīra. This traditional date, however, has been discountenanced by a number of other Jaina works, such as the *Vichāraśreṇī Harivaṁśa-Purāṇa*, *Vividdha-Tīrthakalpa*, *Tīrthoddhāra-Prakīrṇaka*, and *Trailokya-Prajñapti*, according to which Mahāvīra died 215 years before the Mauryas came to power (60 years for Pālaka + 155 years for the Nandas). All these works were composed at different periods ranging from the 8th to the 14th century, like the *Pariśishṭaparvan* and the *Kahāvali* mentioned above.

As the accession of Chandragupta cannot be dated earlier than B.C. 324, he having met Alexander the Great in the Punjab, in B.C. 326 or in the first half of B.C. 325, as an ordinary individual and not as the king of the Prasioi and the Gangaridai (Plutarch, *Lives*, Ch. lxii), the date of Mahāvīra's death as given by Hemachandra and Bhadreśvara, cannot possibly be earlier than B.C. 479 (B.C. 324 + 155 years). As the Buddha died in B.C. 483, he should be considered to have predeceased Mahāvīra by at least four years, if B.C. 479 be accepted as the year of the latter's death. But the case was just the reverse. For, not only the Buddha and his personal attendant Sāriputra who predeceased him, knew of the death of Mahāvīra at Pāvā and the schism in the Jaina Church that followed it, but they were extremely anxious, lest the infection should spread in the Buddhist Church and its members might behave in the same manner under similar circumstances (*Digha-Nikāya*, iii. pp. 209 ff. P. T. S.). The fact may be proved in another way. Chunda, a Samaṇuddesa (novice) in the Buddhist Order, who happened to spend the rainy recess at Pāvā (*Pāvāyaṁ vassavuttho*) like Mahāvīra, comes to see the Buddha at Sāmagāma, a village in the Sākya country, and informs Ānanda that Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta (Mahāvīra) has passed away recently at Pāvā (*Pāvāyaṁ adhunā kālakato hoti*), that on his death, his followers have become divided into two hostile groups (*dvedhikajātā bhaṇḍanajātā*) upholding widely divergent views, and that their quarrel has taken such a serious turn that they are now abusing each other (*vivādapannā aññamaññaṁ mukhasattīhi vitudantā viharanti*). When the two brethren in their anxiety to preserve the integrity and prestige of the Buddhist *Saṁgha*, approached their master to discuss the matter with him, the Buddha delivered two lectures to them, of which one was specially addressed to Chunda and the other, to his personal attendant Ānanda. Of the two lectures, the longer one which was delivered to Chunda, came to be recorded by the Dīghabhāṇakas (*Digha-Nikāya*, iii. pp. 117-141. P. T. S.), while the shorter one which was meant for Ānanda, by the Majjhimabhāṇakas (*Majjhima-Nikāya*, ii. pp. 243-251. P. T. S.). Thus, if we are to believe in the Jaina tradition as recorded in the *Kalpasūtra* (§ 123), that Mahāvīra passed away *in the 4th month of the rainy recess*, in the 7th fortnight, in the dark fortnight of Kārttika on its 15th day (Dīvāli day), in the secretariat buildings of King Hastipāla at Pāpā (Pāvā), we shall have to admit that he predeceased the Buddha, for the latter is definitely known to have discussed the future of his *Saṁgha* with one who had also spent the rainy months in the very same town as Mahāvīra, and was therefore fully posted with the latest developments in the Jaina Church as also their effects on the Jaina laity.

The secular works of the Jainas in Prakrit and Sanskrit present at least two streams of tradition relating to Chandragupta and Chāṇakya, of which one is special to the commentaries on the *Āvassaya* and the *Uttarajjhayaṇa* and the other, to the Jaina *Kathā* literature. The *Āvassaya* tradition, again, is essentially the same as that of the *Uttarajjhayaṇa*, though it differs from the latter in minor details. The germs of these two traditions are traced in the *Nijjuttis*, or concise metrical explanations, on the two scriptural texts mentioned above. They were subsequently developed by the addition of a variety of episodes by the earlier Jaina scholars, who have, it is believed, faithfully preserved the story as was told to them by their teachers in the Jaina Church. These stories or, more precisely, narrative themes, thus remained in memory for many centuries, during which period they were transmitted by successive teachers (*vāchaka*) through oral method. For how long exactly the traditions relating to Chandragupta and Chāṇakya continued to remain in memory, is difficult to ascertain; but it cannot possibly be after the

The date suggested by Bhadreśvara and Hemachandra for the accession of Chandragupta Maurya (A.V. 155), is therefore clearly inadmissible and so also is the one which adds sixty years more to it (A.V. 215). What seems to be probable is, that the period intervening between the death of Mahāvīra and the accession of Chandragupta Maurya was in reality 165 years, but which has been inadvertently recorded by some later chronicler as 155 years. We are, of course, not in a position to state definitely, whether he had in view the date when the youthful Chandragupta, under the guidance of his master Chāṇakya, first appeared in the rôle of a rebel in the frontiers of the Nanda kingdom, a few years before he actually ascended the throne (B.C. 321), and met with what was perhaps the greatest reverse of his fortune. Whatever the case may be, if according to the Buddhist chronology, the first Mauryan emperor ascended the throne 162 years after the demise of the Buddha, a gap of three years between the death of Mahāvīra and his junior contemporary, the Buddha, cannot possibly be an unacceptable historical proposition.

[B. C. 483 as the year of the Buddha's death has been fixed by Wilhelm Geiger, J. F. Fleet, and D. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe with the help of all the available chronological data bearing on the ecclesiastical history of Buddhism in Magadha and Ceylon up to the end of the 6th century A.D. (*Mahāvaṁsa*, Geiger, Intro., pp. xxii ff., P. T. S. Trans. Series; Fleet, *J. R. A. S.*, 1906, pp. 984-986; 1909, pp. 1 ff., pp. 323 ff.; Wickremasinghe, *Epig. Zeyl.*, iii. pp. 4 ff). Fresh investigations in this direction have revealed the fact that in Ceylon, the Buddha Era commencing from B.C. 483 was in use up to the close of the 15th century, when a reform of the calendar took place, B.C. 544 being adopted as the year of the Buddha's death (John M. Senaveratne, *J. R. A. S., Ceylon Br.*, xxiii, No. 67, pp. 141 ff.). According to Fleet, the Buddha passed away on October 13, 483 B.C. (*J. R. A. S.*, 1909, p. 22), while the same event, according to the present writer, took place on Sunday, April 26, 483 B.C. (*D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, pp. 329-330). Takakusu informs us that the 'dotted record' kept up at Canton to the end of the year A.D. 489 shows 975 dots, and, hence, the Buddha died in B.C. 486 (486 + 489 = 975) (*J. R. A. S.*, 1905, p. 51). The occurrence of three extra dots is not unexpected, considering the crude method of keeping the record and the length of the period for which it had been kept.]

famous Valabhī Council of Devarddhi Kshamāśramaṇa, which was held 980 or 993 years after the demise of Mahāvīra (died *c.* 486 B.C.), for the purpose of collecting and recording the sacred scriptures of the Śvetāmbara *Siddhānta* as well as their commentaries.

The first occurrence of the Chandragupta tradition as a written record, is very probably in the *Chuṇṇi* (*Chūrṇi*) on the *Āvassaya Nijjutti*,[31] on the basis of which, sometime between A.D. 740 and 770, the celebrated Jaina commentator Haribhadra Sūri of the Vidyādharakula (*gachchha*) wrote the story of Chandragupta and Chāṇakya in an elaborate manner, incorporating in it much that is extraneous but which is believed to have been orally transmitted to him. It is to be found in his *Āvaśyakasūtra Vṛitti*, a Sanskrit commentary on the *Āvassaya*, the second *Mūlasutta* of the Śvetāmbara Canon. Nearly three centuries later, Devendragaṇin wrote out the story afresh in Prakrit, interspersed with Sanskrit and Prakrit verses, in his commentary on the *Uttarajjhayaṇa*, the first *Mūlasutta* of the Śvetāmbaras. His commentary is popularly known as the *Sukhabodhā* and appears to have been completed in A.D. 1083. That Devendragaṇin has ignored the story of Chandragupta and Chāṇakya as given in the *Āvaśyakasūtra Vṛitti*, is more than evident, but it is equally true that his narrative is mainly based on the *Āvassaya Chuṇṇi*, from which he has extensively copied the Prakrit text of the story. He probably intended to reproduce the original narrative with certain emendations in the manner preferred by his teachers or the ecclesiastical group (*gachchha*) to which he belonged. Another version of the story in metrical Sanskrit is to be found in the *Sthavirāvalīcharita*, or *Pariśishṭaparvan*, which was composed about A.D. 1165 by Hemachandra Sūri as an Appendix to his *Trishashṭiśalākāpurushacharita*. It is mainly based on the *Āvassaya* narrative of Haribhadra and consists of 276 *ślokas*. It may be noted here that the portion of the tradition which relates to the period after the consecration of Chandragupta, whether recorded by Haribhadra or by Devendragaṇin, is not of much value in history.

The other stream of tradition which is special to the Jaina *Kathā* literature, is best represented by the *Bṛhatkathākośa* of Harisheṇa,[32] the *Ārādhanāsatkathāprabandha* of prabhāchandra, the *Ārādhanākathākośa* of Nemidatta, and the *Kathākośa* of Śrīchandra.[33] Regarding the literary character of these works, it may be said that the *Kathākośas* of Harisheṇa and Nemidatta are composed in metrical Sanskrit and that of Śrīchandra, in metrical Prakrit. No *Kathākośa* in Prakrit prose containing the tradition has come to light so far, the one in Sanskrit prose being that of Prabhāchandra. Of these four *Kathākośas*, the earliest and perhaps the most important is that

31. Cf. *Āvaśyaka-Niryukti-Chūrṇi*, pp. 563-565 (Jainabandhu Printing Press. Indore 1928).
32. Cf. *Bṛhatkathākośa*, ed. A. N. Upadhye, pp. 336-338. Bombay 1943.
33. *ibid.*, Intro., p. 57 ff.

of Harisheṇa (A.D. 931) and the latest is that of Nemidatta (c. 1530 A.D.), while the other two belong to the intervening period.[34] All the four authors appear to have derived the tradition from an earlier *Ārādhanā* text of the Jainas composed in metrical Prakrit, viz, the *Bhagavatī-Ārādhanā*[35] of Śivārya, otherwise known as Śivakoṭi and Śivakoṭyāchārya, which in view of its linguistic and textual evidence might be assigned to the first century A.D.[36] But the *Bhagavatī-Ārādhanā* itself does not appear to be the primary source of that tradition, for it can be traced through that repository of tales and legends to another, of much earlier period. The fossils of the Chāṇakya (Chandragupta) tradition, in fact have been found embedded in the literary stratum of the *Paiṇṇas* (Miscellanea) which, as we know, are included in the Canon of the Śvetāmbaras and in the Secondary Canon[37] of the Digambaras. Of the ten *Paiṇṇas*, the two which might be taken to represent the nucleal stage of that tradition are the *Bhattaparinnā* and the *Saṁthāra*, for it is in them that the original of the story of Chāṇakya as a Jaina monk (!) has been found to occur for the first time to illustrate and uphold certain religious practices in the manner approved of and prescribed by Mahāvīra, the founder of modern Jainism.[38] The date of the *Paiṇṇas* is not definitely known; but considering the fact that the renowned Digambara ascetic-philosopher Kundakunda and his worthy disciple Umāsvāmin, who belonged to the earlier part of the first century A.D.'[39] have thoroughly utilized the *Aṅga*

34. *ibid.*, Colophon, *vv.* 11-12 (=A.D. 931-932); Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, ii. p. 544.

35. Also called *Ārādhanā* and *Mūlārādhanā*. Cf. *Mūlārādhanā* (with Sanskrit commentaries and Hindī translation), *v.* 1556. Sholapur 1935. Dr. Upadhye is right in thinking that the language of this work is Śaurasenī, Prakrit (*Bṛhatkathākośa*, Intro., p. 50). The language is, however, not unadulterated, for a large percentage of Ardhamāgadhī words can be traced in it.

36. We have tentatively suggested this date, as it seems to be only approximately correct, but further investigation on this point is desirable. There is nothing positive in the text itself to indicate that its author Śivārya flourished before the time of Kundakunda and Umāsvāmin as supposed by Dr. Upadhye (*Bṛhatkathākośa*, Intro, p. 55; *v. infra*).

37. The Digambara term for it is *Aṅgabāhya* ('standing outside the *Aṅga*' or 'not included in the *Aṅga*'). It is so called, because the texts in this collection are not considered by the Digambaras to be essential or primary.

38. Cf. *Chatuḥśaraṇādimaraṇasamādhyantaṁ Prakīrṇakadaśakaṁ* (Āgamodaya Samiti Ed., No. 46) Bhattaparinnā, *v.* 162; Saṁthāra, *vv.* 73-75.

39. If the Digambara *Paṭṭāvalī* is to be believed, we shall have to assign Umāsvāmin to the 1st cent. A.D. (V.S. 101=A.D. 44). But the *Paṭṭāvalīs*, whether of the Śvetāmbaras or of the Digambaras, are so very contradictory that it is difficult to place absolute reliance on the chronological data furnished by them. Since Umāsvāmin (Umāsvāti or Svāti), according to the Digambara *Paṭṭāvalī* of the Sarasvatī-Gachchha, was the sixth in succession to Bhadrabāhu (II) who was the seventh pontiff after Mahāvīra and died in B.C. 53 (V.S. 4), and, according to the Śvetāmbara *Paṭṭāvalī* of the Tapa-Gachchha, was the second in succession to Ārya-Mahāgiri (died in A.V. 291; A.V. 249, according to the Kharatara-Gachchha

and the *Aṅgabāhya* texts of the Digambaras in their respective work,[40] the downward limit of the period to which the *Paiṇṇas* could be assigned, might be fixed at about B.C. 100 at the latest.[41] It is therefore unlikely that the archaic form of the story of Chāṇakya as preserved in the *Paiṇṇas*, is later than the beginning of the Christian era.

Since the *Āvassaya*, the *Uttarajjhayaṇa*, and the *Paiṇṇas* have been excluded by the Digambaras from their principal Canon as unauthoritative and extraneous, the representation of Chāṇakya as a Jaina monk might be the work of the Śvetāmbaras. If this hypothesis be correct, we are yet to explain why there should be two streams of tradition relating to Chāṇakya: one being special to the commentaries on the *Āvassaya* and the *Uttarajjhayaṇa* and the other, to the *Paiṇṇas*, and why so many discrepancies are to be noticed between the two.

Paṭṭāvalī) who was the eighth pontiff after Mahāvīra (died c. 486 B.C.), we are in no way justified to fix for him so late a date as the 2nd cent. A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, xi. pp. 246 and 251; xx. p. 351). In all probability, both Kundakunda and Umāsvāmin belonged to the period extending from B.C. 75 to A.D. 50.

40. The works of Kundakundāchārya and Umāsvāmin are included in the third *Veda* (*Dravyānuyoga*) of the Digambaras.

41. It is difficult to believe that a compendium of Jaina dogmatics and practices of the nature of Umāsvāmin's *Tattvārthādhigama-Sūtra*, which holds in Jainism the same place as the *Visuddhimagga* in Buddhism, could have been written even before the scope and character of the *Aṅga* and the *Aṅgabāhya* were definitely settled by the Digambara Church.

That Umāsvāti or Umāsvāmin was a Digambara ascetic is beyond cavil; but it is equally true that in his work, he has scrupulously avoided the points disputed by the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras. The original commentary on the *Tattvārthādhigama-Sūtra* (*Bibliotheca Indica*, 1903-5), which in a large measure supports the Śvetāmbara beliefs and practices, is considered by the followers of that school to be the work of Umāsvāti himself. How far the Śvetāmbaras are justified in claiming the authorship of that commentary for Umāsvāti, is difficult to say, but we must have the frankness to admit that the credit of writing commentary on one's own work, has been given to more than one author even by us. Thus, in spite of clear indication given in a verse occurring in it, the *Arthaśāstra*, as we find it today, has been ascribed by us to Kauṭilya, though, in reality, it is the commentary on that work written by a certain Vishṇugupta, wherein the verses comprising the original *Arthaśāstra* have been mostly rendered in prose, while of the remaining verses some have been commented on and some retained in their original form. Such instances are not uncommon. We have attributed to Dhanañjaya, the *Avaloka* on his *Daśarūpaka*, which we have also admitted to have been written by him under the name of Dhanika, the pseudonym adopted by him for the purpose of writing that commentary (*Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1913, p. 301). Likewise, we have assigned to the chronicler Mahānāma the *Ṭīkā* on his *Mahāvaṁsa*, even ignoring the textual evidence proving the contrary (Turnour, *Mahāwanso*, Intro. p. liv). These are some of the glaring instances of our credulousness; and if we ascribe the original commentary on the *Tattvārthādhigama-Sūtra* to its author Umāsvāmin disregarding the vital objections of the Digambaras, we shall be in no way creating a precedent through it, for the practice has been already well established by us!

PLASTER

By

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Whether an Indian temple is built of wood, brick or stone, the work is done with precision. Bricks and stone are carefully laid and joined (suyuktyā; 'Viṣṇudharmottara' III, ch. XCI, 12). The stones are frequently kept in position without any cementing material.[1] Iron clamps are used for wooden joints, if need be and where the masonry is dry the stone blocks are held together (Deogarh) with iron dowels. Sudhāśilā, plaster, and Vajralepa, a glue cement and coating, were applied; there is no lack of prescriptions how to prepare them. Vajralepa is a hardened glue mixed with other substances such as conch shell powder or white earth (caolin). Vajralepa is made either of purely vegetable substances, gums, resins, and viscous residues, or else it is produced from animal substances, hides and horns; to the latter could be added a mixture of metallic substances, or of lime. Vajralepa which means 'diamond plaster' is so called because it is specially durable and firm; it is recommended for these qualities, in the 'Śilparatna' (XIV. 58-75), in a passage which deals with the different kinds of lime plaster (sudhā). The careful process of mixing the several ingredients with the granulated and powdered lime from gravel and conch shell lasted from two to four months with the result that the plaster was not only durable but also that it had none of the stark deadness of effect which for instance whitewash imparts. It is a rich and creamy white, discreetly shining, like polished ivory or some ancient enamel.[2] Under this white, smooth, polished plaster, stone and

1. The practice of building with cyclopean stones (cf. Jarasandha-ka-baithak, Rajgir (Kramrisch, in Vol. VI, p. 235 of Springer's 'Kunstgeschichte') persisted in the Hindu temple; in the courses of dry masonry of carefully dressed and relatively very large stones (Gupta temples in Central India; early Cālukya temples in the Deccan, early Cola temples in South India). In the Cālukyan temples, dry masonry, with no cementing materials between the stones, was employed in the earlier sandstone buildings (H. Cousens, 'The Cālukyan Architecture,' *ASI. NIS.* Vol. XLII). This is also true of the medieval temples of the Deccan built of amygdaloidal trap (H. Cousens, 'Mediaeval Temples of the Deccan,' *ASI. IS.* Vol. XLVIII) of those in Gujerat (J. Burgess-H. Cousens, 'Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujerat', *ASWI*, Vol. IX, p. 29) and of Orissa (M. M. Ganguli, 'Orissa and Her Remains', p. 257).

2. Some of the most perfect temples in Central India, at Khajuraho, have their facing stones of fine sandstone embedded in lac (lakh), apparently vegetable Vajralepa; chunam concrete being generally used in the core. Iron clamps are also freely employed; (B. L. Dhama, 'A Guide to Khajuraho', p. 4). In the Panjab,

the Kafirkot stone temples are cemented with lime mixed with quartz (Cunningham, *ASI*, Vol. XIV. p. 26).

The earliest preserved dry masonry is the stone facing of Stūpa I, Sāñci; the earliest occurrence of lime mortar in historical times is in the brick foundation of the Viṣṇu temple at Besnagar (*ASIAR.* 1913-14, p. 205). Brick temples have frequently a thin layer of a clay mixture as an adherent between the bricks (P. Brown, 'Indian Architecture', Pt. I, p. 16). The brick temples in Sirpur, C. P., seventh century, were completely covered by a thin layer of white plaster. The bricks are carved (*ASIAR.* 1909-10, p. 11).

The 'Bṛhat Saṃhitā' Ch. LVII, 1-3 and the 'Viṣṇudharmottara', Part III, Ch. XVII. 1-15, among the 'early' texts, give the ingredients of the various kinds of Vajralepa which were used in stone and brick buildings. Vajralepa formed also the ground for wall paintings; this is described in detail in the 'Mānasollāsa' or 'Abhilāṣitārtha Cintāmaṇi' (Pt. II, Ch. III, 132-40), a compendium compiled in the twelfth century.

Four and five recipes respectively of the preparation and ingredients of Vajralepa are given in the 'Bṛhat Saṃhitā' and in the 'Viṣṇudharmottara'. Two of the preparations are purely vegetable, one consists of animalic glue and vegetable substance, the fourth contains metallic substances and into the fifth (V. Dh. l.c., 10-11) a concoction from cowhides, etc., and lime has been mixed.

These different kinds of Vajralepa, the 'adamantine glue', are used for external application, on stone and brick buildings, according to both the early texts. V. Dh. ib. 12-13, indicates that these mixtures are also used for cementing the stones or burnt bricks of the buildings.

In the 'Māhasollāsa', II. iii. 132-40 (Cf. also the 'Nārada Śilpa Śāstra' of which two chapters on painting are translated by V. Raghavan, *JISOA*, Vol. III, p. 19 f.), the walls, to which lime plaster (sudhā) has been applied should then be coated with a paste of hide-glue mixed with white earth (caolin?) in three layers, and above it another final coat of the same paste mixed with powdered conch, etc. This passage clearly shows that the 'adamantine glue coating' or 'plaster' the Vajralepa, is applied in several thin coats above the lime plaster, Sudhā. The final coat of Vajralepa, when completely dry, forms the ground of wall paintings. The 'Mānasollāsa' describes as further use of the Vajralepa that it is mixed with all colours. In that case, the glue of the boiled buffalo skin is collected on small sticks and allowed to harden. It is then put in an earthen pot with water and melted. This pure glue is to be mixed with the respective pigments. It is thus a tempered medium for painting on the Vajralepa-ground (the reference in V. Dh. III. Ch. XL, to a decoction of hides, may imply this too).

The wall paintings, according to the 'Viṣṇudharmottara', l. c., are executed on plaster. The plaster there, in the main, consists of bricks, variously powdered, mixed with clay and carefully prepared with gum resin, bees wax, liquorice, molasses, 'muḍga' bean and other vegetable substances. Sand, etc., has to be added in due proportion; the mixture is allowed to consolidate for one month, and is then applied to the wall and left to dry. If this dry plaster is not perfectly smooth, it is coated with clay plaster mixed with resin and oil which is carefully smoother and polished. On this dry, smooth wall the paintings are produced acc. to Ch. XL, Pt. III. of the 'Viṣṇudharmottara'.

The kinds of glue Vajralepa, given ib., Ch. XCII, are not referred to in connection with the preparation of the ground of the wall paintings which is a brick and clay plaster with a certain amount of resinous and viscous substances in its fabric.

brick are often combined in one and the same structure, stone in the lower parts and brick above, a practice found not only in South Indian temples, but also in the Deccan as in the Temple at Kokamthan, Ahmednagar.[3] On the superstructure, the Śikhara, of this temple the figure-symbols are cut or formed in the plaster only, while the carvings on the Kailāsanātha Temple at Conjeeveram are of stone with their ornaments and lesser details carved in plaster.[4] The calm radiance, as of moonlight or snow, of the white temples is extolled in inscriptions.[5] In this whiteness, it appears, their 'sāttvika' quality, their conformity with the pure Essence (sat), shone forth.[6]

The 'Śilparatna,' XIV. 58-75, describes different kinds of lime plaster, mainly from powdered, etc., gravel but also of powdered shell and width a proportion of sand to which the following liquids are added : the sap of various milky trees, Aśvattha, Butea Frondosa, Kadamba, Myrobalan and Mango-juice, or curd, milk, cocoanut water, ghee, as well as ripe bananas, pulse, rice gruel, etc., according to the different types or desired qualities of the plaster. Last of these varieties of plaster, Vajralepa is described. 100 parts are lime, 2 parts resin (karala), and small quantities of ghee, bananas, coconut-water, pulse, Aśvattha sap. and jaggery.

Vajralepa acc. to the 'Śilparatna' is a high grade lime plaster with two per cent. resin in its composition, and other binding and adhesive substances.

Coomaraswamy, 'Indian Architectural Terms', *JAOS*, Vol. 48, p. 263, says of Vajralepa, the adamantine medium, that it is actually glue. It should be distinguished from Sudhā, plaster. This is correct, but when various glue-substances are mixed with the plaster, the whole mixture is also called Vajralepa.

Various recipes for producing an 'adamantine plaster' were used in the millennium, from the 'Bṛhat Saṃhitā' and 'Viṣṇudharmottara' to the 'Śilparatna' in different parts of India. Lime plaster particularly described in the 'Śilparatna' and the 'Mānasollāsa,' both of them South Indian text books, is also briefly mentioned in 'V. Dh.' III. Ch. XCI. 15, as Sudhāśilā, where its use is advised in temples, but not in houses. The same chapter (13-14) speaks of Vajralepa which is described in detail in the following chapter, as cementing material for baked bricks and stones, whereas mud cement is prescribed for unbaked bricks.

3. Cousens, 'Mediaeval Temples of the Deccan, *op. cit.*, p. 50. The walls are of stone, the Śikhara or superstructure is of brick. The carvings in stone are overlaid with plaster ; in the brick portion, the carving is solely in plaster.

4. Carving in plaster, and also in terracotta gives precision and dignity to these substances ; cf. the carved bricks of brick temples from the Gupta age (Deogarh, Paharpur, etc.) to those of the nineteenth century in Bengal.

5. "The temple resembling a mountain shines white as the mass of the rays of the risen moon". Mandasor (in Lāṭa) Inscr., A.D. 473-74, line 16, 'Indian Antiquary', Vol. XV, p. 196. This temple was consecrated to Sūrya.

An inscription from the Lakṣmanji Temple, Khajuraho, dated in the Vikrama year 1011, or 954 A.D. praises this temple in verse 42 as a "charming, splendid house of Viṣṇu which rivals the peaks of the mountains of snow" ; 'Epigraphica Indica,' Vol. I. p. 111.—An inscription of the early 13th century speaks of repairs to all the temples in the city. They were also made resplendent by being newly plastered. Chebrolu Inscription, Kistna District, 'Ep. Ind.' Vol. V. p. 149.

6. The 3 Guṇas are Sattva, Rajas and Tamas. Their colours are white, red and black, and their inherent tendencies are ascending, expanding and descending, respectively. The three Guṇas are the three constitutive qualities of Prakṛti, the nature of the world.

This luminous splendour corresponds to the ascending tendency within the 'sattva guṇa', which is expressed by the vertical of the high superstructure of the temples and the total disposition of their mass. From the broad base they are built up towards the high point in the centre above even their mountainous superstructure or Śikhara.

Bricks and stone are frequently combined in one and the same building. The body of the temple is of brick and the door frame of stone,[7] or the body of the temple is of stone and the superstructure of brick,[8] or in a single architectural relief panel, the major part is stone and it is completed in brick on one side.[9] These varied combinations, for reasons of added strength or decreased weight or for the sake of expediency, are due to the relation of the craftsman to his work and towards the means of making it. Once he has taken the stone for instance from the earth and the tree from the forest and its living context, with expiation and apology for his interference, he takes on himself the responsibility for giving them appropriate use in the new context. This is to set up the temple as an image of the Puruṣa and as His dwelling. The natural connection has been severed, the earth has been burnt, the stone has been cut, the tree has been felled and they arise as the temple and its parts. Their texture survives and it is given consideration by the traditional and hereditary craftsman. It would, however, amount to a retrogression from the state of grace into the state of nature were one to expect that the 'material' would guide the builder. On the contrary, brick and stone alike, or in combination, may disappear under a coating of plaster, which might partly have been coloured too.[10]

The 'material' does not demand from the Hindu craftsman in his treatment of it a consideration of its nature for it has ceased to exist as such. The wood of a living tree fulfils a different function from that of a carved image, pillar or vaulted beam. It has been converted to its new function by a series of processes, by art as well as by magic. As little as Indian thought knows of 'matter' so little is the craftsman concerned with the

7. Sirpur, C. P.

8. This is frequent in the later South Indian temples.

9. Paharpur, Bengal : *ASIAR*, 1926-27, Pl. XXXII a ; Kramrisch, 'Indian Sculpture', p. 215.

10. To what extent each structural temple was originally plastered, or plastered and painted, is difficult to say. The cave temples of the Deccan, however, almost without exception were originally coated with plaster and painted, on their plain and straight, as much as on their carved and modelled surfaces. Ellora, especially in the Daśāvatāra cave, Badāmi and Ajaṇṭā have still painted plaster preserved on their images ; especially in Ajaṇṭā, the large Bodhisattva figures in the sanctuaries of caves I and II, and on carved capitals and pillars, etc.

In temples no longer in use whatever plaster there may have been has since disappeared or perhaps never existed at all, whereas it has been overlaid by the use of whitewash in those still in worship.

material for the sake of its effectiveness. He knows, on the other hand, its texture and the various qualities which make it suitable for one special purpose and not for another. He does justice to them and applies his knowledge and sensibility to the lustrous malleable metals for instance or to the stones of different hardness and light-absorbing power in their carved surfaces. These qualities act as evocative influences by the contact with his hand and eye and they make more close his identification, by his work, with his vision. It is in the form of his work and its intense consistency. This does not belong to any single statue or image only, for all the carved form, figure or architectural unit, however small, is part of a comprehensive whole, the temple. It may show itself as made of wood, brick or stone or else be covered by a coat of egg-shell like plaster and painted detail. Sometimes, as in the Kailāsanātha Temple at Conjeeveram, the detail is carved only in the thick plaster which overlays the stone, such embellishment far from being supernumerary tends to focus attention on every part to which it clings.

Stone, brick or wood and also plaster and paint are substances of realisation. In them the image or vision takes form, settles down, imbues their grain and fibre and gives them the new life, as part of the temple, the seat of God. All the same these substances are true to this name also in another sense. In them 'subsists' their grain and texture, the frame-work given to them by Yama, and it carries with it the memory of their original state. This finally outlasts its own particular substance; the curves of light woods for instance such as bamboo and branches, retain their resilience whether they are cut in brick or carved in stone.

"The clay is permanent but things constructed with the clay are not so" ('Brahmavaivartta Purāṇa', I. XXVIII. 28). The clay persists in nature, however, many things made of it may perish. On the other hand, even when substances other than the clay are used, its feel, its qualities, and the ideas associated with it, persist; the form which resulted from a long and intimate contact remains a living memory and by it such other substances are shaped which are substituted for definite reasons. The clay, the brick, the wood and to some extent too the 'cyclopean' boulder of stone have each outlasted their original state and also their actual employment in the form and proportion of the temple.

The well known transfer of the construction forms of one material into the other is so caused. The curves of the bamboo for example are copied in bent wood and cut in brick and stone. In any material, it is the bending nature of bamboo stems or wooden branches, yielding the elements and the form of the arch. Whatever the material, it is made into the same form and conveys the same meaning. It is the form by which the memory of the original is made permanent.

The inherent quality, the subtle nature, of bamboo for instance, is thus restituted by giving it a permanency which its physical nature could not

guarantee. This is done by art. This permanence, in art, is a quality of the form and belongs to memory. The transfer of form from the one more perishable, to the other, less perishable substance is a restitution of the 'subtle' body, of the original clay or wood. Though all things made of clay or wood might perish including clay and wood themselves their subtle nature is expressed in stone. It is the way of redemption, a relative guarantee of immortality which things constructed are able to give.

The substance of which the temple is built gives body to the indwelling Essence; from this point of view it is immaterial what it is, and it is also immaterial whether different substances are combined or the one is overlaid by the other, provided that the Essence imbues and impresses the form.

By their new destination, wood, clay, stone and plaster, etc. are transubstantiated. This comes about while they are being worked on. In this, however, they are not altogether passive, for they offer their obstacles as well as their particular facilities and these contacts are felt and remembered by the craftsman. Sensibility contributes its own share to a wider memory which comprises all those associations that have accumulated round the bricks or the wood in their traditional employment. A triple memory, that of traditional knowledge, of sensibility and of piety helps to preserve the subtle body, that is the particular quality and aptness of the several substances, severed as they are from their natural life and habitation, in a more permanent body which has but one ultimate destination.

ON THE SUCCESSORS OF KUMARAGUPTA I

By

Mr. NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA, M.A.

Kumāragupta I of the Imperial Gupta dynasty ceased to rule in 455 A.D., the date supplied by his latest available silver coin, after a pretty long reign of 41 years. Him succeeded his son, Skandagupta, who successfully repulsed the attack of the Puṣyamitras,[1] probably of the Narmadā region, just before the death of his father, and thus re-established the falling fortunes of his family. There is no knowing if the succession of this great hero was as a matter of necessity accelerated by the dangers that lurked behind the Gupta throne, or as a matter of right, he being the eldest of the sons of his imperial father, but coupled with the omission, indubiously deliberate, of his mother's name in all extant records is the fact, highly significant, that he is called *Gupta-vaṁśaika-vīraḥ* in his Bhitari Pillar inscription. No stress would normally be required to lay upon his claim to belong to the Gupta lineage, had not the claim been calculated to be sufficiently feeble or impaired. Of him, again, his Kahaum Stone Pillar inscription of the year 461 A.D. speaks in the same strain *Guptānāṁ vaṃśa yasya*, i.e. *who belonged to the family of the Guptas*. This repeated solicitude on the part of the son of Kumāragupta I to recognise him as a true member of the Gupta dynasty renders it almost sure that he was born not of a *Mahādevī*. That Kumāragupta I, like his father, Candragupta II, had two wives is also perhaps indicated by his 'Two queen's type' coins, which are classified by Allan as of 'Pratāpa type'. In the Bihar Pillar inscription of Skandagupta (?), there is in its first part (ll. 2-3) an allusion to a minister whose sister had become Kumāragupta's wife, and one might be tempted to conjecture that she was perhaps the mother of Skandagupta, but it has recently been suggested by Dr. R. C. Majumdar that the inscription belongs not to Skandagupta but to a successor of Pūrugupta, evidently Kumāragupta II, and it is he who is the Kumāragupta of the first part of the inscription.[2]

There is, however, reason to believe that Skandagupta's mother came of a family that had eventually proved inimical to the Guptas. Referring to Skandagupta, the Bhitari Stone Pillar inscription tells us that "who, when (his) father had attained the skies, conquered (his) enemies by the strength of his arm, and established again the ruined fortunes of (his) lineage; and then crying "the victory has been achieved," betook himself to (his) mother, whose eyes were full of tears of joy, just as Kṛṣṇa, when he had slain (his)

1. If that be the correct reading of the text.
2. *Ind. Cult.*, X, p. 172.

enemies betook himself to (his mother) Devakī." The simile contained herein does not suggest that the name of Skandagupta's mother was Devakī, as it was first propounded by Robert Sewell.[3] The force of the comparison of Skandagupta and his unnamed mother with Kṛṣṇa and Devakī respectively can only be maintained by supposing that like Kṛṣṇa, who had slain his maternal uncle (Kaṁsa) and thus saved the Yādava family from impending destruction, Skandagupta also worsted a powerful relative on his mother's side and saved the Gupta empire from imminent ruin[3a]. This relative might have been the leader of the so-called Puṣyamitras or a member of that tribe or only one who had joined them in their design against the Guptas, but in any case he had met discomfiture at the hands of the valiant Skandagupta. And this is apt to explain why, at the news of the defeat of the enemies by her son, the eyes of Skandagupta's mother were full of tears and why, again, the tears were of joy.

Skandagupta ruled vigorously over the destinies of the Gupta empire for twelve years from 455 to 467 A.D., and had his successor in his step-brother, whose reign, admittedly, was an extremely short one extending only over a year or two (467-68 A.D.). Pūrugupta, and not Puragupta, was his name, and Anantadevī that of his mother. The supposition that she was a Kadamba princess, daughter of Kākusthavarman, who is placed between *circa* 435 and 475 A.D.,[4] may safely be discarded, for it makes the father-in-law at best a junior contemporary of the son-in-law. To Pūru(gupta) was assigned by Allan the gold coin of the Archer type with the legend *Śrī-vikramaḥ* on the reverse, which has of late been attributed to Budha(gupta) by Mr. S. K. Saraswati,[5] with whom I, however, fail to see eye to eye on this point. While the first letter of the king's name beneath the left arm has had yet to be re-examined, the second letter has unmistakably the appearance of a *ra*, rather than of a *dha*. But in any case, the coin testifies to that one other Imperial Gupta sovereign than Samudragupta,[6] Candragupta II and Skandagupta did assume the *biruda* of *Vikrama*. Kumāragupta II, too, it is relevant to add here, had the *biruda* of *Kramāditya*, which as is found in case of Skandagupta, was probably a variant of *Vikramāditya*, and *Vikramāditya* may, therefore, be said to have been a common *biruda* of many a member of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. The shortness of Pūrugupta's reign, unless it was accidental, has had to be explained by the comparatively long reigns of his great-grandfather, grandfather and father and then the inter-regnum of his step-brother, which show that he had the lot to come to the throne at a very advanced age. But the shortness of his reign must not be constituted a

3. *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 349.
3a. Cf. also Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 242.
4. Dandekar, *History of the Guptas*, Poona, 1941, p. 102.
5. *Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 691.
6. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. V, 1943, pp. 136-37.

reason for denying his separate existence from his step-brother. The identification of Pūrugupta with Skandagupta, which was first proposed by Dr. R. C. Majumdar[7] to be controverted by R. D. Banerji,[8] has recently been revived by Mr. Krishna Deva,[9] labouring under the idea that of Pūrugupta we have no coins, and having drawn considerably from the apocryphal *Mañjuśrī-Mūla-Kalpa*. But apart from the coin in question of the Hoey Collection, which has been ascribed by Mr. Saraswati to Budhagupta, there are in a private collection at Patna two gold coins from Gaya, "on which the name *Pura* is very distinct."[10] Even bereft of all coins, Pūrugupta, born of Anantadevī, cannot be one and the same with Skandagupta, whose mother was in all likelihood not the *Mahādevī*.

If Allan's attribution of the coin with the *Śrī-vikramaḥ* legend to Pūrugupta be rejected, nothing is left there to regard him identical, as Allan did, with the Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā, father of Bālāditya, who is said to have later on become a zealous patron of Buddhism through the influence of Vasubandhu, or to suppose that he had his capital at Ayodhyā. Dr. Dandekar accepts Mr. Saraswati's ascription of the coin to Budhagupta and yet believes in Allan's identification of Pūrugupta with the Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā of Paramārtha's description.[11]

The name of Pūrugupta's queen was Śrī-Candradevī,[12] and she was the mother of Narasiṁhagupta. His coins give him the *biruda* of Bālāditya. The fact that his seal has been found at Nālandā may, if at all, indicate his association, through his patronage, with the University, then in its making, but if the statement of Paramārtha be construed to mean that Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya, son of Pūrugupta, was even before his accession a Buddhist disciple of Vasubandhu, it is an absurdity. In his own seal, Narasiṁhagupta's religious persuasion is clearly indicated by designating him a *paramabhāga(vata)*.[13] Paramārtha's story of Bālāditya is either fictitious, or the identification of his Bālāditya cannot, in the present state of our knowledge, be made out.

A Nālandā seal reveals the fact that Mahārājādhirāja Budhagupta was a son of Pūrugupta, and not of Kumāragupta I, whose *biruda, Mahendrāditya*, has hitherto been responsible for equating it with Hiuen Tsang's *Śakrāditya*, the name of the father of the pilgrim's Buddhagupta. Pūrugupta had thus (at least) two sons, Narasiṁhagupta and Budhagupta. The son of Narasiṁhagupta, by Śrī-Mitradevī, was, as evinced by the seals both from

7. *Ind. Ant.*, XLVII, 1918, p. 161 f.
8. *An. Bh. Or. Res. Inst.*, I, pp. 73-75.
9. *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, pp. 237-38.
10. *An. Bh. Or. Res. Inst.*, I, pp. 73-75.
11. *Op. cit.*, p. 125.
12. *A. S. I., Ann. Rep.*, 1934-35, p. 63.
13. *Nālandā and its epigraphical material* (Mem. A. S. I.), by Hirananda Śāstrī, p. 65.

Nālandā and Bhitari,[14] Kumāragupta II, whose son, again, according to another Nālandā seal, was the Mahārājādhirāja Viṣṇugupta.[15] Of one Kumāragupta, presumably Kumāragupta II, son of Narasiṁhagupta, we have the date 473 A.D. in a Sārnāth votive inscription, while another votive inscription from the same site gives the date 476 A.D. for *Mahārāja* Budhagupta. The latter, as we know from his coin, ruled up till 495 A.D. at least, and after him came Vainyagupta, whose Gunaighar inscription is dated in 507 A.D. In 510 A.D. the Imperial Gupta monarch was Bhānugupta, the last known representative of the dynasty.

A genealogical table drawn in the light of the above data stands thus:

Name unknown = Kumāragupta I = Anantadevī

Skandagupta 455—467 A.D. | Pūrugupta = Śrī-Candradevī 467—68 A.D.

(sons of Pūrugupta:) Narasiṁhagupta = Śrī-Mitradevī | Budhagupta 476—495 A.D.

Narasiṁhagupta → Kumāragupta II 473 A.D. → Viṣṇugupta

Budhagupta → Vainyagupta 507 A.D. → Bhānugupta 510 A.D.

The difficulty of accommodating the three generations of kings, Narasiṁhagupta, Kumāragupta II and Viṣṇugupta, within the brief space of only eight years, is on the surface of things, while the accession of Budhagupta after the reign of his grand-nephew, Viṣṇugupta, is also an event not of common or usual occurrence. And in order to get out of these difficulties, Dr. R. C. Majumdar has lately suggested that Kumāragupta of 473 A.D. was a different person from Kumāragupta, the son of Narasiṁhagupta and father of Viṣṇugupta, and that all these three kings came after Budhagupta.[16] The genealogical scheme, according to this theory has to be represented as follows:

Pūrugupta

(sons:) Kumāragupta (II) 473 A.D. | Budhagupta 476—495 A.D. | Narasiṁhagupta

Narasiṁhagupta → Kumāragupta (III) → Viṣṇugupta.

But apart from the fact that Kumāragupta (II), as a son of Pūrugupta, exists only in surmise, Dr. Majumdar's scheme presupposes, on one hand.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
15. *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, p. 235.
16. *Ind. Cult.*, X, pp. 172-73.

that the two consecutive elder brothers, Kumāragupta (II) and Budhagupta could not have any sons to succeed them, and places, on the other, the three successive generations of kings, Narasiṁhagupta, Kumāragupta (III) and Viṣṇugupta, between 495 A.D., the last known date of Budhagupta, and 507 A.D., the date of Mahārājādhirāja Vainyagupta, whose existence as a member of the Imperial Gupta dynasty we cannot deny. In other words, Dr. Majumdar's hypothesis, although ingenious in conception, does not improve the situation at all, and as such we are required to approach the question by falling back upon the genealogy as drawn previously, but striving at the same time to render it, if possible, more agreeable to a normal outlook. Thus although the name of Budhagupta first occurs in a Sārnāth inscription of G. E. 157 (= A.D. 476), we must note that he is styled as simply a *Mahārāja* therein, and if it has any significance, he has to be regarded only as a governor of the Sārnāth region at that time. This will reduce the duration of Budhagupta's reign by a few years which may conveniently be allotted to the reigns of his immediate predecessors. The first known inscription manifesting Budhagupta in imperial glory is one of the Damodarpur inscriptions dated in G. E. 163 (= A.D. 482). Or, if we cannot subscribe to such a view, we may tentatively shift the reign of Viṣṇugupta to the period just following the reign of Budhagupta and before that of Vainyagupta.

Too much has been made in recent years of the evidence of two epigraphic records, viz. the Tumain (about fifty miles to the north-west of Eran) inscription of Ghaṭotkacagupta of G. E. 116 (= A.D. 435) and the unpublished Mandasar inscription of Prabhākara of V. S. 524 (= A. D. 467). Ghaṭotkacagupta, we know, was either a son or brother or step-brother of Kumāragupta I, and, according to a clay seal found at Basāṛh, he held some office at the court of the Yuvarāja at Vaiśālī (Basāṛh) during the reign of Candragupta II. And in 435 A.D., while the king (*nṛpati*) Kumāragupta, "who resembled the great Indra, embraced and protected the whole earth, like a virtuous wife, with his mighty hands," and "was shining (i.e. ruling over) the earth like the Sun in the winter," Ghaṭotkacagupta was, according to the Tumain inscription, the governor of Airikiṇa (Eran) or Eastern Malwa. There is absolutely no indication whatever in the Tumain inscription that "Ghaṭotkaca Gupta was then trying to be politically independent, by severing all loyal connections, which he owed, in his capacity of a provincial governor, to his sovereign in Magadha."[18] And it is indeed a dangerous hypothesis to set forth that "the internal dissensions among the scions of the Gupta royal family thus appear to have started even during the times of Kumāragupta I."[19]

Similarly there is nothing in the summary given of the Mandasor inscription of Prabhākara, whose commander-in-chief (Dattabhaṭa) was the

17. *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, p. 117. 18. Dandekar *op. cit.*, p. 119.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 119.

son of the general (Vāyurakṣita) of Govindagupta, to bring home that "immediately after the death of Skandagupta in 467 A. D., Govinda Gupta refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Gupta emperor of Magadha."[20] Such a theory owed its inception to R. D. Banerji,[21] who suspected that the absence of the name of Skandagupta in Prabhākara's inscription must have been pregnant with a lot of meaning. But the late lamented Professor had himself admitted later on that, "It is not clear from the wording of this inscription whether Govindagupta was alive in V. S. 524=467 A. D. or not."[22] Even supposing, in the absence of the full text of the inscription, that Govindagupta, a contemporary of the father of an officer of Prabhākara, was in life in 467 A. D., one must now cease to attach any immoderate importance, if not warranted by any specific attestation, to the omission of the name of the paramount sovereign in an inscription. Does the Pāhāḍpur inscription, for instance, of the year 478-79 A. D., where the name of the Imperial lord is conspicuous by its absence, prove that the local chiefs of Puṇḍravardhana had by that time refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of the then Gupta emperor (Budhagupta)? All that we know of Govindagupta is that Mahārāja Govindagupta, son of Candragupta II and Dhruvasvāminī, was for some time the governor of some province, probably of Vaiśālī (Basāṛh), and that he was subsequently transferred to Mālava (Western) as its governor during the reign of either Kumāragupta I or of Skandagupta.[23] In the imagination of Dr. R. N. Saletore, Govindagupta was the suzerain lord of the Gupta empire in 413-15 A. D., and governor of Malwa in 467-68 A.D. ![24]

But who was Prabhākara? As he is, in the Mandasor inscription, called *Gupt-ānvay-āri-druma-dhūmaketuḥ* (the destroyer of the enemies of the Gupta family), he is rightly supposed to have been a feudatory of the Imperial Gupta dynasty,[25] and governor of Daśapura (Mandasor).[26] Dr. N. P. Chakravarti suggests that he was perhaps the successor, if not the son, of Bandhuvarman,[27] and perfectly entertaining as the suggestion is, it explains why, like all other records of this family, the Mālava era has

20. *Ibid.*, p. 120. 21. *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 51.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 66, App. I.
23. It has been suggested by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar that, "As Indra is represented as being suspicious of Govindagupta's power, the latter seems to have been a supreme ruler." (*List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 7, p. 2, footnote 5). But if it is not an innocent and artless effort of the writer of the epigraph to magnify Govindagupta by the employment of any figurative language, the *Indra* of the text would look to contain a covert allusion to the contemporary Gupta emperor who was then suspicious of the growing power of the provincial governor.
24. *Life in the Gupta Age*, pp. 27-30 and p. 35.
25. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 2, footnote 4.
26. R. D. Banerji, *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 66, App. I.
27. *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, p. 131, footnote 4.

been used in the inscription of Prabhākara, too. It cannot be divined at present if Prabhākara (467 A. D.) continued to be the governor of Daśapura in 473 A. D., the date of the second part of the Mandasor inscription composed by Vatsabhaṭṭi according to which a part of the temple of the Sun built at Daśapura in 436 A. D., when Kumāragupta I was the Imperial lord and Bandhuvarman was the governor of the place, by a guild of silk-weavers from the Lāṭa *viṣaya* fell into disrepair through the indifference of several kings (*anyaiḥ pārthivaiḥ*), and after thirty-six years it was restored by the same guild. But we must not doubt that the allusion to the 'several kings' in Vatsabhaṭṭi's inscription applies to Kumāragupta I, Skandagupta, Pūrugupta and Narasiṁhagupta,[28] and as such Western Mālava did never cease to have been included in the Gupta empire till at least 473 A.D., when Kumāragupta II was the paramount sovereign.

As to other provinces and feudatories, the use of the Gupta era and of the phrase *Gupta-nṛpa-rājya-bhuktau* (in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta Kings) in the copper-plates, dated in 475, 482 and 510 A. D. of the Paribrājaka Mahārāja Hastin of Ḍahāla (Mod. Bundelkhand region of Central India and the area covered by the eighteen forest kingdoms) shows that the ruler was all through a feudatory of the Guptas. An inscription found in the Rewa State, bordering on the Mirzapur district of the U. P., and issued from Jayapura records the grant of a village to a Brahmin by Mahārāja Lakṣmaṇa in the year 158, which is referrable to the Gupta era and would thus correspond to A.D. 477.[29] The grant recorded in the Barwāni (in Central India) copper-plate inscription is issued by Mahārāja Subandhu in the (Gupta) year 167 (= A.D. 486) from Māhiṣmatī, which is either Maheśvara or Mandhātā on the Narmadā.[30] If the employment of the Gupta era in these two charters is not without significance, both Lakṣmaṇa and Subandhu were feudatories of Budhagupta. Budhagupta, again, according to the Eran Stone Pillar inscription of Mahārāja Mātṛviṣṇu and Dhanyaviṣṇu, was recognised as the overlord of Eastern Mālava in 484 A. D., when his viceroy, Suraśmicandra, was ruling the country between the Kālindī (Yamunā) and the Narmadā. In the east, the Pāhāḍpur and the two Dāmodarpur copper-plates prove his domination over the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti*. In the west, in Kathiawad and Gujarat, Bhaṭārka Senāpati of the Maitraka family and his eldest son, Dharasena I, both of whom may be placed between 460 and 500 A.D., did not even assume the title of Mahārāja, while the second son of Bhaṭārka, Mahārāja Droṇasiṁha, refers himself as *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka pād = ānudhyātaḥ* in his Bhamodra Mahotta copper-plate of the year 183 (= A.D. 502), and speaks, in another inscription, of the (same) paramount sovereign as having

28. Cf. Dandekar, *op. cit.*, p. 135.
29. *A. S. I., Ann. Rep.*, 1936-37, p 88, and *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 64.
30. *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, pp. 261-63.

personally attended and performed the coronation of Droṇasiṁha (*akhila-bhuvana-maṇḍal = aika-svāminā parama-svāminā svayam = upahita-rājy = ābhiṣeka*). That this *Parama-svāmī* or paramount sovereign of Droṇasiṁha is no other than a Gupta potentate is indubious,[31] and he is either Budhagupta or his immediate successor.

Have not the evidence furnished by these inscriptions the cogency of casting to the winds the popular idea of the disintegration of the Gupta empire since the days of Skandagupta? "A period of anarchy and misrule in the annals of the Guptas, beginning with the death of Skandagupta,"[32] is almost an idle fancy, although it is perfectly true that the homage rendered to the Gupta overlords by some of these feudatories, who had usurped the prerogative of issuing land grants and even coins, and also refrained from referring to the name of the imperial suzerain in their official charters, was merely nominal in character and perhaps in some cases the shadow of a shade. But however titular might have been the emperors, the available records demonstrate that the empire of Kumāragupta I, extensive as it was, did not materially suffer dismemberment before the beginning of the sixth century A.D.

Probably the only extant record that goes against this conclusion is the Bālāghāṭ copper-plate inscription of the Vākāṭaka Pṛthviṣeṇa II,[33] which states that the sovereignty of his father, Narendrasena, was acknowledged by the lords of Kosala (i.e. Mahākosala, the upper Mahānadī valley), Mekala (probably the upper Narmadā valley) and Mālava. And it has been inferred from it that Narendrasena, believed to be a contemporary of Skandagupta, had immediately after the death of the latter, extended with the help of his son, his sway over these provinces taking advantage of the tragedy of Skandagupta's death.[34] But Narendrasena, the grandson or great-grandson of Rudrasena II, who was the brother-in-law of Kumāragupta I, could hardly be a true contemporary of Skandagupta, the son of Kumāragupta I, nor the history of Mālava shows that any part of it seceded from Gupta overlordship any time before 473 A.D. If the statement of the Bālāghāṭ inscription is not wholly a poetical exaggeration, it would seem that the Gupta governor of Western Mālava, perhaps of the family of Bandhuvarman, the militant attitude of which is throughout displayed by the employment of the Mālava instead of the Gupta, era in their records, changed allegiance to the Vākāṭakas after 473 A.D., and became a subordinate ally of Narendrasena, but in that case, we are to suppose that Western Mālava was later on wrested by the Hūṇas not from the Guptas but from the Vākāṭakas.

The immediate successor of Budhagupta was either Viṣṇugupta or more probably Vainyagupta. There is no proof, as I have distinctly said in my

31. Dandekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-47.
32. Ibid., p. 124.
33. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 271.
34. Dandekar, *op. cit.*, p. 117. Dr. Saletore has gone to the extent of making Narendrasena a cousin of Skandagupta, *Life in the Gupta Age*, p. 36.

paper on 'Vainyagupta',[35] to identify him with Hiuen Tsang's Tathāgupta-rāja, a name unknown to sober history, but it is amusing to find myself represented as having "identified Vainyagupta with the Tathāgata Gupta of Yüang Chwāng", "simply because an inscription of his reign bearing the date A.D. 506-7 and some Nālandā seals bearing his name have been found."[36] Not to see in Vainyagupta a member of the Imperial Gupta dynasty at this hour of the day is dogmatism that does not count in history. After Vainyagupta came one Bhānugupta (510 A.D.), and he met a signal defeat at the hands of Toramaṇa, the leader of the Hūṇas who dared not make any inroad into the Gupta territory for more than half a century past. Toramaṇa's son, Mihirakula, was destined to be overpowered by Yaśodharman, who can no more be regarded as to have had a meteoric career. The Bihar Kotra (in the Rājgadh State, Malwa) inscription of Naravarman describing him as *aulikara* definitely points out that Yaśodharman,[37] who had the *aulikara-lāñcana*, belonged to the family of Naravarman (418 A.D.), Viśvavarman (424 A.D.), Bandhuvarman (437 A.D.) as also Prabhākara (467 A.D.) of Daśapura. Yaśodharman first recovered Malwa from Mihirakula after the 15th regnal year of Hūṇa monarch (the date of the Gwalior inscription of Mātṛceṭa), and gradually by 533 A.D. extended his empire upto the Lauhitya region. It is, therefore, Yaśodharman, rather than the Hūṇas, who directly dealt the death-blow to the empire of the Imperial Gupta dynasty.

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35. *Ind. Cult.*, V, p. 301.
36. Saletore, *Life in The Gupta Age*, p. 47.
37. Or Yaśovarman ?—*JBORS*, XXIX, 1943, pp. 127-28.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY KINGS OF NEPAL

By

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The chronology of the early kings of Nepal is one of the various intriguing problems of ancient Indian history. As is well-known, quite a large number of inscriptions, found in Nepal, supply us with the names of a long line of rulers and many of these records are also dated. The chronological problem, therefore, resolves itself mainly to an interpretation of these dates. But opinion differs widely on this point. In order to understand these differences of views it is necessary to state that the early records of Nepal can be broadly divided into two groups. The second group starts with the records of Aṁśuvarman dated 30, 32, 34 *etc.* and ends with the inscription of Jayadeva II dated 153. There is a consensus of opinion that all these dates between 32 and 153 refer to one and the same era. The first group comprises the rest of the records, the date in none of which is less than 300. It is the reading and interpretation of these dates that has given rise to differences and difficulties. Pandit Bhagawan Lal Indraji, who first dealt with this subject, referred them to the Vikrama Era.[1] Dr. Fleet took them all to be years of the Gupta Era.[2] S. Lévi propounded the view that they all belong to a special era current in Nepal and he fixed its epoch to be 110 A.D.[3]

Dr. R. G. Basak, the latest writer on the subject, has expressed an altogether different view[4] after considering those of his predecessors, and we may begin by considering it in some details. He agrees with Indraji in referring the dates of Mānadeva and Vasantadeva to the Vikrama era, but differs from the latter in the reading and interpretation of the dates of Śivadeva's records. He takes the hundredth figure in these dates to be 300 instead of 500 and refers them to the Gupta era. He thinks it quite probable that "the descendants of Vasantadeva began to use .... the Gupta *samvat* from the time when Samudra-gupta forced the Nepal king to pay allegiance to his lord-paramountcy.... and to accept the era introduced by his family from the beginning of his father Chandra-gupta I's reign (in 319-20 A.C.)". This would be quite a reasonable view if it were based on facts. Unfortunately it is not so; for Dr. Basak himself refers the dates 449 and 489 of the Kisipidi and Tsapaligaon inscriptions to Vikrama era. Thus down to about

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1. *IA.* XIII. 411 ff. The inscriptions were edited by Indraji in *IA.* IX. 163 ff.
2. *CII.* III. Introduction, pp. 177 ff. 3. *Le Nepal* III, 49 ff, 73 ff.
4. *HNI.* 274 ff. (HNI=History of North-eastern India.)

132 A.D. i.e. long after the death of Samudra-gupta and his son, the Vikrama era, and not the Gupta era, is found to be in use in Nepal. As a matter of fact, even according to Dr. Basak's view, the earliest known record in Nepal dated in the Gupta era is the inscription of Śivadeva dated 318. This takes us near to the middle of the seventh century A.D. when the Gupta empire and along with it the Gupta political influence had long been a thing of the past. As things stand at present, we have therefore to presume, according to Dr. Basak's view, that the kings of Nepal did not use the Gupta era during the height of the Gupta power when they themselves were subject to its authority, but adopted it only after the decline of the Gupta empire and probably long after its downfall. It is obvious that such a view does not commend itself on general grounds.

Dr. Basak has definitely discarded Lévi's view of a special Nepal era starting in 110 A.D. Unfortunately he does not appear to have possessed a first hand knowledge of Lévi's book[4a] written in French, and has not only failed to understand his arguments but even sometimes represented them in an altogether wrong way. It is essential, therefore, that we should clear up this point before we proceed further.

According to Dr. Basak Lévi's theory is based on the astronomical data furnished by the inscription of Mānadeva, dated *samvat* 386. Lévi, we are told, "arrives at the conclusion that such a combination of astronomical phenomena was only possible on Tuesday, the 1st May, 496 A.D. Hence he starts a working hypothesis that the dates in *samvat* in the early Nepal inscriptions are to be referred to a Lichchhavi era, then in vogue, which had its starting point in the year 110 A.D."

The truth is just the opposite. As a matter of fact Lévi first pointed out[5] that Fleet, while referring the year 386 of Mānadeva's inscription to Gupta era, found these astronomical details applicable to the resulting date *viz.* 28th April, 705 A.D. He then remarked that these astronomical data do not really enable us to fix any particular date, for they would be found applicable to many other years. He then observed that these astronomical details would as well fit in with his own theory, which would refer the date of the inscription to 1st May 496 A.D. Thus, far from concluding that the combination of the astronomical phenomena was only possible on this date, Lévi expressed the diametrically opposite view.

It is curious that Dr. Basak does not refer to the real argument[6] on which Lévi's theory is based. This may be summed up as follows. The Kisipidi Ins. (No. VI of Lévi) dated in *samvat* 449 refers to *pratham-āṣāḍha* i.e. the first month of *Āṣāḍha*, showing that there was an intercalary month

4a. In addition to what is stated in the paragraphs immediately following cf. fn. 15, 19 and 31 below.

5. *Nepal,* III, pp. 7 ff.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 49 ff.

of *Āṣāḍha* in that year. Now, Śivadeva, one of whose records is dated *samvat* 520, was a contemporary of Aṁśuvarman and thus belonged to the first half of the seventh century A.D. *Samvat* 449, which is 71 years earlier, would thus fall about the middle of the 6th cent. A.D. Now there were only three years in the whole of this century in which there was an intercalary *Āṣāḍha* month, *viz.* 481 Śaka (559-60 A.D.), 501 Śaka (578-9 A.D.) and 520 Śaka (597-8 A.D.). As the last two dates would bring Śivadeva, who flourished 71 years later, much later in time than Aṁśuvarman, the first alone is acceptable. Hence assuming that 449 *samvat* is equivalent to 482 *Śaka*, the Nepalese era must have begun in Śaka 33 current or 110 A.D.

Evidently Dr. Basak was unaware of this process of reasoning on which Lévi based his theory. For in criticising it he comments that Lévi's theory is incompatible with the date of Śivadeva which Lévi wrongly read as 520 but which is really 320. As has been stated above, the whole theory of Lévi was based on the assumption that Śivadeva's date was 520. Dr. Basak is also quite wrong when he says that 'Lévi himself also doubted the reading of the symbol for hundreds, specially the element 5 of 500 which seemed to him as written in the manner of 3 ('*en maniere du 3*'). Here, again, Dr. Basak's presentation of Lévi's views is diametrically opposite to the truth. Lévi has discussed at length[7] why the particular numerical symbol should be read as 500 and not 300. He maintained that in this respect Indraji was quite right and wondered how "without a word of explanation or justification, and without even pointing out the divergence" from the reading of Indraji, Bendall should have read the numerical symbol in Golmadhi-tol inscription of Śivadeva as 300. Thus Lévi not only read the symbol as 500 in the two inscriptions noted by Dr. Basak, but also in the inscription of Śivadeva, which Dr. Basak has accepted as dated in 318 without any reference to Lévi's view. Lévi points out that in this symbol, the symbol for 5 is attached and placed to the left of the symbol for hundred. While discussing the Dharampur inscription he observes[8] that 'here the element 5 of 500 is exactly similar to that of the Khopasi ins., but the sign for the hundred, instead of being a double curve, like (English figure) 3 ('*en maniere du* 3) of Khopasi is somewhat like (English letter) S turned on its axis (*une sorte d's retourné sur son axe*). It is thus obvious that Dr. Basak had a very imperfect acquaintance with, and often took a very distorted view of, Lévi's statements and arguments. This is most unfortunate, as Dr. Basak's elaborate and learned disquisition on the chronology of Nepal in a scholarly work is likely to be regarded as a good summary of the existing views on the subject, particularly by those who are unwilling or unable to consult the original writings of the previous scholars. I have therefore felt it necessary to discuss the point at some length.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 73 ff.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

Coming back to the main question of chronology, it would appear that the solution of the whole problem hinges upon the interpretation of the first numerical symbol of the dates in the inscriptions of Śivadeva (who lived in the first half of sixth century A.D.), read as 500 by Lévi, and as 300 by Dr. Basak. For a few other inscriptions, which are obviously earlier, are dated between 386 and 489 A.D. If the dates of Śivadeva's inscriptions are taken to be 500 to 520, we must agree with Lévi that all the dates form a series belonging to one era, and that era must have begun some time about 100 A.D. and not impossibly in 110 A.D. On the other hand if Śivadeva's dates range between 310 and 320 they evidently belonged to the Gupta era and the dates of earlier kings, between 386 and 449 A.D., must be referred to a different era. This would most probably be a well-known era like the Vikrama era, as suggested by Indraji and endorsed by Dr. Basak, or the Śaka era, for there would then be no adequate grounds for assuming the existence of a special Nepal era.

Lévi, as noted above, has discussed at length why the particular symbol should be read as 500 and not 300. The symbol for 300, he says, is regularly formed by adding two strokes to the proper left of the vertical stroke of the symbol for 100. As Bühler observes, from 400 onwards the hundred-figures are formed by a juxtaposition of the symbol of hundred and the particular numerical figure from 4 to 9. Lévi then points out that in the inscriptions of Śivadeva the symbol for hundred is like English figure 3 and to this is joined another symbol consisting of a vertical line with two strokes attached to its proper left, the lower of which ends in a curve. This symbol, according to Lévi, represents 5, and he supports his view by pointing out a similar symbol for 5 in Bühler's Plate IX, Col. VII. In his opinion, therefore, the two symbols reproduced in Bühler's Pl. IX, cols. XIII and XIV against 300 have different connotations, the former meaning 300 and the latter 500. There is undoubtedly a great deal of force in Lévi's arguments, and it is a pity that Dr. Basak did not discuss the point, but simply took it for granted that the symbol denotes 300 and not 500. It must be admitted, however, that Lévi's arguments are not convincing. In the first place, the symbol in the ligature, which he takes for 5, no doubt resembles the symbol for 5 reproduced in Bühler's plate IX, Col. VII, but that refers to the Kushan period. It has no resemblance whatsoever with the symbol for 5 used in Nepal inscriptions, e.g. in the Stele I of Harigaon which is almost a contemporary record. Secondly, the ligature representing 400 in Nepal inscriptions shows a full form of 100 with the vertical stroke on the proper left, whereas according to Lévi's theory, this element is dropped in the case of 500. This is, no doubt, a possible view, and the shortened form of 100, reduced to a figure like English 3, may be due to modifications in course of a century. On the other hand it is equally possible to hold that the figure like 3 joined with a stroke to a vertical line on the proper left is a modification of the old symbol for 100, so that with the two strokes, on its proper left, it may be regarded as the symbol for 300. The curve noted at the end of one of the strokes may be due to changes in course of the two or three centuries that intervened between the two series of records. In support of this it may be pointed out that the symbol in the Dharampur ins. shows a closer resemblance with the old symbol for 300 and may represent an intermediate form. While therefore, we are unable to agree with Dr. Basak that the 'symbol for 300 is clear and correct', we find it equally difficult to accept it definitely as 500 in spite of the authority of Indraji and Lévi behind it. No final solution of the problem is perhaps possible so long as we do not come across a record in which the date is not merely written with the symbol but also actually expressed in words. Until then we have to be satisfied with a tentative chronological scheme based upon general historical facts which we next proceed to discuss.

It is well-known that the list of early kings of Nepal is supplied by a number of local chronicles, known as the *Vaṁśāvalīs*. But these cannot be accepted as reliable historical data unless supported by more positive evidence. Fortunately, the Paśupati temple inscription of king Jayadeva, who flourished in the eighth century A.D., together with a few other records, helps us to check at least a certain section of the *Vaṁśāvalīs*, and this, for the present, must form the starting point in any discussion of the history and chronology of Nepal.

The Paśupati temple inscription[9] begins with an account of the mythical kings of solar origin, from whom was descended Licchavi, the eponymous hero of the Licchavi race which we are told 'exists even now'. Passing over a specified number (which, however, cannot be made out on account of the damaged state of the record) of unnamed kings we come to Supuṣpa born in Puṣpapura. Twenty-three kings are said to have followed Supuṣpa, and then came the illustrious Jayadeva. Eleven kings, not named, followed, and then came Vṛṣadeva. Here for the first time we get a regular list of succession of six kings ending in Vasantadeva.

It is extremely unfortunate that the verse which follows immediately after the account of Vasantadeva, cannot be made out in full, as a number of letters in the middle have peeled off. It begins with the words '*Asyāntare-py-Udayadeva-iti kṣitīśājjāta*', and ends with the name of 'Narendradeva', preceded by '*śca*.' But the intervening six letters which undoubtedly brought out the relation between the two kings are missing. Indraji read these letters as '*Strayodaśa tata*' and interpreted the verse so as to mean "afterwards came thirteen (rulers) sprung from king Udayadeva, and then Narendradeva". But for this meaning he had to take the preceding word as *jātā* in

9. *IA.* IX, 178.

the plural, though his own lithograph and the original rubbing clearly show that there is no *ā-kāra* sign after *t* in *jātā*. As a matter of fact Fleet, who had the advantage of consulting the original rubbing of the inscription, says that there is no justification at all for the reading '*strayodaśa*'. He shows other good grounds against the reading and concludes with the suggestion that the missing letters 'contained nothing but an epithet, or perhaps two, of Narendradeva, and that, so far from thirteen rulers having intervened between him and Udayadeva, he was the son of Udayadeva".[10] Lévi, who had a fresh copy of the records prepared for him, agrees with Fleet and says that the word *jāta*, which is clear, is followed by two doubtful letters and a lacuna of 4 letters corresponding to Indraji's '*trayodaśa tata*'. He therefore suggests that we can only read and translate it as follows : "From king Udayadeva was born .... Narendradeva".[11] Dr. Basak, without any reference to these views, naively suggests, "An emendation may be proposed for the lacuna after the word '*trayodaśa*' by means of the word *nṛpa* as an epithet to Narendradeva—thus making the whole of the second line read thus : *jātas = trayodaśa-(nṛpaś) = ca Narendradevaḥ*" so that, 'taking *trayodaśa* as an ordinal and not as a cardinal number' "Udayadeva and Dhruvadeva (*sic.* evidently an error for Narendradeva) were respectively the twelfth and the thirteenth kings after Vasantadeva'.[12] Dr. Basak evidently believes that '*trayodaśa*' is clear and definite in the record, and the lacuna only begins after it. But Indraji's own lithograph as well as the observations of Fleet and Lévi based on independent study of other facsimiles leaves no doubt that there is no warrant at all for the reading *trayodaśa*, taken as granted by Dr. Basak.

We have, therefore, at least for the present, to dismiss altogether the idea that 13 (11 according to Dr. Basak) kings intervened between Vasantadeva and Udayadeva. The meaning of the expression '*asy-āntare*' which connects these two kings cannot be precisely determined but there is little doubt, as Lévi has shown,[13] that Fleet's reconstruction of the history of the period is hardly acceptable. According to Lévi Vasantadeva's reign was followed by a critical period in the history of the Licchavi royal family of Nepal, involving usurpation of the royal power by Aṁśuvarman and Jiṣṇugupta, until it was restored by Narendradeva, son of Udayadeva.[14] Although, lacking in conclusive evidence this view appears to be the most satisfactory for the present.

The genealogy of the early kings of Nepal, given in the Paśupati temple

10. *CII.* III, Introd. p. 187. 11. *Nepal,* II, 162.
12. *HNI.* 281.
13. Fleet placed Mānadeva after Śivadeva and Aṁśuvarman. This is so clearly opposed to palæographical and historical evidence as shown by Dr. Lévi and Dr. Basak that it need not be seriously considered.
14. Nepal, II, 163.

inscription, may thus be represented as follows, with the omission of the mythical kings at the beginning.

1. Jayadeva
 . . . (11 kings)
13. Vṛṣadeva
 |
14. Śaṅkaradeva
 |
15. Dharmadeva
 |
16. Mānadeva
 |
17. Mahīdeva
 |
18. Vasantadeva
 . . .
19. Udayadeva
 | (?)
20. Narendradeva

The kings Nos. 13-16 are referred to in an inscription of Mānadeva (King No. 16, dated *samvat* 386.[15] Two other records of Mānadeva, dated 397 and 413,[16] and one of Vasantadeva (No. 18) dated 435[17] are also known.

During the interval between Nos. 18 and 19 ruled several other kings whose names are known from epigraphic records.. First we have Śivadeva I and his great Mahāsāmanta Aṁśuvarman. The latter gradually usurped all the royal authority and ruled like an independent king. His records are dated 30, 32, 34 and one is probably of the year 45. Whether these dates are to be referred to the Harṣa era, beginning in 606 A.D., as is generally held, or to a Tibetan era commencing in A.D. 595 as Lévi suggests, will be discussed later, but there is no doubt that Aṁśuvarman lived in the second quarter of the seventh century A.D. as Hiuen Tsang refers to him as a recent ruler.

15. Indraji No. 1.; Lévi, No. 1. Dr. Basak refers to this inscription as fragmentary (*HNI.* 242) ignoring the fact that the concluding lines which could not be read by Indraji were restored by Lévi.
16. Lévi No. II, Indraji No. 2. 17. Indraji No. 3.

Two other kings who followed Śivadeva and Aṁśuvarman, namely, Jiṣṇugupta and Sivadeva II, are known from records dated respectively in the years 48 and 119. There is no doubt that these dates are to be referred to the same era as is used in Aṁśuvarman's records.[18]

Śivadeva II is the son of Narendradeva who has been identified by all scholars with king No. 20 in the genealogical list given above. Lévi also refers to Chinese accounts according to which Narendradeva was on the throne in or about 643 A.D.[19] He must have thus a fairly long reign covering nearly half a century. His grandson Jayadeva II issued a record dated in year 153 of the era used by Aṁśuvarman, and thus Narendradeva, his son and grandson, together, must have ruled for a century or more.

The Chinese accounts tell us that the father of Narendradeva was removed from the throne by his younger brother, and Narendradeva was consequently forced to fly to Tibet. This, as well as the usurpation of Aṁśuvarman and Jiṣṇugupta who did not belong to the Licchavi family, indicates internal troubles. One of the *Vaṁśāvalīs* also refers to an invasion of the Kirātas who ruled over the kingdom for some time.

Evidently this troublesome period is indicated by the author of the Paśupati temple inscription when after referring to a regular succession of six kings up to Vasantadeva he suddenly goes at a jump to Narendradeva, son of Udayadeva. He does not say, as he did on two previous occasions, that he is passing over or leaving out of account a number of specified kings, but simply draws a veil after the reign of Vasantadeva and lifts it again with the accession of Narendradeva.

It is a reasonable presumption, therefore, that the period of interval between Vasantadeva and Narendradeva saw the disappearance of authority, at least for all practical purposes, of the Licchavi dynasty. The epigraphic records have preserved the name of the Licchavi king Śivadeva, who was either removed or whose power was reduced to a phantom early in the seventh century A.D. by his great vassal Aṁśuvarman. A little more light is perhaps thrown on this period by the *Vaṁśāvalīs*.

The different *Vaṁśāvalīs* agree in their account of the first 28 kings of the Licchavi dynasty. What is more important, they correctly give the names and order of succession of kings Nos. 13-18 mentioned in the Paśupati temple ins. It also mentions one Jayavarman early in the list. From such alternatives as Śivavarman or Śivadevavarman given in the same list, this Jayavarman may be equated with Jayadeva (No. 1) of the Paśupati

18. For the inscriptions referred to in this para, cf. the list in *HNI.* 248 ff.
19. *Nepal*, II, 164. On p. 162 Lévi puts the date as 645. Dr. Basak places Narendradeva about 690 A.D. (*HNI.* 285) without any reference to the Chinese evidence cited by Lévi.

Ins. though the *Vaṁśāvalīs* put 13 kings in the intervening period, instead of 11 as mentioned in the latter. This close resemblance of the *Vaṁśāvalīs* with the epigraphic records certainly gives their account of the Licchavi kings an authentic character, and it would not be unreasonable, therefore, to seek light from them regarding the period following Vasantadeva.

The three successors of Vasantadeva are named in all the *Vaṁśāvalīs* as Udayadeva, Mānadeva and Guṇakāmadeva. Lévi refers to a record, with characters resembling those of Vasantadeva, which contains the first part of a name '*Yuvarājoda* ....' and which he reasonably restores to *Yuvarājodaya-deva* i.e. prince Udayadeva. The same scholar also suggests that king Gaṇadeva, mentioned in a record of the same period is the same as Guṇakāmadeva who is mentioned as the second king after Udayadeva in the *Vaṁśāvalī*.[20]

All the *Vaṁśāvalīs* agree in naming the next three kings as Śivadeva, Narendradeva and Bhīmadeva. After that there is some difference. According to three of them the next two kings were Viṣṇudeva and Viśvadeva, and the son-in-law of the latter, Aṁśuvarman, founded the Thākuri dynasty. Another *Vaṁśāvalī*, however, says, that during the reign of Bhīmadeva-varman, the Ahirs, who ruled over Nepal before the Licchavis, reconquered the country, and after three of them had ruled, Śivadevavarman restored the Licchavi authority and was followed by Aṁśuvarman.[21]

The discrepancy in the *Vaṁśāvalīs* is perhaps due to the political troubles through which Nepal passed at this time, and it is not easy to reconcile the varying accounts. Curiously enough, the name of the three Ahir kings, Viṣṇugupta, Kiṣṇugupta and Bhūmigupta, all end in Gupta, and we know from epigraphic records that one Jiṣṇugupta certainly ruled immediately after Aṁśuvarman. Although, therefore, the Ahir invasion is passed over in three *Vaṁśāvalīs*, there may be some historical truth in it. It is, however, just possible, that the Ahir rulers did not all precede, but followed, or were partly contemporary to, the last Licchavi rulers named in the *Vaṁśāvalīs*. Lévi's suggestion that Viśvadevavarman of the three *Vaṁśāvalīs* is identical with Śivadevavarman of the other *Vaṁśāvalī*, is eminently reasonable,[22] as both are said to be followed by Aṁśuvarman. The fact that the name of this king is definitely known to be Śivadeva from epigraphic record gives this solitary *Vaṁśāvalī*, which names him, and refers to the Āhira invasion, a more authentic character than the rest. Now the three *Vaṁśāvalīs*, which omit all references to Ahir invasion, name Viṣṇudeva as the successor of Bhīmadeva, whereas the other *Vaṁśāvalī* names the first Ahir king who succeeded Bhīmadeva as Viṣṇugupta. It may be suggested, therefore, that these two, Viṣṇudeva and Viṣṇugupta, were identical and his name shall be removed from the succession list of Licchavi kings. In other words he

20. Nepal II, 120-1. 21. *Ibid.*, 92, 122. 22. *Ibid.*, 124.

reigned over a part of Nepal at the same time as Śivadeva, who ultimately defeated him or his successor.

Thus on the strength of the *Vaṁśāvalīs* we may make a provisional list of the successors of Vasantadeva as follows :—

1. Udayadeva
2. Mānadeva (II)
3. Guṇakāmadeva (Gaṇadeva ?)
4. Śivadeva
5. Narendradeva
6. Bhīmadeva
7. Śivadeva [Ahir invasion]
8. Aṁśuvarman (founder of the Ṭhākuri dynasty)

It is known from the inscriptions that Śivadeva (No. 7) was a senior contemporary of Aṁśuvarman. Lévi has made a suggestion that the kings named Śivadeva, i.e. Nos. 4 and 7 of the above list, were really one and the same person, and Nos. 5 and 6 did not really rule, but their names were preserved as mere links for tracing the succession of future kings. He points out that three *Vaṁśāvalīs* represent No. 4 as a king of considerable importance, mention many legends about him and refer in detail to his numerous religious endowments. On the other hand, Śivadeva, who ruled immediately before Aṁśuvarman, is known from epigraphic records to have made a large number of religious endowments. Indeed no other king of Nepal is known to have issued so many grants of this kind. This argument,[23] no doubt, contains a great deal of force, but against this has to be placed the unanimous testimony of all the *Vaṁśāvalīs* which separate the two kings bearing the name Śivadeva.

It would thus appear that we can reasonably regard the interval between Vasantadeva and Śivadeva—Aṁśuvarman as occupied by the reign of six (or according to Lévi three) kings. Now Śivadeva lived in the first half of the seventh century A.D., and a record of Vasantadeva is dated 435 *samvat*. Interpreting this date by the Vikrama and Śaka eras, the interval between the two would respectively be about 250 and 115 years. There can be hardly any question that the latter is a more reasonable period of interval than the former. Accordingly, at the present state of our knowledge, it would be most reasonable to refer the dates in the records of Mānadeva and Vasantadeva to the Śaka era. As regards the special Licchavi era of 110 A.D., suggested by Lévi, it is only 33 years later than the Śaka era, and it would not materially affect our conclusions so far as the dates of Vasantadeva and his predecessors are concerned. Only, if we read the date of Śivadeva's record as 500 + X Lévi's suggestion becomes a more probable one, though the Śaka era would not be altogether unsuitable even in that case.

23. *Ibid.*, 123-4.

Bhagawanlal Indraji referred the dates of Mānadeva and Vasantadeva to Vikrama era, and this view has been endorsed by Dr. R. G. Basak. Both were no doubt influenced by the presumption, now proved to be without a basis, that thirteen or eleven unnamed kings after Vasantadeva preceded Narendradeva. There is, however, one important fact in favour of the Vikrama *samvat* which was unknown to Indraji and has been overlooked by Dr. Basak. Reference has already been made to the Kisipidi inscription dated 449 which refers to an intercalary Āṣāḍha month. Lévi's theory of the Licchavi era of 110 A.D. was mainly based on this data, as there was an intercalary *Āṣāḍha* month in 559 A.D. It appears, however, from the astronomical tables supplied by L. D. S. Pillai that there was an intercalary *Āṣāḍha* in 449 Vikrama *samvat* current, but not in 449 Śaka current or expired. But considering how often such astronomical data have played tricks in chronological calculations in the past, it is difficult to regard this as a conclusive evidence, when it is in conflict with the results obtained from general historical study. When we remember that we are dealing with a period before Āryabhaṭa introduced a regular system in astronomical calculations, and the many unknown factors involved such as the error of calculations, wrong or different system followed in different localities, etc., it would not perhaps be wise in regarding the astronomical data as a decisive factor in chronological considerations. As an instance in point we may cite the inscription of Aṁśuvarman dated 34 which refers to an intercalary *Pauṣa*. Fleet, who referred this date to Harṣa era, justified his theory by pointing out that 'there was a mean intercalation of *Pauṣa*' in A.D. 640.[24] Lévi on the other hand held that this intercalary *Pauṣa* could only occur in 629 A.D.[25] But according to the Table X of S. Pillai's *Indian Chronology*, the latest authoritative treatise on the subject, there was no intercalary *Pauṣa* either in 629 or in 640 A.D. As a matter of fact, according to Pillai, instead of there being an intercalary *Pauṣa* there was a Pauṣa *kṣaya* i.e. no *Pauṣa* month at all in 629 A.D. Nevertheless these astronomical facts should be borne in mind and considered by persons competent to form an authoritative opinion on them.

It would appear from what has been said above that the facts so far known make it very unlikely that the earlier dates should be referred to the Vikrama *samvat*, and that there are no adequate grounds for referring them to a special Licchavi era.

For the present, therefore, we may accept as the most reasonable assumption, that the records of Mānadeva and Vasantadeva are dated in the Śaka era.

The reign of Mānadeva would accordingly cover the period 464 to 491 A.D. with a few years more, perhaps, both at the beginning and at the end. This is the period when the decline of the Gupta empire let loose the forces of political disintegration in N. India. This fits in with the warlike acti-

24. *CII.* III, Introd. p. 179.

25. *JA.* 1894, Part II, p. 62.

vities of Mānadeva referred to in his records. It is interesting to recall in this connection that a Maukhari king (either Īśvaravarman or Īśānavarman) and the Later Gupta king Jīvitagupta I are said to have fought against some enemies in the Himālaya region. It is not unlikely that they fought against the Licchavi kings of Nepal early in the sixth century A.D. and we may well believe in that case that Mānadeva had already established a strong political authority in Nepal which proved a menace to the safety of the neighbouring regions in the south.

We may thus offer the following tentative chronology of the Licchavi kings of Nepal up to the usurpation of Aṁśuvarman.

1.	Jayadeva	(2nd century A.D.)
2.		11 kings (3rd and 4th centuries A.D.)
13.	Vṛṣadeva	c. 400-460 A.D.
14.	Śaṅkaradeva	
15.	Dharmadeva	
16.	Mānadeva	c. 460-495 A.D.
17.	Mahīdeva	c. 495-510 A.D.
18.	Vasantadeva	c. 510-520 A.D.
19.	Udayadeva	520-610 A.D.
20.	Mānadeva II	
21.	Guṇakāmadeva (Gaṇadeva)	
22.	Śivadeva (?)	
23.	Narendradeva (?)	
24.	Bhīmadeva (?)	
25.	Śivadeva acc.	c. 610 A.D.
	Daughter = Aṁśuvarman (Usurper)	

The date of Aṁśuvarman's usurpation offers another intriguing problem in Nepal chronology. His charters are dated in the years 30, 32, 34 and 39. An inscription, referring to him as the reigning king, contains a date of which the decimal figure is certainly 40 but the unit figure has been doubtfully read as 4 or 5. It is obvious that these dates cannot be referred to either the Vikrama or Śaka era or to the Licchavi era, proposed by Lévi. The view generally accepted is that these dates are to be referred to the Harṣa era. But, as Lévi has pointed out,[26] there are serious difficulties in the way of accepting this theory. In the first place while there is no positive evidence that Harṣa ever conquered Nepal, the Chinese accounts leave no doubt that Tibet at this time exercised suzerainty over that country, and it was consequently detached from Indian politics. Secondly, the theory is in conflict with the positive statement of Hiuen Tsang that Aṁśuvarman was dead before he visited Nepal. For, according to the theory of Harṣa era Aṁśuvarman was alive even after 646 A.D., while Hiuen Tsang visited these parts in about 637 A.D. In order to get rid of this difficulty it has been suggested that Hiuen Tsang did not actually visit Nepal but based his account on reports which were either inaccurate or misunderstood by him.[27] But this explanation can hardly be regarded as satisfactory, particularly as we have no definite evidence of the Harṣa era being used in Nepal. Hiuen Tsang's statement runs as follows[28] :—

"The king is a kshatriya and belongs to the family of Licchavas. His mind is well-informed and he is pure and dignified in character. He has a sincere faith in the law of Buddha. Lately there was a king called Aṁśuvarman who was distinguished for his learning and ingenuity. He himself had composed a work on sounds (*Śabda-vidyā*) ; he esteemed learning and respected virtue, and his reputation was spread everywhere."

I have quoted this at length just to show that Hiuen Tsang's account of the two kings of Nepal is not a mere scrappy hearsay report, but gives some personal details. Even assuming that he did not visit Nepal personally —though there is nothing to justify this view—there is nothing to indicate that he had not a fairly accurate account of the country. His detailed descriptions of the physical features and climate of the country, the manners of the people and the religious establishments imply that he either visited the country or had detailed and faithful account of it from others. During his tour in the neighbouring region and long residence at Nālandā he must have come across persons resident in Nepal and competent to give him reliable information. To disregard Hiuen Tsang's testimony would, therefore, be a mere gratuitous assumption, in order to uphold a theory which is not supported by any positive evidence. Besides, as we shall see later, other

26. Nepal, II. 152.
27. *IA.* XIII, 422.
28. Beal—*Records,* II. 81.

Chinese Texts indirectly corroborate Hiuen Tsang by mentioning Narendradeva as king of Nepal c. 643 A.D.

S. Levi, the only eminent scholar who has refused to accept the theory of Harṣa era, has offered a solution of his own. An inscription of Aṁśuvarman, dated 34, refers to an intercalary *Pauṣa* month, and Lévi, as stated above, shows by astronomical calculation that this year corresponds to the year 629-30 A.D. The starting point of the era used by Aṁśuvarman would thus fall in the year 595 A.D. and Lévi suggests that this was probably the epoch of a Tibetan era commemorating either the accession of Strong-tsan or the birth of his son Srong-tsan-Gampo.[29] As both these Tibetan kings undoubtedly exercised suzerainty over Nepal, such a theory is quite a reasonable one. But its chief drawback is the fact that we have no knowledge of any such Tibetan era, and until its existence is proved by independent evidence Lévi's theory cannot command general acceptance.

S. Lévi has cited authentic Chinese evidence to show that the Chinese embassy which visited Magadha in 643 A.D., passed through Nepal and was received with honour by its king Narendradeva.[30] This shows that Aṁśuvarman had ceased to reign before that date. It thus confirms the testimony of Hiuen Tsang and renders untenable the theory that Aṁśuvarman's dates are to be referred to the Harṣa era.[31] At the same time Lévi's own theory of the Tibetan era of 595 A.D. hardly fits in with it. For we have an inscription of Jiṣṇugupta, who succeeded to the powers and authority of Aṁśuvarman, dated in the year 48. In this record Jiṣṇugupta acknowledged Bhaṭṭāraka-rāja Dhruvadeva as his lord-paramount. In another record, the date of which is lost, he refers to Bhaṭṭāraka Mānadeva as evidently occupying the same position. A third inscription of Jiṣṇugupta, without date, does not mention any of these kings but refers to his augmenting victorious reign. It is a reasonable assumption that these three records indicate the gradual advance in the position and status of Jiṣṇugupta. We may consequently hold that Jiṣṇugupta began his reign about the year 48, acknowledging the nominal suzerainty, first of the Licchavi king Dhruvadeva, and next of Mānadeva, and ended by discarding altogether such an unnecessary paraphernelia and reigning absolutely in his own name. Jiṣṇugupta may thus be presumed to have ruled for some years after the year 48. Now there can be no question that this date refers to the same era as was used by Aṁśuvarman. According to Lévi's theory this date corresponds to 643 A.D. We may reasonably hold that Jiṣṇugupta's reign was extended at least a few years beyond 643 A.D. But according to the Chinese evidence cited by Lévi

29. Nepal, II, 154.

30. *Ibid.*, 164.

31. Dr. Basak who refers the dates of Aṁśuvarman to the Harṣa era is altogether silent about the theory of Lévi and of the Chinese evidence referred to by him.

himself, Narendradeva was the king of Nepal in 643 A.D. This considerably weakens the theory that the dates in the charters of Aṁśuvarman and Jiṣṇugupta are to be referred to a Tibetan era commencing in 595 A.D.

We may also consider the possibility that the date in Aṁśuvarman's charter are his own regnal years and that the reckoning was continued by his successors. This is a quite reasonable and probable view, but is rejected by S. Lévi[32] on two grounds; first, that no record earlier than the 30th year is known, and secondly that as the Harigaon Stele inscription of Aṁśuvarman, dated year 30, refers to some details of his coronation, the era can hardly commemorate his own accession. The objections cannot, however, be regarded as decisive. The first is a mere negative evidence. As regards the second, the inscription merely refers to '*abhiṣeka-hastī*' and '*abhiṣekāśva*' in general terms, and although probable, it is by no means certain that the details of the donations in the record refer to the items of his own coronation. So the possibility of the dates of Aṁśuvarman's charters being his own regnal years cannot be altogether dismissed. It is not necessary to suppose that Aṁśuvarman deliberately founded a new era. As often happened, it is possible that the reckoning of his regnal years was continued by his successors and thus an era grew into being.

Another possibility must also be kept in view. The Nepal *Samvat*, an era even now in use, commenced from 879-80 A.D., and, in the absence of any authentic information or even reliable tradition explaining its origin, it has been suggested by Lévi that the epoch of the new era might simply be the new year after the completion of 800 years of the Śaka era.[33] In other words, they simply left out the hundreds at the commencement of the 9th century of the Śaka era. If this theory be accepted, we may hold that something similar might have taken place after the lapse of the first five hundred years of the Śaka era. Aṁśuvarman's known dates might, therefore, be treated as 530 to 545 of the Śaka era corresponding to 608-623 A.D. which would agree with Hiuen Tsang's statement that the king died some time before his visit to Nepal (c. 637 A.D.). We must, however, bear in mind that the dates of Śivadeva and Jayadeva II, *viz.* years 119 and 145 are also evidently dated in the same era and it is, therefore, necessary to suppose that though after 500 Śaka the hundreds were omitted, the reckoning was continued uninterrupted for the next three centuries, until the new Nepal *Samvat* came into use in the 9th century, and the same continuous reckoning was again adopted and has continued uptil now.

On the whole it must be admitted that none of these theories about the interpretation of the dates of Aṁśuvarman's charters can be regarded as convincing. But the theory of Harṣa era, which is now generally favoured,

32. *Nepal*, II, 152-3.

33. *Ibid.*, 179 ff.

appears to be the least satisfactory, as it is contradicted by known facts deduced from Hiuen Tsang's narrative and the Chinese annals. The theory of regnal years seems to be least open to objection at the present state of our knowledge. Nevertheless it would be unwise to lay stress on, far less to adopt definitely, any one of the above theories. For the present we must rest content with the information supplied by Hiuen Tsang that Aṁśuvarman's reign ended immediately or shortly before 637 A.D., when the pilgrim probably visited Nepal, or 642-3 A.D. when he visited E. India for the last time.

In concluding this long dissertation we must admit that it has not been possible to achieve much by way of positive results, but the main problem and the various issues arising out of it have been placed in clear perspective, and all the theories, specially those of Lévi, which are very important but evidently little known to Indian scholars, have been fully explained and properly examined. This, it may be confidently hoped, would facilitate the future study of the history and chronology of Nepal.

GULERIA PAINTINGS

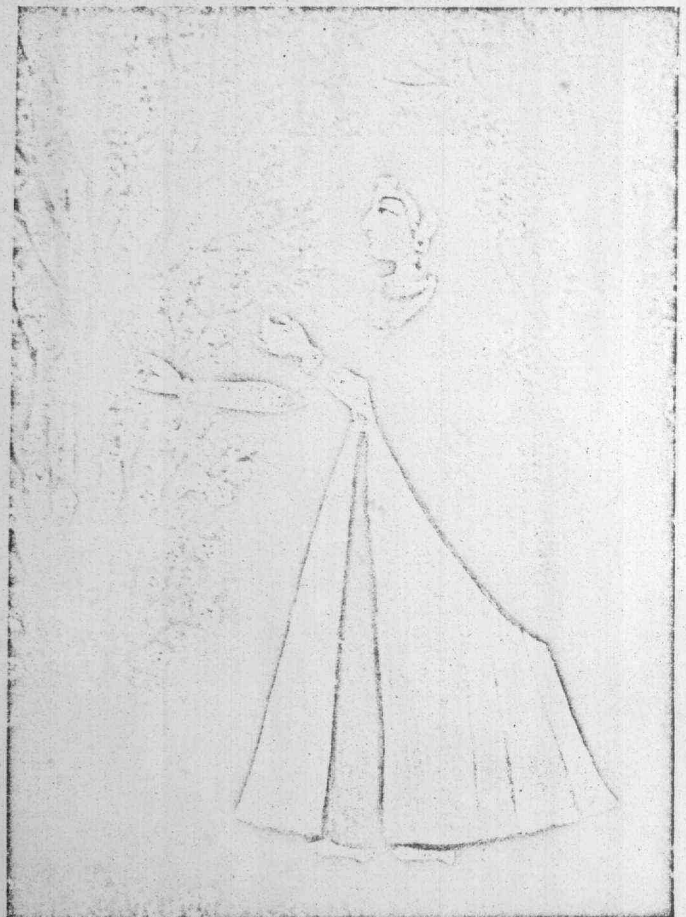
By

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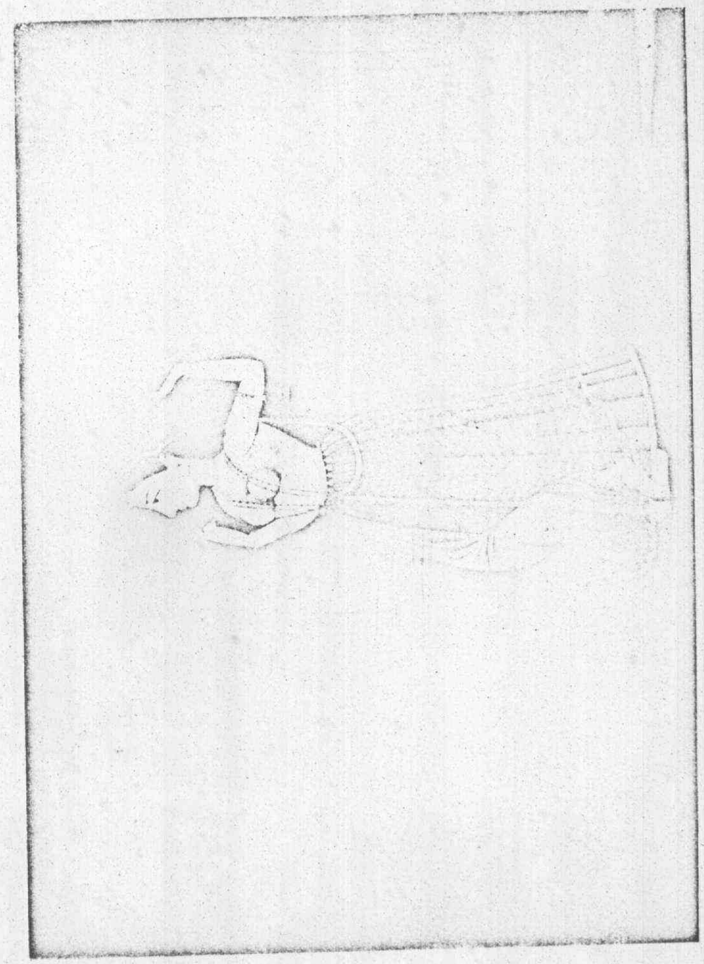
Gulerias form a chief clan of the old Katoch rulers of Kangra, the famous historic stronghold of the "Trigartta" territory of the Punjab. One of the heroic rajas of this Trigartta, namely, Suśarmachandra, figures in the *Mahābhārata* as fighting on behalf of the inveterate Duryodhana against the Pāṇḍavas. Who built this stronghold and when, we do not know. Tradition ascribes it to divine agency probably on account of its impregnability and great age. Nagarakoṭa is an antique name of it and Kangara, a comparatively modern appellation designating not only the fortress but the whole district, so called after the fortress. The connotation of this term is obscure just as is that of Katoch. To etymologise these terms as *Kaṇ-gaḍha* (the head or chief fort) and *Kate-uchcha* (foremost in the army) will be too pedantic for acceptance. This stronghold of Kangra played an important role in the history of the India of the Mohammadan epoch and a patriotic Hindu cannot but mourn its fall to the invader : *is nīnd hī mēn lūt huī Nagarakota kī, is nīnd hī mēn jātā rahā Somanātha bhī.*

The Gulerias left the parental stronghold viz. Kangra and settled in Guler, which is about a day's journey from it, in the 15th century of the Christian era. They were called after this locality in accordance with the usual custom of taking names from the place of residence as, for example, Paṭhāniyā from *Pathāna* or *Pratishṭhāna*, Dogra from Duggar (ancient *Dvigartta*), or Balauria from Balaur.

During my official tours in the district of Kangra, I visited Haripur, the capital of Guler, and made the acquaintance of Raja Raghunatha Singha, the late ruler of the locality. He very kindly showed me his valuable collection of paintings chiefly consisting of the portraits of his ancestors and allowed me to have them photographed for the Archaeological Survey of India, Northern Circle, Lahore. One of these portraits is believed to represent a Guleria chief who was considered a charming personality, so much so that the members of a Mughal harem, so goes the story, expressed a desire to see him. He was consequently taken to their august presence but, unfortunately for him, blindfolded ! These paintings are not yet published and it is highly desirable that they are brought out for the use of scholars interested in the pictorial art and history of India. The said Raja allowed me the use of the *Dilīparañjinī*, the only manuscript copy of which lay in his possession. This valuable piece gives an interesting account of the Guleriā chiefs and I noticed its contents in the *Journal of The*



KANGRA PAINTING, No. 1.



KANGRA PAINTING, No. 2.

Punjab Historical Society many years ago. At the same time I was able to get a few pictures of *nāyikās* and *rāginīs*, some of which I have published already.

Kangra gave birth to many beautiful pictures now lying scattered in several museums and various collections, official or private. Consequently, these paintings are known to be the product of the school termed after Kangra. Guler is a part of Kasgra and a number of paintings have been found here. Whether the Guleriā chiefs had their own *chiterās* (i.e. *chitrakāras*) or not, is not known for certain, but principal rulers of these hill states had them as a rule and Kangra must have had them too, for I myself saw the descendants of a famous painter of Kangra, namely, Sajanu, about the time of the well known seismic catastrophe of 1905 when I was there, and collected many *khākās* from the family. In all probability the paintings of Kangra were indebted to the *Ustāds* who gave us the Mughal paintings too well known to mention here.

Kangra paintings are usually in the profile and the painters who wrought them did not come out successful in their efforts to depict the full face. These paintings are known for their technique, brilliancy, colour and line. The best ones are undoubtedly good illustrations of exquisiteness and are well featured and proportioned. The Guleriā paintings are likewise. There is no need to differentiate them from the Kangra school. The portraits of the Gulerias which I have seen display all these characteristics and reflect great credit on the *ustāds* who made them as well as the patrons who encouraged them. The said collection of the ruler mentioned above had, besides portraits, paintings of *rāginīs*, *nāyikās*, flowers, deities and other subjects. They all require special treatment in a separate volume.

Two of these paintings which have not been published before and are masterpieces of the Kangra Art, are reproduced here in token of my great appreciation of the devotion to the muse of the history and art of ancient India which the scholar to whom this volume is being presented has been evincing all along. One of them I call 'Expectancy' and the other 'Delusion'. Both these pictures of the Kangra *qulam* are remarkably well drawn and exquisite. The colouring is excellent, the pose of the figures, very expressive, and the drapery fine and smart, so much so that the dress is visibly transparent : the velvety bodice with its colour is clear under the *dupattā*. The rest of the dress and also the face, are executed with equal delicacy. The background of the lady expecting her lover at the dead of night is wonderfully exhibited and with the streak of lightning that the *ustād* has cleverly put in, forms a striking contrast to the charming figure. The other picture, ***Vipralabdhā*** ('Delusion'), depicts equally successfully the state of mind of the bewitched lady and, incidentally, brings to our thought the forlorn state to which this superb art of Kangra has now dwindled with hardly any hope of revival, as those who wrought them did not come out successful in their efforts to depict the full face.

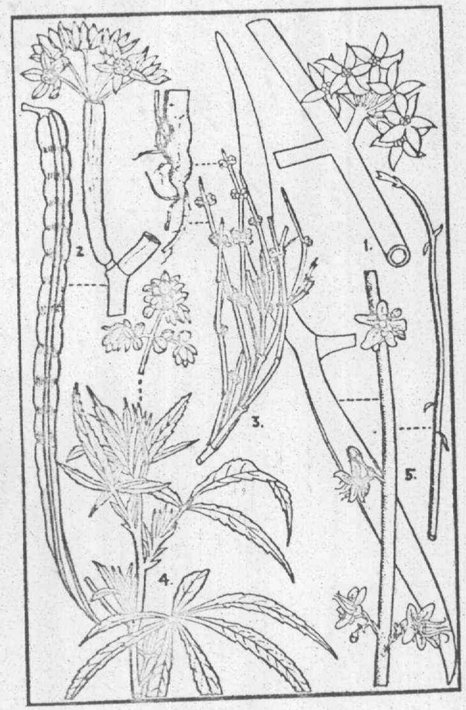
Two of these paintings which have not been published before and are masterpieces of the Kangra *qalam*, are reproduced below in token of my appreciation of the devotion which Dr. B. C. Law has all along been evincing to the cause of Indology. As I have said before, both are remarkably exquisite and well-posed. In 'Expectancy' the drapery is visibly transparent. The bodice does not hide the beauty of the figure it covers and the skirt is clear under the deep blue gossamer *dupattā*. The rest of the dress and also the face and person, are executed with equal delicacy. This portrayal of the lady waiting for her lover amidst the brewing storm at the dead of night, is strikingly effective. The streak of lightning that the *ustād* has cleverly put in to lessen the dark intensity of the night, vividly brings out the contrast between the charming lady, her jewelry, her drapery, her lovely features and graceful form, and the dim, weird background.

The *Vipralabdhā* ('Delusion') is apparently a portrayal of the idea containing in the following verse from the Gïta-Govinda :

श्रीसति कथमसौ रसालशाखां चिरविरहेण विलोक्य पुष्पिता ग्राम् ।

Lord Krishna has suddenly disappeared leaving Radha in bewilderment. Thinking that the Lord is hidden in the flowery tree, she stands holding the blossoming branch in her hand, sighing for the vanished lover. This picture is in softer tints harmoniously, but just as delicately, used and is an equally successful depiction of the state of mind of the bewitched lady.

Both paintings serve to illustrate the high degree of perfection that the superb pictorial art of Kangra had reached and we cannot but regret the forlorn state to which it has now dwindled, with hardly any hope of revival.



SOMA PLANT

VEDIC PLANTS

By

Dr. GIRIJAPRASANNA MAJUMDAR, M.SC. PH.D., F.N.I.

INTRODUCTION

The Vedic Indians were a civilized people. They settled down to pastoral life, and evolved working knowledge of the things that formed their immediate environment, and plants formed one such environment, in order to utilize them to the best of their advantage. They lived in villages, towns and cities, in fixed dwellings and houses which were furnished with simple furniture. Their food and drink ingredients consisted mainly of cereals, pulses, fruits, *soma* and other plants and plant products which they cultivated in fields and gardens. The Vedas bring the Vedic man and woman before us perfectly well dressed, caring for dress and creating an art for dress-making, washing, etc. Boats and chariots were their main conveyances for water and land transport, and their trade and commerce flourished with plant products as the chief merchandise, and even *māṣa* and *kṛṣṇala* were used as some sort of currency for exchange and barter. They developed agriculture, arbori-horticulture, sylviculture, etc. and enjoyed their leisure hours in playing dice or in cultivating music, both vocal and instrumental. They made utensils, war weapons, agricultural implements, and also practised medicine.

All these required a knowledge of plants and plant products. It is rightly said that 'utilitarian side gave the first impetus to the scientific study of Botany'. At this early stage Descriptive Botany, or the External Morphology as it is called, and some knowledge of nursing and maintenance of growth of plants (rudimentary knowledge of plant physiology), became necessary for the proper identification of plants and their successful cultivation, particularly so when their number became unusually large. An account of their achievement in this line will be given elsewhere.

In the present contribution an attempt has been made to make a list, identify as far as practicable and classify the plants occurring in the Vedic literature as contemplated and enumerated by Macdonell and Keith in their classical work, the ***Vedic Index***.

2. IDENTIFICATION

The trees, shrubs, herbs and other plants mentioned in the Vedic literature are enumerated below in an alphabetic order with their Latin synonyms, distribution and uses :

Vedic name.	*Latin Synonym and Family.*	*Ref. in Vedic literature.*	*Distribution and uses*
1. Âbaya	1. Brassica yuncea (=napus), seeds dark ; 2. B. alba, seeds white (Cruciferæ)	A. V. iv. 35, 5 (Whitney, 292), used against supernatural agencies.	Cultivated in India, white ones cultivated at Ferozepore in the Punjab. *Oil, medicine.*
2. Âdâra	Zingiber officinale (Zingiberaceæ)	A. V. iv, 35, 5 (Whitney 207 ; Zimmer 70 ; Weber, 18, 138).	Throughout the warmer parts of India. *Medicine, spice.*
3. Adhyâṇḍâ	1. Mucana pruriens (Leguminosæ) 2. Phyllanthus urinaria 3. P. niruri Euphorbricaceæ	Śat. Br. xiii, 8, 1, 16 ; mentioned with many other plants.	From the Himalayas in the plains to Ceylon, Assam, Burma etc. —hotter parts of India. *Medicinal.*
4. Ajaśṛṅgî	1. Odina Wodiar (Anacardiaceæ) 2. Gymnema Sylvestre (Asclepiadaceæ)	A. V. iv. 37 ; prescribed as demon destroyer.	Hotter parts of India from extreme N. W. along the foot of the Himalaya, ascending to 4000 ft., to Assam eastwards. *Wood, medicine.*
5. Āla	Weed of cornfield	A. V. vi. 16, 3.	....
6. Alâbu, Alâpu	Lagenaria Vulgaris (Cucurbitaceæ)	A. V. viii, 10, 29, 30 ; xx, 130 ; 1. 2 ; *alâpu*. Mait. Saṁ. iv. 2, 13 ; vessel made of it.	Indigenous in India. *Vegetable, fruit and utensils.*
7. Alasâlâ	Grain creeper	A. V. vi. 16, 4.	....
8. Amalâ, Âmalaka	Phyllanthus emblica (Euphorbiaceæ)	Jaim. Up. Br. i, 38, 6 ; Chând. Up. vii, 3, 1 (Vâmalaka).	Throughout tropical & sub-tropical India, wild or planted. *Medicinal, fruit.*
9. Amûla	1. Gloriosa superba (Liliaceæ) 2. Cascata sp. (Convolvulaceæ)	A. V. v. 32. 4 ; the plant is described as rootless. I consider it a cascata sp. which is common in the Indus Plain ; used for poisoning arrows.	Throughout tropical India, from N. W. Himalayas to Assam ascending up to 5000 ft. *Poison.*
10. Āṇḍika	Nymphæa alba (Nymphæaceæ)	A. V. iv, 35, 5 ; 17, 16 ; edible plant leaf and root egg-shaped. In the Pippalapada ed. Pauṇḍarika is mentioned in its place.	Kashmir, Siberia, Europe. *Flower, personal decoration, edibles.*

Vedic name.	Latin Synonym and Family.	Ref. in Vedic literature.	Distribution and uses
11. Aṇu (cina)	Panicum miliaceum (Gramineæ)	Vāj. Saṁ. xviii, 12; Bṛhad. Up. vi. 3, 13.	Cultivated or naturalised throughout the hotter parts of India, grains white. *Food grains, fodder diet.*
12. Apâmârga	Achyranthes aspera (Amarantaceæ)	A. V. iv, 7, 6; 18, 7; 19, 4; vii, 6, 2; Vāj. Saṁ. xxxv, 11; Taitt. Br. i, 7, 8, 1; Śat. Br. v, 2, 4, 14; xiii, 8, 4, 4; Nirukta, iv, 17, 2.	Tropical Asia, Africa, Baluchistan. *Medicinal, ritual.*
13. Aparâjitâ	Clitoria ternata (Leguminoseæ)	A. V. ii, 27, 3; for prosperity and long life.	Tropical zone from the Himalayas to Ceylon, Burma, etc. *Spell, amulet.*
14. Arka	Calotropis gigantea (Asclepiadaceæ)	A. V. vi, 72, 1; Śat. Br. ix, 1, 1, 4. 9; arka-parṇa, arka palāśa, i, 2, 3; 12, 13.	Throughout India, ascending to 3000 ft. in the Himalayas, from the Punjab to Assam, drier places. *Medicinal.*
15. Araḷu	Oroxylum indicum (Bignomiaceæ)	A. V. xx, 131, 17; in R. V. It is said that axle of chariot was sometimes made of its wood.	From the Himalayas to Ceylon up to 3000 ft. *Timber, medicinal.*
16. Arâṭakî Araṭu	1. Prosopis spicigera (suggested by Weber) 2. Acacia Suma (Leguminoseæ)	A. V. iv, 37, 6.	The Punjab, Sind, Western Peninsula. *Timber, Fuel.*
17. Arundhati = Sahadevī	Sida cordifolia S. rhombifolia (Malvaceæ)	A. V. iv, 2, 1; v. 5, 5, 9; vi, 59, 1, 2; vii, 7, 16; xix, 38, 1; healing properties, as febrifuge, increased milk of cow, protection of cattle (A. V. vi, 59, 1), climber, having stem, of golden colour, (A. V. v, 5, 5.7), also called silâcî, and lâkṣâ appears to have been a product of it (Whitney's notes on A. V. iv, 12).	Tropical and subtropical India. *Medicinal, Milk producing,* Source of *Lākṣā.*

Vedic name.	Latin Synonym and Family.	Ref. in Vedic literature.	Distribution and uses
18. Aśmagandhâ	Withania somnifera (Solanaceæ)	Śat. Br. xiii, 8, 1, 16.	Throughout drier subtropical India, west Hindustan. *Medicinal.*
19. Aśvattha	Ficus religiosa (urticaceæ)	R. V. i, 164, 20; vessels made of Aśvattha. R. V. x, 97, 5; tree, A. V. iii, 6, 1; iv, 32.4; hardwood for kindling fire, A. V. vi, 11, 1; Śat. Br. xi, 5, 1.13; starts life as an epiphyte on Khadira, sometimes strangles it A. V. iii, 6; its berries eaten by birds, R. V. i, 164 20.20; described as 'crested ones' (śikhaṇḍin) A. V. vi, 374.	One of India's greatest trees, wild in the sub-Himalayan forests. *Religious.*
20. Aśvavâla Aśvavāra	Saccharum spontaneum (Gramineæ)	Mait. Saṁ. iii, 7, 9; Kāṭh Saṁ. xxiv, 8; Kapiṣṭha. Saṁ. xxxviii, 1; Śat. Br. iii, 4. 1, 7.	India, Ceylon etc., warm region of old world.
21. Aśvavatî	One of the four principal medicinal plants cannot be identified	R. V. x, 97, 7.	....
22. Aukṣagandhî	Fragrant plant	A. V. iv, 37, 3, mentioned along with Guggulu and Naladî as fragrant plants.	....
23. Avakâ (aquatic plant)	Blyxa oryzetorum the only species that grows in Kashmir. Its later name is śaivâla identical with śipāla. Śaivâla is Blyxa griffithii, not found in the Punjab. śipāla is mentioned in Aśva. Gr. Sūtra ii, 8; iv, 4 (Hydrocharideæ)	A. V. viii, 7, 9; 37, 8-10; Taitt. Saṁ. iv, 6, 1. 1; v, 4, 2, 1; 4, 3; Vāj. Saṁ. xvii, 4; xxv, 1; Mait. Saṁ. ii, 10, 1; Śat. Br. vii, 5, 1, 11; viii, 3, 2, 5; ix, 1, 2, 20, 22; xiii, 8. 3, 13; Gandharvas eat it, A. V. iv, 37, 8.	Kashmir. *Pot herb.*
24. Badara	Zizyphus Sp. (Rhamneæ)	Kâṭh. Saṁ. xii, 10; Mait. Saṁ. iii, 11, 2; Vāj. Saṁ. xix, 22. 90; xxi, 30; Taitt. Br. i, 8, 5, 1; Śat. Br. v. 5, 4; 10; xii, 7, 1, 3; 2, 9; 9, 1, 8; etc; Jaimin. Br. ii, 156, 5.	Throughout India, N. W. Frontier Sind, base of the Himalaya to Ceylon.

Vedic name.	*Latin Synonym and Family.*	*Ref. in Vedic literature.*	*Distribution and uses*
25. Baja (white & yellow variety)	Brassica Sp. (Crucifereæ)	A. V. viii, 6, 3, 6. 7. 24 (Whitney, 494)—used against demon of disease.	Punjab, and cultivated in India.
26. Balbaja	1. Elensine indica 2. E. Coracana (Gramineæ)	A. V. xiv, 2, 22, 23 ; Taitt. Saṁ. ii, 2, 8. 2 ; Kāṭh. Saṁ. x, 10 ; Mait. Saṁ. ii, 2, 5 ; used for sacrificial litter, fuel (Kāṭh. Saṁ) ; in R. V. viii, 53, 3, basket and other things made from this grass (in Dānastuti).	Cultivated in the plains of India. *Medicinal, fuel, furniture & utensils.*
27. Bhaṅga. (hemp)	Cannabis sativa (Urticaceæ)	In R. V. ix, 61, 13 it is an epithet of Soma ; A. V. xi, 6, 15 ; Sāṅkh. Āran. xii, 19.	Wild in N. W. Himalaya, Central Asia.
28. Bilva	Aegle marmelos (Rutaceæ)	A. V. xxi, 136, 3 ; Ait. Br. ii, 1 ; Śat. Br. xiii, 4, 4, 8, etc ; Mait. Saṁ. iii, 9, 3 ; sacrificial post in Taitt. Saṁ. ii, 1, 8, 1. 2 ; cf. śat. Br. i, 3, 3, 20 ; Ait. Br. ii, 1 ; amulet, sāṅkh. Āran. xii, 20, *et. seq.*	Wild, ascending to 4000 ft. in the Western Himalayas, in dry hilly places from Jhelum to Assam.
29. Bimba	Cephalandia indica (Cucurbitaceæ)	Jaimin. Up. Br. iii, 5, 6.	Throughout India. *Medicinal.*
30. Canaka (See under Khalva)	Cicer arietinum (Leguminoseæ).	Vāj. Saṁ. xviii, 12.	Cultivated in temperate and tropical countries. *Pulse.*
31. Candâ	Andropogan aciculatus (Gramineæ)	A. V. vi, 139, 3.	Plains and lower hills of India from Kumaon to Sikkim in the Himalayas.
32. Citraparṇî	....	A. V. ii, 25, 3, with spotted leaf, protection of foetus.	....
33. Darbha with its 2 varieties, Kharadarbha & Mṛdudarbha	1. Eragnostis Cynosuroides 2. E. tenella = E. ciliaris (Gramineæ)	R. V. i, 191, 3 ; with *Śara* & *Kuśara*. A. V. vi, 43, 2 ; viii, 7, 20 ; x, 4, 13 ; xi, 6, 15 ; xix, 29, 1, etc., used for calming of anger, A. V. vi. 43.	Plains of India from Peshawar to Sind, to Burma. *Ritual.*
34. Daśavṛkṣa	A tree according to Roth.	A. V. ii, 9, 1.	....
35. Dhava	Anogeissus latifolia (Combretaceæ)	A. V. vi, 5, 5, used for healing up of wounds.	From the Himalaya to Ceylon up to 3000 ft. *Medicinal.*

Vedic name.	*Latin Synonym*	*Ref. in Vedic literature.*	*Distribution and uses*
36. Dûrvâ	Cynodon dactylon (Gramineæ)	R. V. x, 16, 13 ; 134, 5 ; 142, 8 ; Taitt. Saṁ. iv, 2, 9, 2 ; v, 2, 8, 3 ; Vāj. Saṁ. xiii, 20 ; Ait. Br. viii, 5, 8 ; Śat. Br. iv, 5, 10, 5 ; vii, 9, 2, 10, 12 ; etc ; grows on Damp ground, R. V. x, 16, 3 ; 142, 8.	India, Burma, Ceylon ascending to 5000 ft. in the Himalayas. *Sacrificial. Medicinal.*
37. Eraṇḍa	Ricinus Communis (Euphorbiaceæ)	Sāṅkh. Āras. xii, 8.	Throughout India, cultivated, tropics, generally, indigenous in Africa. *Medicinal, oil.*
38. Garmut	(Leguminoseæ) Wild bean	Taitt. Saṁ. ii, 4, 4, 1. 2 ; Kāṭh Saṁ. xiii ; Mait. Saṁ. ii, 2. 4.	*Pulse.*
39. Gavedhuka Gavedhukâ Gāvidhuka Gavîdhukâ	Coix Lachryma (Gramineæ)	Taitt. Saṁ. v, 4, 3. 2 ; śât. Br. v, 2, 9, 13 ; 3, 1, 10 ; xiv, 1, 2, 19 ; Taitt. Saṁ. i, 8, 7, 1 ; 9, 2 ; Taitt. Br. i, 7, 3, 6 ; Mait. Saṁ. ii, 6, 5 ; iv, 3, 8 ; Vāj. Saṁ. xv, 5.	Tropical Asia, Cultivated, hotter & damper parts of India, kernel used as *food, medicine, fodder* grass (Duthie).
40. Godhûma	Triticum vulgare (Gramineæ)	Mait. Saṁ. i, 2, 8 ; Vāj. Saṁ. xviii, 12 ; xix, 22 ; 89 ; xxi, 29 ; Sat. Br. xii, 7, 1, 2 ; 2, 9 ; Bṛhad. Up. vi, 3, 22 ; distinguished from Vrihi & Yava in Taitt. Br. i, 3, 7, 2 ; Saktvaḥ made from it. Śat. Br. xii, 9, 1, 5 ; v, 2, 1, 6.	Northern India, up to 13000 ft. in the Himalayas & Tibet. *Cereal.*
41. Guggulû	Bulsamodendron Mukul (Burseraceæ)	A. V. xix, 38 ; amulet for various blessings.	Sind, Rajputana, Baluchistan rocky hills. *Frankincense.*
42. Haridrâ	Curcuma longa (Zingiberaceæ)	A. V. i, 24, 2 ; remedy against leprous spot.	Cultivated in India, throughout tropics. *Medicinal.*
43. Haridru	Cedrus libani *var* deodara (Coniferæ)	Sat. Br. xiii, 8, 1. 16.	N. W. Himalaya from Kumaon westwards 3,500 to 12,000 ft.

Vedic name.	Latin Synonym and Family.	Ref. in Vedic literature.	Distribution and uses
44. Isîkâ	Polytoca barbata (Gramineæ)	A. V. vii, 54, 4 ; xii, 2, 54 ; Śat. Br. iv, 3, 4, 16 ; etc. Jaimin. Br. Up. i, 9 ; ii, 134 ; Chānd. v, 24, 3 ; Kaṭh Up. ii, 6, 17, etc. ; Nirukta ix, 8 ; a basket of *Isîkâ* in Śat. Br. i, 1, 4, 19 ; argaleṣika (bolt and pin of a door)—in Śāṅkh. Āran. ii, 16.	Throughout India hot and damp area from the Punjab to Assam. *Utensils etc., furniture.*
45. Jâmbîla Jâmbila	1. Citrus aurantium *var* Bergamia 2. C. Medica *var* acida (Rutaceæ)	Mait. Saṁ. iii, 15, 3 ; Kāṭh Saṁ. V, 12, 1 ; Vāj. Saṃ. xxv, 3.	Said to be indigenous in the Mothronwalla swamp, Dehradun, Gharwal, Kumaon. *Citron.*
46. Jaṅgida	Terminalia arjuna (Combretaceæ)	A. V. ii, 9 ; xix, 34, 35 ; against all sorts of diseases. A. V. xix, 39, 10 ; ii, 4, 1 ; xix, 34, 1, 5 ; 9, 7, amulet.	Sub-Himalayan tract, N. W. Provinces. *Amulet.*
47. Kâkambîra	Useful tree of some kind	R. V. vi, 48, 17.	....
48. Kapitthaka	Feronia elephantum (Rutaceæ)	A. V. iv, 4, 8, for virility.	In dry situation from the Punjab eastward and southward.
49. Karîra	Cappris aphylla= c. decidua (Capparidaceæ)	Taitt. Sam. ii, 4, 9, 2 ; Kāṭh. Saṃ. xi, 11 ; xxxvi, 7 ; Śat. Br. ii, 5, 2, 11.	The Punjab, Gujarat, Rajputana, drier places.
50. Karkandhu	1. Zizyphus nummularia, 2. Z. quenoplia (blackdrupe) 3. Z. jujuba (yellow, orange-reddish brown drupe) (Rhamneæ)	R. V. i, 112, 6, mentions it; may be Z. œnopolia, but the one mentioned in Kāṭh. Sam. xii, 10, Mait. Saṃ. iii, 11, 2 ; Vāj. Saṃ. xix, 23, 91 ; xxi, 32 ; xxiv, 2 ; Śat. Br. v, 5, 4, 10 ; xii, 7, 2, 9 ; 9, 1, 5, etc. Jaim. Br. ii, 152, 5,—had red berry (*rohita*). It cannot be z. jujuba, it is z. nummularia as its drupe becomes *red* when ripe.	Outer Himalayas up to 4,500 ft., dry arid region of the Punjab, Waziristan etc. up to 3000 ft. *Fruit.*

Vedic name.	Latin Synonym and Family.	Ref. in Vedic literature.	Distribution and uses
51. Kârṣmârya	Gmelina arborea (Verbenaceæ)	Taitt. Saṃ. v, 2, 7, 3, 4 ; vi, 2, 1. 5 ; Mait. Saṃ. iii, 2, 6 ; 7, 9 ; Śat. Br. iii, 4, 1, 6 ; 8, 2, 17 ; iv, 3, 3. 6 ; vii, 4, 1, 37.	Throughout India extending to the foot of N. W. Himalayas, then eastward.
52. Kâśa	Saccharum spontaneum (Gramineæ)	R. V. x, 100, 10 ; used for mats, etc. according to Roth, but clean in Taitt. Āran. vi, 9, 1.	Throughout India, South Europe and warm region of the old world. *Furniture.*
53. Khadira	Acacia catechu (Leguminoseæ)	R. V. iii, 53, 19 ; A. V. iii, 6, 1 ; v, 5, 5 ; viii, 8, 3 ; x, 6, 6 ; Mait. Saṃ. iii, 9, 3 ; Taitt. Saṃ. iii, 5, 7, 1 ; Ait. Br. ii, 1 ; Śat. Br. i, 3, 3, 20 ; iii, 6, 2, 12 ; etc.;—as a tree with hard wood, A. V. x, 6, 6; Arundhati climbs on it (A. V. v, 5, 5) ; sacrificial ladle (Taitt. Saṁ. iii, 5, 7, 1) ; of great strength (bahusāra), in Śat. Br. xiii, 4, 9, 2 ; amulet. sāṅkh. Āraṇ. xii, 8.	The Punjab, N. W. Himalayas C. India, Bihar. *Medicinal. timber.*
54. Khalakula	Dolichos biflorus (Leguminoseæ)	Bṛhad. Up. vi, 3, 22.	The Himalayas to Ceylon, and Burma, ascending to 3000 ft. in Sikkim. *Pulse & fodder.*
55. Khalva Canaka Niṣpâva	Phaseolus radiatus Cicer arietinum Vigra catjang	A. V. ii, 1 ; v, 23, 8 ; Vāj. Saṃ. xviii, 12 ; Mahidhara glosses it with *canaka* (chicken pea) ; Bṛhad Up. vi, 3, 32—Sāyaṇa glosses it with *Niṣpâva.*	Cultivated in temperate and tropical countries. *Pulse.*
56. Kharjûra	Phœnix Sylvestus (Palmæ)	Taitt. Saṁ. ii, 4, 9, 2 ; Kāṭh Saṃ. xi, 10 ; xxxvi, 7.	Wild in the Indus basin. *Fruit.*

Vedic Name.	Latin Synonym and Family.	Ref. in Vedic literature.	Distribution and uses
57. Kiṁśuka Patâś Parṇa	Butea frondosa = B. monosperma (Leguminoseæ)	R. V. x, 85, 20 (wedding); bridal car adorned with its blossoms; *Parṇa* in R. V. 97, 5; A. V. v, 5, 5; amulets and cover of sacrificial dishes in A. V. iii, 5, 4, 8; xvi, 11, 4, 53; sacrificial implements in Taitt. Saṁ. iii, 5, 7, 2; Mait. Saṁ. iv, 1, 1; Pañca. Br. xxi, 4, 13; Kāṭh. Sam. xv, 2; viii, 2; Taitt. Br. i, 1, 3, 11; 7, 1. 9; 8, 7; *parṇa-valka* (bark) in Taitt. Saṁ. ii, 5, 3, 5; Tait. Br. iii, 7, 4, 2, 18, etc. *Palâśa* in Kaus. Br. x, 2; Śat. Br. i, 5, 4, 5; v, 2, 1, 17; etc.; Ait. Br. ii, 1; Śat. Br. i, 3, 3, 19; ii, 6, 2, 8.	The Himalayas to Ceylon & Burma ascending to 4000 ft. in the N. W. Khandesh. *Timber for cars and utensils, flowers.*
58. Kiyâmbu Kyâmbu	....	R. V. x, 16, 13=A. V. xviii, 3, 6, planted in the place where dead bodies are burnt. Taitt. Āran. vi, 4, 1, 2 where *Kyâmbu* is the term.	....
59. Kṛṣṇala	Abrus precatorius (Leguminoseæ)	Kaṭh. Saṁ. xi, 4; Taitt. Br. i, 3, 6, 7; seeds used as standard weights for currency.	The Himalayas to Ceylon ascending to 3,500 ft.
60. Kulmâṣa	Phaseolus mumgo *var* radiatus (Leguminoseæ)	Chānd. Up. i, 10, 2, 7 (Kutsita māṣa); Nirukta, i, 4.	Extensively cultivated all over India. *Food & medicine.*
61. Kumuda (Water lily)	Nymphæa lotus (Nymphæaceæ)	Mentioned with other plants in A. V. iv, 34, 5.	Warmer parts of India. *Flower.*
62. Kuśa (See usder Darbha)	Eragrosis cyno suroides (Gramineæ)	Śat. Br. ii, 5, 2, 15; iii, 1, 2, 16; v, 3, 2, 7, etc.; *Kuśa & Kuśî* occur in Mait. Saṁ. iv, 5, 7; Śat. Br. iii, 6, 2. 9; Taitt. Br. i, 5, 10; 1, 2, 7.	*Sacrificial.*
63. Kuśara	Saccharum officinarum (Gramineæ)	Only once mentioned in R. V. i, 191, 3; according to B. Majumdar it refers to sugar cane, this term, he says, is still being used in Bengal for sugar cane.	Cultivated in the hotter parts of India. *Sugar.*

Vedic name.	Latin Synonym and Family.	Ref. in Vedic literature.	Distribution and uses
64. Kuṣṭha	1. Costus speciosus 2. C. arabicus (Zingiberaceæ) 3. Saussarea auriculata (Hillebrandt I, 65) = S. lappa (Compositeæ)	A. V. v, 4; vi, 102; xix, 39, 1; grows on mountains along with soma (A. V. 4, 1, 2, 8; xix, 39, 1); as a remedy highest place among herbs (A. V. v, 4, 1; xix, 39, 4); cures headache, diseases of the eye, bodily affection (A. V. v, 4, 10), fever and consumption (Yakṣmā), all healing (*viśva-bheṣaja*)—in A. V. xix, 39, 9; aromatic, classed with salve (*añjana*), and *Nalada* (nard)—A. V. vi, 102, 3.	Alpine, 4000 ft. Central & Eastern Himalayas, Kashmir, 8000-12,000 ft. *Medicine, drug.*
65. Lakṣmaṇa	A plant having upon its leaves red spots	A. V. ii, 25, 3; against abortion.	....
66. Madâvatî (Grape vine?)	Intoxicating plant —creeper	A. V. vi, 16, 2; cf. iv, 7, 4; could it be grape vine?	....
67. Madhuga Madhugha	Honey plant, sweet herb, a fruit (?)	A. V. i, 34, 4; vi, 122, 3; *madhu-dugha* occurs in R. V. vi; 70, 1. 5.	....
68. Madhûka	Bassia latifolia	A. V. i, 34, 5.—a love spell with this plant—intoxicating drink is made from its flowers.	....
69. Mañjiṣṭhâ	Rubia cordifolia (Rubiaceæ)	Ait. Br. iii, 2, 4; sāṅkh. Br. vii, 7.	Throughout India in hilly districts. *Dyestuff.*
70. Mâṣaparṇî	Teramnus labialis (Leguminoseæ)	A. V. ii, 25, 3.	From the foot of the W. Himalayas to Ceylon, Burma etc.
71. Masûra	Lens esculenta (Leguminoseæ)	Vāj. Saṃ. xviii, 12; Bṛhad. Up. vi, 3, 22.	Cold weather crop throughout India. *Pulse, cereal.*
72. Masûsya	A grain of the north country	Taitt. Br. iii, 8, 14, 6.	....

Vedic name.	*Latin Synonym and Family.*	*Ref. in Vedic literature.*	*Distribution and uses.*
73. Naḍa	Phragmitis maxima (Gramineæ)	R. V. i, 32, 8; 179, 9; ii, 34, 3; viii, 69, 2; x, 11, 2; 105, 9; Nirukta v, 2; it is identified by Pischel with Naḍa as at one passage (R. V. i, 32, 8) reed boat is mentioned, which is made of Nada split, and over which the waters go; at another passage (ii, 34, 3), reed whip is mentioned. Max-Müller sees reed also in R. V. x, 11, 2; in R. V. x, 105, 4, and x, 11, 2, the idea of a river is clearly indicated. In India, and particularly in Bengal, reed is never employed in boat building, but Palmyra palm is extensively used for such purposes. Could it mean this plant? The idea of splitting lends support to it.	From the Punjab to Burma, throughout India, Himalayas up to 3000 ft. *Boat, furniture.*
74. Nalada, Naladî, (Nard)	Nardostachys Jatamansi (Valeriaceæ)	A. V. vi, 102, 3; Ait. Āraṇ. iii, 2, 4; śāṅkh. Āraṇ. xi, 4; used for garland	Alpine Himalayas 1000 to 15,000 ft., Kumaon, Sikkim 17,000 Bhutan.
75. Narâcî	A poisonous plant	A. V. v, 31, 4.	....
76. Nîlâkalasâlâ Nîlâgalasâlâ	Grain creeper	A. V. vi, 16, 4 (Whitney, 292-293).	....
77. Nispâva	(See under Khalva)	....	....
78. Nîvâra	A variety of paddy wild race (Gramineæ)	Kāṭh. Saṃ. xii, 4; Mait. Saṃ. ii, 4, 10; Vâj. Saṃ. xviii, 12; Śat. Br. v, 1, 4, 14; 3, 3, 5; Taitt. Br. i, 3, 6, 7, etc.	*Cereal.*
79. Nyagrodha	Ficus benghalensis (Urticaceæ)	A tree remarkable for sending down from its branches roots, in R. V. i, 24. 7 (Pischel, I, 113 114); A. V. iv, 37, 4; v, 5, 5; Ait. Br. vii, 30, 31; Śat. Br. v, 3, 5, 13; viii, 2, 7, 3; Chānd. Up. vi, 12, 1, etc; *camasa* made of its wood, Taitt Sam. vii, 4, 12, 1; Vāj. Saṃ. xxiii, 13.	Wild only in the Sub-Himalayan forests. *Sacrificial.*

Vedic Name.	*Latin synonym and Family.*	*Ref. in Vedic literature.*	*Distribution and uses*
80. Nyastikâ (See under Candā)	Andropogan aciculatus (Gramineæ)	A. V. vi, 139, 1.	....
81. Pākadūrvā	1. Edible millet (Gramineæ)	R. V. x, 16, 3, mentions along with *Kiyāmbu* and *Vyal Kasā*, among plants used for growing on spots where dead bodies are burnt. Taitt. Āran. vi, 4, 1, 2; A. V. xviii, 3, 6, reads. *Sāṇḍadurva* (having egg shaped roots). Could it be *Cyperus rotandus*?	India, O—6000 ft. *Cereal.*
82. Palāśa	See under Kiṁśuka	....	....
83. Parṇa	See under Kiṁśuka	....	....
84. Pâtâ, Pâṭhâ	1. Stephania elegans 2. S. glabra (= S. rotanda) 3. S. hernandifolia (Menispermaceæ)	A. V. ii, 27, 4; Kauś. Sūtra, xxxvii, 1; xxxviii, 18.	S. elegans and S. glabra, subtropical Kumaon and Simla to Sikkim. S. hernandifolia in Nepal-Sikkim. *Medicinal.*
85. Pîlâ	A fragrant plant	A. V. iv, 37, 3; fragrant plant mentioned along with *Guggulū* & *Naladī*	....
86. Pîlu	1. Careya arborea (Myrtaceæ) 2. Salvadora persica 3. S. olleoides (Salvadoraceæ)	A. V. xx, 135, 12; on the fruit of which doves feed.	From the Himalayas to Travancore, up to 4000 ft. S. persica in drier parts of India from the Punjab to Sind, Gujarat, Rajputana.
87. Pippali	1. Piper peepuloides 2. P. longum (Piperaceæ)	A. V. vi, 107, 4.	Tropical Himalayas; hotter parts of India. *Spices, medicinal.*
88. Pîtudâru	Pinus longifolia (Coniferæ)	Kāṭh. Saṃ. xxv, 6; śat. Br. iii, 5, 2, 15; 4, 4, 5, 17; Pañca. Br. xxiv, 5; Mahīdhara on Vāj. Saṁ. v, 14; Sāyaṇa on Ait. Br. i. 28.	Outer Himalayas, The Indus to Bhutan, 1500 to 6000 ft. Afghanistan

Vedic Name.	*Latin synonym and Family.*	*Ref. in Vedic literature.*	*Distribution and uses*
89. Plakṣa	Ficus lacor	*Plakṣa*, waved leaved fig tree, small white fruit.	Plains and lower hills of India.
90. Prakṣa	Ficus lacor (Urticaceæ)	A. V. v, 5 ; Taitt. Saṁ. vii, 4, 12 ; cf. iii, 4. 8. 4 ; Mait. Saṁ. iii, 10, 2 ; vi, 3, 10, 2 ; Ait. Br. vii, 32 ; viii, 16 ; Taitt. Br. iii, 8, 19, 2 ; Śat. Br. iii, 8, 3, 10, 12. etc. *Prakṣa* is mentioned in Taitt. Saṁ. vi, 3, 10, 1 ; Sāmaveda, i, 144 ; ii, 465 ; Ait. Āraṇ. v, 2, 2.	
91. Pramaṇḍa	Hill debrandt (I, 14-16 ; II, 241-45) thinks it to be a plant having shoots turned downwards (*naicaśākha*), refers to Soma	R. V. iii, 53, 14. [illegible]	....
92. Pramaṇḍanî	Certain sweet scented plant.	Kauś. Sūtra, viii, 17 ; xxv, II ; xxxii, 22.	....
93. Praprotha	A substitute of Soma	Pañc. Br. viii, 4. 1.	
94. Priyaṅgu (Panic seed)	Setaria italica (Gramineæ)	Tait. Saṃ. ii, 2, 11. 4 ; Kaṭh. Saṃ. x, 11 ; Mait. Saṁ. ii, 1, 8 ; Vāj. Saṁ. xviii, 12.	In most warm and tropical countries, 6000 ft. in the Himalaya. *Medicinal.*
95. Priyaṅgu	Aglaia odorata (Meliaceæ)	In ṣaḍviṁśa Br. v, 2, it is described as *phalavatî* (Weber, 315) this plant appears to be a tree. See Caraka-*Dāhacikitsâ*. *Amara* also describes the plant in his Lexicon.	Eastern Peninsula. *Toilet.*
96. Pṛśniparnî (having speckled leaf)	1. Uraria lagopioides (Leguminoseæ) 2. Lemna Sp. (in the lexicon) (Lemnaceæ) 3. Hemionitis cordifolia (Filicinæ)	A. V. ii, 25, 1, etc ; as protection against evil beings; Śat. Br. xiii, 8, 1, 16. Roth (cited by Whitney), later identifies it with a plant *Lakṣmanā* curing barrenness. The scholiast of Kātyān. Śr. Sūtra (xxv, 7, 17) identifies it with *Teramnus labialis* (= *Glycine debilis*). In the lexicons the plant is identified as a *Lemna* Sp. (water plant).	1. Herbs, in the plains from foot of W. Himalayas to Ceylon, etc. 3. Common in the plains, on the mountains up to 3000 ft.

Vedic Name.	*Latin synonym and Family.*	*Ref. in Vedic literature.*	*Distribution and uses.*
97. Puṇḍarika (lotus)	Nelumbo nucifera (= N. Speciosum) (Nymphæaceæ)	R. V. x, 142, 8 ; A. V. iv, 35, 5; (Whitney 207; Aimmer, 70, Weber, 18, 138), Taitt. Saṁ. i, 8, 2, 1 ; Śat. Br. v, 5, 5, 6 ; Bṛhad Up. ii, 3, 10 ; vi, 3, 14 ; Chānd. up. i, 6, 7 ; Ait. Āraṇ. iii. 3, 4 ; A. V. (x, 8, 3) compares lotus bud to human heart (shape). In the Taitt. Saṁ. i, 8, 18 ; 1 ; Taitt. Br. i, 8, 2, 1 ; wreath of lotus petal. (*puṇḍarī-sraja* is mentioned.	Throughout the warmer parts of India. *Voilet, Flowers.*
98. Puṣkara (Blue lotus)	Nymphæa stellala (Nymphæaceæ)	R. V. vi, 16, 13 ; vii, 33, 11 ; A. V. xi, 3. 8 ; xii, 1, 24 ; Taitt. Saṁ. v, 4, 1 ; 2, 6, 5 ; 6, 9, 2 ; Vāj. Sam. xi, 29 ; Taitt. Br. i, 2, 1. 4 ; Śat. Br. iv, 5, 1, 16 ; Mait. Saṁ. iii, 1. 5 ; A. V. (xii, 1, 24) mentions sweet perfume of flowers, Grew in lakes *puṣkariṇî*)—R. V. v, 78, 7 ; x, 107, 10 ; A. V. iv, 39, 5 ; v, 16, 17 ; Bṛhad Up. iv, 3, 11, etc ; lotus crowned—R. V. x, 189, 2 ; A. V. iii, 22. 4 ; Śat. Br. iv, 1, 5, 16, etc.	Warmer parts of India.
99. Pûtika	1. Cāesalpinia Bonducella (Leguminoseaæ) 2. Basella rubra (Chenopodiaceæ)	Kâṭh Saṁ. xxxiv, 3 ; Śat. Br. xiv, 1, 2, 12 ; Pañca Br. viii, 4, 1 ; ix, 5, 3, etc ; Hillebrandt (I. 24, n. 3) identifies it with *Basella rubra.*	Himalayan Kumaon up to 2,500 ft.
100. Putirajju	....	A. V. viii, 8, 2 (See Roth.) (S. V.)	....
101. Putada Putrajani Putrakandā	U. C. Dutta identifies the plants with Uraria Lagopodiodes (Leguminoseaæ)	A. V. ii, 25, 3, prescribed against abortion and other maladies.	Plains from foot of the Himalayas to Ceylon.
102. Putudru	Pinus Sp. (Coniferæ)	A. V. viii, 2, 28 ; Taitt. Saṁ. vi, 2, 8, 4 ; Mait. Saṁ. iii, 8, 5 ; Kauś. Sūtra. viii, 15 ; lviii, 15.	Outer Himalayas.
103. Rohitaka	Aphanamixis polystachia (Metraceæ)	Mait. Saṁ. iii, 9. 3.	Sub-Himalayan tract from Rapti, Sikkim up to 6000 ft.

Vedic name.	*Latin Synonym and Family.*	*Ref. in Vedic literature.*	*Distribution and uses.*
104. Rajjudāla	Cordia obliqua (Boraginaceæ)	Śat. Br. xiii, 4. 4. 16.	Western India from the Punjab to the whole of warmer parts of India.
105. Śâda	Grass	R. V. ix, 15, 6 ; Vāj. Saṁ. xxv, 1.	....
106. Sadampuṣpa	Ever flowering plant	A. V. iv, 20, 9 ; against Piśāca (supernatural agency.)	....
107. Saha	According to Roth (S. v. 26), the name of a plant.	A. V. xi, 6, 15 ; Sāmavidh. Br. ii, 6, 10.	....
108. Sahadeva	A plant	R. V. i, 100, 17 ; Sāmavidhāna Br. ii, 6, 10.	....
109. Sahadevī	See under Arundhatī (Malvaceæ)	A. V. vi, 59, 2.	
110. Sahamâna	A plant	A. V. ii, 25, 2 ; iv, 7, 2 ; viii, 2, 6 ; 7-5.	....
111. Śairya	Species of grass infested with insects	R. V. i, 151, 3.	....
112. Śâlmalî	Bombax Ceiba (Bombacaceæ)	Fruit poisonous in R. V. vii, 50, 3 ; bridal car made of its wood (R. V. x, 85, 20), as the tallest of trees Taitt. Saṁ. vii, 4, 12, 1 ; Vāj. Saṁ. xxiii, 13 ; Śat. Br. xiii, 2, 7, 4 ; Pañc. Br. ix, 4, 11, etc.	Tropical Eastern Himalayas ; throughout hotter forest regions of India. *Timber.*
113. Śalâñjâlâ	Grain Creeper	A. V. vi, 16, 4 ; Kauś. Sūtra ii, 16.	....
114. Śâli	Oryza sativa—a variety (Gramineæ)	A later word for paddy conjectured by Roth to be equivalent to *Sāri*, in the word Śāriśākā in the A. V.	Indigenous in the marshes of Rajputana. *Cereal.*
115. Śâlûka	Nymphæa lotus (Nymphæaceæ)	A. V. iv, 34, 5.	Warmer parts of India in pools & lakes.

Vedic name.	*Latin Synonym and Family.*	*Ref. in Vedic literature.*	*Distribution and uses.*
116. Śamî	1. Prosopis spicigera 2. Mimosa Suma (Leguminoseæ)	A. V. vi, 11, 1 ; 30, 2, 3 ; Taitt. Saṁ. v, 1, 9, 6 ; 4. 7. 4 (for the lower *araṇi* for kindling fire) ; Kāṭh. Saṁ. xxxvi, 6 ; Taitt. Br. i, 1, 3, 11, *et seq.* ; 6, 4, 5 ; Śat. Br. ii, 5, 2, 12 ; ix, 2, 3, 37, etc. ; destructive of hair in A. V. vi, 30, 2, 3 ; as producing intoxication ; broad leaved ; these two characters are totally wanting in the two trees. Prosopis spicigera, and Mimosa Suma with which Śaṁ is usually identified (Roth in Whitney, 302). In fire kindling lower *araṇi* in A. V. vi, 11, 1 ; Śat. Br. xi, 5, 1, 15 ; cf. 13 ; 4, 1, 22 ; Taitt. Saṁ. v, 1, 9, 6 ; 4, 7, 4 ; fruit —*Sāmidhânya* in Śat. Br. i, 1, 1, 10.	The Punjab, Rajputana, Bundelkhand, Sind, Gujarat, Afghanistan. *Wood.*
117. Śana (hemp)	Crotalaria juncea (Leguminoseæ)	A. V. ii, 4, 5 ; as growing in forests, remedy against Viṣkandha ; Śat. Br. iii, 2. 1. 11 ; i, 6, 1, 24 ; 2, 15.	From base of the Himalayas to Ceylon. *Medicinal, fibre.*
118. Śāṇḍadūrva	Cyperus rotandus (Cyperaceæ)	A. V. xviii, 3, 6.	....
119. Śaṅkha-puṣpikā	Hemp ?	A. V. vii, 38, 5.	....
120. Śaphaka	Trapa bispinosa (Onagraceæ)	A. V. iv, 39, 5 ; Āpas. Sr. Sūtra. ix, 14, 14.	Throughout India. *Fruit.*
121. Śara	Saccharum arundanaceum (Gramineæ)	R. V. i, 191, 3 ; A. V. iv, 7. 4 ; Taitt. Saṁ. v, 2, 6, 2 ; vi, 1, 3, 3 ; Kāṭh. Saṁ. ix, 5 ; xxviii, 4 ; Śat. Br. ii, 2, 2 ; 4, 1 ; iii, 1, 3, 13 ; Bṛhad. Up. vi, 4, 11, etc ; Nirukta v, 4, etc ; arrow shafts, in A. V. i, 2, 1 ; 3, 1.	Throughout plains and low hills of India. *Grass.*
122. Sarṣapa	Brassica Campestris *var* sarson (Cruciferæ)	Chand. Up. iii, 14. 3 ; Saç. Br. v, 2 ; Śâṅkh Sr. Sutra, iv, 15, 8, etc.	Cold weather crop. *Oil, medicinal.*

Vedic Name.	Latin synonym and Family.	Ref. in Vedic literature.	Distribution and uses.
123. Śatavâra	Asparagus racemosus (Liliaceæ)	A. V. xix, 36.	Tropical and subtropical India ascending the Himalayas to 4000 ft. from Kashmir eastward. *Eatable, medicine.*
124. Silâcî	Name of a healing plant, also called *Lâkṣā*	A. V. v, 5, 1, 8.	....
125. Śilāñjālâ	Grain creeper	Same as Śālāñjālā.	....
126. Śiṁśapâ	Dalbergia Sisu (Leguminoseæ)	R. V. iii, 53, 19 (with Khadira) a stately and beautiful tree. A. V. xx, 129, 7; cf. Śaṁśapa in vi, 129, 1.	W. Himalayas up to 4000 ft., Central Himalayas ascending to 5000 ft. Terai of Nepal. *Wood.*
126A. Śipâla (water plant)	Blyxa Ceylanica (Hydrocharideæ)	R. V. x. 68, 5; later form Śaivala; *Śialya*, overgrown with Śîpâla plants; Ṣaḍ. Br. iii, 1; only once in A. V. vi, 12, 3.	*B. Oryzoterum* is the only species growing in Kashmir.
127. Soma (with figs)	Cannot now be identified with certainty; variously identified: 1. Sarcostemma brevistigma = Asclepias acida; 2. S. intermedium = S. viminale 3. Periploca aphylla (Asclepiadaceæ) 4. Ephedra Vulgaris (Gnetaceæ) 5. Cannabis sativa (Urticaceæ)	In the Ṛgveda the whole of the 9th Maṇḍala and six hymns of other Maṇḍalas are devoted to this plant. Soma is described as the best among plants all trees are prostrate to Soma who is their king.	(1) + (2) are in the Deccan Peninsula; (3) in the Western Punjab in the plains & Sind, Afghanistan, Persia, etc. (4) in temperate and Alpine Himalayas, 7 to 12000 ft. Western Tibet in drier regions, and (5) wild in the N. W. Himalayas, Central Asia, etc. *Drink.*
128. Somavatî	One of the four principal medicinal plants in Ṛgveda	R. V. x, 97, 7.	....
129. Spandana	A certain tree	R. V. iii, 53, 19.	....

Vedic name.	Latin Synonym and Family.	Ref. in Vedic literature.	Distribution and uses.
130. Sphûrjaka	Diospyros perigrina (Ebenaceæ)	Śat. Br. xiii, 8, 1. 16.	From the Himalayas (Jumna eastward) to Ceylon, Burma, etc. *Timber, fruit.*
131. Śraktya	Clerodendron phlomidis (Verbenaceæ)	Amulet derived from its wood, according to commentators on A. V. viii, 5, 4, 7, 8 (Bloomfield, Amer. Jour. Phil., 7, 477).	N. W. Himalayan Terai, to Ceylon in the drier climates; Baluchistan. *Medicinal.*
132. Srekaparṇa	Nerium odorum (Apocyanaceæ)	Taitt. Br. iii, 6, 6, 3; Ait. Br. ii, 6, 15.	The Himalayas from Nepal westwards to Kashmir up to 6,500 ft. Salt Range, Waziristan, etc. *Medicinal.*
133. Sugandhitejana	Andropogan squarrosus (Gramineæ)	Taitt. Saṁ. vi, 2, 8, 4; Kāṭh. Saṃ. xxv, 6; Ait. Br. i, 28, 28; Śat. Br. iii, 5, 2, 17; Pañca. Br. xxiv, 13, 5.	Plains & hills up to 4,000 ft. *Grass.*
134. Svadhâ	A plant	A. V. vi, 96, 3.	....
135. Svadhiti	A great tree with hard wood, according to Roth (S. V.)	R. V. v, 32, 10; ix, 96, 6; cf. i, 82, 2.	....
136. Śyâmâka (millet)	Echinochloa Colona *var* fumentacea (Gramineæ)	Taitt. Saṁ. i, 8, 1, 2; ii, 3, 2, 6; iv, 7, 4, 2; Mait. Saṁ. ii, 11, 4; Vâj. Sam. xviii, 18; Kaṭh. Saṁ. x, 2; Śat. Br. x, 6, 3, 2; xii, 7, 1, 9, etc. Kaus. iv, 12; lightness of seed. A. V. xix, 50, 4; food of pigeons, A. V. xx, 35, 12; Chând. Up. iii, 14, 3; Max Müller renders it as "canary seed." S. B. E. I, 48.	Cultivated over a greater part of India over the Himalayas up to 6,500 ft. *Cereal.*
137. Syandana	According to Roth a wood of a plant is meant	Kauś. Sūtra, viii, 15.	....
138. Tājadbhaṅga	Ricinis communis (Euphorbiaceæ)	A. V. viii, 8, 3; Kauś. Sūtra. xiv, 14.	African origin, now throughout India. *Oil, medicinal.*

Vedic name.	Latin Synonym and Family.	Ref. in Vedic literature.	Distribution and uses.
139. Talâśa	Flacourtia cataphracta (Flacourtiaceæ)	A. V. vi, 15, 3; Whitney suggests it same as *Tāîsa.*	Kumaon.
140. Târṣṭâgha	Tree	Kauś. Sūtra, xxv, 23; its adjective *târṣṭâghi* is found in A. V. v, 29, 15; Weber (18, 280) thinks it mustard plant.	....
141. Tandi	....	A. V. x, 4, 25 (See St. Petersburg Dict. S. V.).	....
142. Tila Tirya	Sesamum indicum (Pedalineæ)	A. V. ii, 8, 3; vi, 140, 2; xviii, 3, 69; 4, 32; as an epithet of *Kurambha* (A. V. iv, 7, 3, Taitt. Saṁ. vi, 3, 2; Vāj. Sam. xviii, 12; Śat. Br. ix, 1, 1. 3; etc.; often mentioned with *māṣa*—in A. V. vi, 140, 2; Bṛhad Up. vi, 3, 22; Chānd. Up. v, 10, 6, etc.; Taitt. Saṁ. gives *hemanta* & *śiśira* seasons for it. *Tila-piñjī, til-piñja,* for fuel in A. V. ii, 8, 3; xii. 2, 54; tilaudana (porridge) in Bṛhad. Up. vi, 4, 16; Sāṅkh. Âraṇ. xii, 8; as oil (*taila*) in A. V. i, 7, 2; x, 136, 16; Sāṅkh. Âraṇ. xi, 4.	Cultivated all over India, Baluchistan, probably a native of Tropical Africa *Food, medicinal ritual*
143. Tilvaka	Symplocos racemosus (Symplocaceæ)	Śat. Br. xiii, 8, 1, 16; Maitt. Saṁ. iii, 1, 9; Saḍ. Br. iii, 8; *Yupa* made of its wood.	Himalayan Terai, of Kumaon, 2,500 ft. throughout N. E. India. *Wood.*
144. Trâyamâṇâ	....	A. V. viii, 2, 6; also mentioned by Amara in his lexicon.	....
145. Udojasâ	One of the four principal medicinal plants.	R. V. x, 97, 7.	....
146. Udumbara	Ficus glomerata (Urticaceæ)	Not in R. V.; A. V. xix, 31, 1; Taitt. Saṃ. ii, 1, 1. 6; Śat. Br. iii, 2, 1, 3; vii, 4, 1, 38, etc.; wood for ritual purposes; *yupo* and ladle made of its wood in Taitt. Saṁ. v, 47, 3; amulets in A. V. xix, 31, 1; Taitt. Saṃ. iii, 4, 8, 4; fruit sweet as madhu in Ait. Br. vii, 13; ripen three times a year in Ait. Br. v, 24; forests of Udumbara is mentioned in Pañca. Br. xvi, 6, 4	Outer Himalayas, plains & low hills of India from Rajputana and Salt Range to Khasia hills. *Medicinal, eatable & ritual*

Vedic name.	Latin Synonym and Family.	Ref. in Vedic literature.	Distribution and uses.
147. Ulapa	Imperata arundinacea (Gramineæ)	R. V. x, 142; A. V. vii, 66, 1; Vaj. Saṁ. xvi, 45; *upolapa* in Mait. Saṃ. i, 7, 2.	From the Punjab southwards and eastwards, hotter parts of India. *Grass.*
148. Upavâka (Latu Indrayava)	Wrightia tinctoria (allied to Holarrhena antidysenterica) (Apocyanaceæ)	Vāj. Saṃ. xix, 22, 90; xxi, 30 (as healing); Śat. Br. xii, 7, 1, 3; 2, 9, etc.	Rajputana, C. P. etc. Arabia. *Medicinal.*
149. Upolapa	See under *Ulapa*	....	....
150. Ûrjayantî	One of the 4 principal medicinal plants in the Ṛgveda	R. V. x, 97, 7.	....
151. Urvârû Urvārûka	1. Cucumis melo 2. C. Sativas (Cucurbitaceæ)	A. V. vi, 14, 2; R. V. vii, 59, 12=A. V. xiv, 1, 17 =Mait. Saṃ. i, 10, 4= Taitt. Saṁ. i, 8, 62=Vāj. Saṃ. iii, 60; Pañca. Br. ix, 2, 19	Said to be wild in dry places of India. *Fruit.*
152. Uṣaṇâ	1. Piper longum 2. P. peepuloides	Śat. Br. iii, 4, 3, 13; iv, 2, 5, 15. According to Amara it is synonymous with Pippaī. A plant from which soma was prepared.	Tropical Himalayas. *Medicinal, spice.*
153. Vânaparṇî	Water plant	A. V. iii, 18, 1.	....
154. Varaṇa	Cratæva nurvalla (=c. Roxburghü) (Capparidaceæ)	A. V. vi, 85, 1; x, 3, 1; xix, 32, 9; Pañca. Br. v, 3, 9, 10; Śat. Br. xii, 8, 4, 1.	All over India, often found along streams, but also in dry deep boulder formations in the sub - Himaiayan tract. *Medicinal.*
155. Vibhîtaka	Terminalia belerica (Combretaceæ)	R. V. iii, 86, 6; x, 34, 1; A. V. (Paipp.) xx, 4, 6 —its fruit used in making dice.	Throughout India common in the plains & lower hills. *Myrobalan.*
156. Vihalha	A plant	A. V. vi, 16, 2.	....

Vedic name.	Latin Synonym and Family.	Ref. in Vedic literature.	Distribution and uses.
157. Vikaṅkata Vikaṅtika	Flacourtia vamontchi (Flacourtiaceæ)	Taitt. Sam. iii, 5, 7, 3; vi, 4, 10, 5; Kâṭh Saṁ. xix, 10; Mait. Saṁ. iii, 1, 9; cf. A. V. xi, 10, 3; Śat. Br. i, 2, 4, 10; v, 2, 4, 18, etc.	Sub-Himalayan tract, outer Himalayas ascending to 4000 ft. from the Indus eastwards and in the adjacent plains.
158. Vîraṇa Viriṇa	Andropogan muricatus (*Gramineæ*)	Śat. Br. xiii, 8, 1, 15.	Plains of India & low hills. *Grass.*
159. Viṣânakâ	Gymnema sylvestre (Asclepiadaceæ)	A. V. vi, 44, 3; cf. *Viṣânikâ* in Wise Hindu System of Medicine, 146; remedy against disease in A. V. ix, 8, 20; also in R. V. vi, 16, 20; xi, 96, 8.	Tropical Africa, W. Ghats. *Medicinal.*
160. Vrîhi	Oryza sativa (Gramineæ)	A. V. vi, 140, 2; viii, 7, 20; ix, 6, 14, etc.; Taitt. Saṁ. vii, 2, 10, 3; where it is said to ripen in autumn. Kâṭh. Saṃ. x, 6; xi, 5; Mait. Saṃ. iii, 10, 2; iv, 3, 2; Vâj. Saṁ. xviii, 12; Ait. Br. ii, 8, 7; 11, 12; viii, 16, 3, 4; Śat. Br. v, 5, 59; Bṛhad. Up. vi, 3, 22; Chând. Up. iii, 14, 3; black and white rice is contrasted in Taitt. Saṃ. i, 8, 10, 1; also distinction of a dark swift-growing (*âśû*), and *mahāvrihi*, are found in A. V. xi, 4, 13; Jaimin. Br. i, 43; Chând. Up. v, 1, 5 etc.; Macdonell & Keith think the swift-growing variety is later known as *ṣaṣṭika.*	Indigenous in marshes of Rajputana, Sikkim etc. *Cereal.*
161. Vyalkaśâ	Water plant	R. V. x, 16, 3; grown in spots where dead bodies are burnt.	....
162. Yaṣṭimadhu (Madhûka)	Glycyrrhiza glabra (Leguminoseæ)	A. V. i, 34, 5; for virility and erotic success.	Imported through the Punjab from Afghanistan in the N. W. Provinces. *Medicinal, dye, wood.*

Vedic name.	Latin Synonym and Family.	Ref. in Vedic literature.	Distribution and uses.
163. Yava	Hordeum vulgare (Gramineæ)	R. V. i, 23, 15; 66, 3; 117, 21; 135, 8; 176; 2; ii, 5, 6; 14, 11; v, 85, 3; vii, 3, 4; viii, 2, 3; 22, 6; 63, 9; 78, 10, etc.; A. V. ii, 8, 3; vi, 30, 1; 50, 1, 2; 91, 1; 141, 2; viii, 7, 20; ix, 1, 22; 6, 14; xii, 1, 22; Taitt. Saṁ. vi, 2, 10, 3; 4, 10, 5; vii, 2, 10, 2; Kâṭh. Saṃ. xv, 10; Mait. Saṃ. iv, 3, 2; Vâj. Saṃ. v, 26; xviii, 12; xxiii, 30; Taitt. Br. i, 8, 4, 1; Śat. Br. i, 1, 4, 20; ii, 5, 2, 1; iii, 6, 1, 9, 10; iv, 2, 1, 11; xii, 7, 2, 9; Chând. Up. iii, 14, 3, et. seq.; Kauṣ Br. iv, 12; the harvest came after spring (Kauṣ. Br. iv, 12; in the summer) Taitt. Saṃ. vii, 2, 10, 2; sowing (*vapa*, R. V. i, 117, 21); ripening, i, 135, 8; ploughing, i, 176, 2; grain rejoicing in rain, ii, 5, 6; *śaktu* (barley meal) in x, 71, 2, and in later Saṁhitās.	Cultivated chiefly in N. India, widely cultivated in temperate regions in N. India up to 13,000 ft.; native of temperate regions *Cereal.*

3. Classification

Plants listed in the preceding section are now classified according to their Families :

Plants.	*Families.*
I. Filicineæ	Pṛśniparṇî.
II. Coniferæ	Haridru, Pîtudâru, Pûtudru.
III. Gnetaceæ	Soma.
IV. Hydrochārideæ	Avakâ, Sîpâla, Śaivala.
V. Zingiberaceæ	Âdâra, Haridrâ, Kuṣṭha.
VI. Liliaceæ	Amulâ, Satavâna.
VII. Pameæ	Kharjûra, Naḍa (?).
VIII. Gramineæ	
(i) Cereals ..	Aṇu, Gavedhukâ, Gavîdhukâ, Godhûma, Nîvâra, Pâkadûrvâ, Priyaṅgu, Śâli, Śyâmâka, Vrîhi, Yava.

	Plants.	Families.
	(ii) Grasses, reeds, etc.	Âla, Aśvavâla, Aśvavâra, Balbaja, Candâ, Darbha, Kharadarbha, Mṛdudarbha, Dûrvâ, Iṣîkâ, Kâśa, Kuśa, Kuśâra, Naḍa, Nyastikâ, Śâda, Śara, Sairya, Sugandhitejana, Ulapa, Upalopa, Vîraṇa, Vîriṇa.
IX.	Cyperaceæ	Pâkadûrvâ, Sâṇḍadûrvâ.
X.	Menispermaceæ	Pâṭhâ, Pâṭâ.
XI.	Nymphaceæ	Âṇḍîka, Kumuda, Puṇḍarîka, Puṣkara, Śâlûka.
XII.	Cruciferæ	Âbayu, Baja, Sarṣapa, Târṣṭâgha.
XIII.	Capparidaceæ	Karîra, Varaṇa.
XIV.	Flacourtiaceæ	Talâśa, Vikaṅkata, Vikaṅtika.
XV.	Malvaceæ	Arundhatî, Sahadevî.
XVI.	Bombacaceæ	Śâlmalî.
XVII.	Rutaceæ	Bilva, Jambîla, Kapitthaka.
XVIII.	Burceracæ	Guggulû.
XIX.	Meliaceæ	Priyaṅgu, Rohitaka.
XX.	Rhamneæ	Badra, Karkandhu.
XXI.	Anacardiaceæ	Ajaśṛṅgî.
XXII.	Leguminoseæ	
	(i) Pulses	Canaka, Garmut, Khalakula, Khalva, Kulmâṣa, Masûra, Niśpâva.
	(ii) Other spp.	Adhyaṇḍa, Aparâjitâ, Arâṭakî, Araṭu, Khadira, Kiṁśuka, Kṛṣṇala, Palâsa, Parṇa, Pṛśniparṇî, Pûtîka, Putrada, Putrajani, Putrakandâ, Śamî, Śaṇa, Śiṁśapâ.
XXIII.	Combretaceæ	Dhava, Jaṅgida, Vibhîtaka.
XXIV.	Myrtaceæ	Pîlu.
XXV.	Onagraceæ	Śaphaka
XXVI.	Cucurbitaceæ	Alâbu, Alâpu, Bimba, Karkandhu, Urvârû, Udvârûka.
XXVII.	Rubiaceæ	Mañjiṣṭhâ.
XXVIII.	Valeriaceæ	Nalada, Naladî.
XXIX.	Compositæ	Kuṣṭha.
XXX.	Ebenaceæ	Sphûrjaka.
XXXI.	Salvadoraçeæ	Pîlu.
XXXIII.	Symplocaceæ	Tilvaka.
XXXII.	Apocyanaceæ	Srekaparṇa, Upavâka.

	Plants.	Families.
XXXIV.	Asclepiadaceæ	Ajaśṛṅgî, Arka, Soma, Viṣânakâ.
XXXV.	Boragineæ	Rajjudâla.
XXXVI.	Convolvulaceæ	Amûlâ.
XXXVII.	Solanaceæ	Aśvagandhâ.
XXXVIII.	Bignoniaceæ	Araḷu.
XXXIX.	Pedalineæ	Tila, Tîrya.
XL.	Verbenaceæ	Kârṣmârya, Śraktya.
XLI.	Amarantaceæ	Apâmârga.
XLII.	Chenopodiaceæ	Pûtîka.
XLIII.	Piporaceæ	Pippalî, Uṣsaṇa.
XLIV.	Euphorbiaceæ	Adhyaṇḍa, Amalâ, Âmalaka, Eraṇḍa, Tâjadbhaṅga
XLV.	Urticaceæ	Aśvattha, Bhaṅga Nyagrodha, Plakṣa, Prakṣa, Udumbara, Soma.
XLVI.	Unidentified	Alasâlâ, Aśvavatî, Aukṣagandha, Citraparṇi, Daśavṛkṣa, Kâkambîra, Kyâmbu, Kiyâmbu, Lakṣmaṇa, Madâvatî (grape vine?), Madhugha, Mâsaparṇî, Masûsya, Narâcî, Nilâgalasâla, Nilâkalasâla, Pîlâ, Pramaṇḍa, Pramandânî, Praprotha, Putirajju, Shahadeva, Sahamâna, Śalâñjâlâ, Śaṅkhapuṣpika, Śilâcî, Śilâñjâlâ, Soma, Somavatî, Spandana, Svadhâ, Svadhiti, Syandana, Târṣṭagha, Taudi, Arâyamâṇâ (Syn. Balabhadrikâ-Amarakoṣa), Udojasâ, Urjayantî, Vânaparṇî, Vihalha, Vyalkasâ.

IS THE CULT OF DHARMA A LIVING RELIC OF BUDDHISM IN BENGAL?

By

Dr. SUKUMAR SEN, M.A., PH.D.

The cult of Dharma or Dharma worship is the most primitive and native form of religious practice in Bengal. In recent times it is current only in West Bengal, in Burdwan Division to be exact. The Hooghly once formed the northern and eastern boundary of the land where the cult was extensively current. Owing to the shifting of the course of the river, places which once were situate in this side of the river have now gone over to the other. Dharma worship therefore is not unknown in these areas. So Dharma is not unknown in the western area of the 24 Parganas.

But there is evidence to show that Dharma worship, in its cruder form probably, was once known throughout Bengal and also in the contiguous province of Behar. The worship of *Del* (< *deul* 'temple') and of *Pāṭ* (<*paṭṭa* 'spiked board') which have survived as special items in the *Caḍak* or *Gājan* ceremony of Śiva (in the closing days of the Bengali year) in some localities in North and East Bengal, are really rituals of the elaborate *Gājan* ceremony of Dharma. There is even a temple of Dharma in Baguḍā (Bogra) district, at a village some distance from the chief town of the district. The popular *Chaṭ-parab* (*Ṣaṣṭhī parva*) of Behar is a parallel ceremony. The parallelism is remarkable not only in the agreements but in the differences as well. For instance, in the ritual current in Behar eating of a bottle-gourd (*lāu*) by the worshipper (a mother desiring welfare of her son) forms an important item of the ritual, whereas in the *Gājan* ceremony in Bengal the worshipper (a lady desiring a son) must never eat that vegetable nor should she ever plant it.

The cosmogonic idea as outlined in the *Nāsadīya* hymn in the *Ṛgveda*[1] is faintly yet unmistakably echoed in the cosmogony of the cult of Dharma. The former shows remarkable similarity with the cosmogonic conceptions of the Polynesian (Austric) peoples. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to hold that the cult in its most primitive form was brought in by the Austric immigrants. The cult was later superimposed by Vedic and later Hindu religious ideas and practices. The extreme austerities as practised on the concluding day of the *Gājan* celebration may indicate Jaina or allied influence. The only trace of later Buddhism which I have found, beside the doubtful phrase "*śūnyamūrti*", is a verse used in the final ritual in *Gājan*, which echoes the

1. RV. X. 129.

imagery or allegory underlying the first couplet of a mystic *caryā* song of the Buddhistic Sahajiyā Kānhapada. The latter says:

nagara-bāhire ḍombi tohori kuḍiā,
choi choi jāisi bāmbhana nāḍiā.

'Beyond the outskirts of the township, O Ḍom woman, stands your hut; and you dare touch the shaven-headed Brahmin on your comings (and goings)!'

The *Gājan* verse echoes

Pakhur-pārele Sadā-ḍomer kuṛiā,
ghana-ghana āise jāy brāhmaṇa baṛuā.

'The hut of Sadā, the Ḍom fellow, stands on the embankment of the tank; but the Brahmin priest incessantly comes and goes (by it)!'

Śaiva Nātha cult was not entirely unconnected with Dharma worship. The four early Nātha *siddhas* are mentioned in the cosmogony of the Dharma cult as directly created from the ashes of the body of Dharma. Durlabha Mallika's version[2] is the earliest available form of the Mayanāmatī-Govinda-candra legend. Therein we find the cosmogony peculiar to the cult of Dharma fully implied. Another point of contact between the two cults is the wearing of the symbolic footprint or foot gear (*pādukā*) of Dharma by the Nātha *siddhas* as well as by the Dharma priests (*paṇḍita*).

Although the cult of Dharma has been always a living one, at least in West Bengal, the educated and English knowing people felt no curiosity for it obviously because its adherents were recruited from the lower strata of the society. It was Haraprasad Shastri who first brought Dharma and his semi-mystic cult before the educated public. His assistant ("travelling *paṇḍit*") had secured some fragmentary Mss.[3] describing the ritual of the cult and also the copy of a Ms. of the *Dharmamaṅgala* poem written by Manik-ram Ganguli in the second half of the eighteenth century. Buddhistic studies just then had captured the fancy of the Indian orientalists who were too ready to read Buddhism between lines in all matters old, unknown and mysterious. Shastri too could not overcome this weakness. The two epithets of Dharma—*nirañjana* and *śūnyamūrti*—occurring in the Sanskrit verse which given as the *dhyāna mantra* of Dharma in the ritualistic Mss. at once led him to believe that the Dharma cult was a survival of Mahāyāna Buddhism in Bengal. Accordingly he published three short papers, one in the Proceedings and two in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in December-January 1894-95. Since then it is universally accepted, without further enquiry, that the cult of Dharma is but a living relic of Buddhism. The Dhar-

2. Edited and published by Śivacandra Śīl (1901).

3. Edited and published in (1) *Śūnyapurāna* by Nagendranath Vasu (1907), and (2) *Dharmapūjāvidhāna* by Nanigopal Bandyopādhyāya (1916).

ma cult has been keenly described in an interesting article[4] by Prof. K. P. Chattopadhyaya, in which the ritual as witnessed by him has been narrated. But is it really so?

Our researches have led us to think otherwise. We[5] have collected a number of Mss. describing the elaborate rituals of the cult, which has enabled us to correct, some faulty readings in which Shastri and his followers had put their faith. Thus the reading "*siṃhale dharma-devatā*" in the line

siṃhale dharma-devatā bahuta sanamān[6]

does not occur in any of our Mss. and probably not also in the Mss. collected by Shastri. The entire line appears to be reconstructed or interpolated.

In the verse named *Nirañjaner Uṣmā* ('Anger of Nirañjana or Dharma') the Brahmins are said to have been not only antagonistic to the Dharma cult but hostile to good men as well. The published version reads

saddharmīre karaye vināś

The Hīnayāna Buddhists called their religion *Saddharma* or Good Religion. *Saddharmī* naturally would mean a Buddhist. The followers of Dharma thus appear to identify themselves as Buddhists in contra-distinction to the Brahmins. This seems to be a very strong ground for Shastri's theory. Unfortunately the reading *Saddharmī* does not occur in the Mss. collected by us and by Shastri. The reading obviously emanated from the editor of *Śūnyapurāṇa*. Our Mss. read *sādhujane*. Shastri's Mss. read *sadharmīre, sadharmī* meaning 'virtuous, pious' as against *adharmī* 'vicious, impious'.

Let us now examine the implication of the epithets, *nirañjana* and *śunyamūrti*, on which Shastri relied so much. The former is indeed a regular name or epithet of Dharma. Now Dharma is all white, in form and garments. "White disease," i.e., leucoderma resulted from his curse. So Dharma is described as spotless (*niṣkalaṅka* and *nirañjana*). *Śūnya* here means 'devoid of spot' (*nirlepa*) and *śūnyamūrti* means 'whose form is spotless.' Indeed the epithets *nirañjana* and *śūnyamūrti* have been used in the apabhraṃśa writing of Bengali Buddhists following the Tāntrik cult (*Sahaja-yāna*) to indicate the highest Deity,[7] but these very well may indicate the influence of the Dharma cult on Tantric Buddhism. In Mahāyāna Buddhism, *śūnya* does not mean merely 'void,' but indicates the Ultimate Reality which is

4. K. P. Chattopadhyaya, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* of Bengal, Calcutta, 1942.

5. Mr. Panchanan Mandal, M.A., doing research work with me, has been very helpful in his collaboration.

6. *Śūnyapurāṇ*, p. 57 ; cf. p. 132.

7. Cf. *sūnya nirañjana parama-prabhu no tai punya na pāu* 'Śūnya Nirañjana is the Supreme Master ; Merit and sin He has not' [*Hevajratantra*, quoted by Shastri in *Sahitya-pariṣat Patrikā*, XXXIV, p. 46.

neither positive nor negative but both. From the viewpoint of orthodox Mahāyāna Buddhism *śūnyamūrti* is quite meaningless.

Shastri's last argument was his identification of the symbol or icon of Dharma with Buddhist *stūpa*. But herein he was entirely mistaken. The emblem of Dharma—rather his *pādapīṭha* or footstool on which was placed or engraved the *pādukā* (boots or sandals) of Dharma—is a tortoise. In most cases it is a natural bit of stone shaped like a tortoise, in other cases it is a chiselled stone image of the same. In very rare cases the image is made of brass. A miniature temple or chariot is also known to be worshipped as emblem of Dharma. The shape of the tortoise roughly resembles the *stūpa* and Shastri mistook the protruding feet and head of the tortoise to be the tiny images of the five *Dhyānī* Buddhas that usually decorate the Buddhist *stūpa*.

Thus we see that the cult of Dharma has little to do with Buddhism. Now the question arises what is this mysterious deity. Those who have studied this cult in letter and in practice will find out readily that Dharma is the sun-god. The tortoise (*kūrma, kaśyapa*) as the symbol or emblem of the (rising?) sun is probably a non-Aryan concept. But the identification of the tortoise with the sun appears early in Indo-Aryan religion, at least as early as the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.[8] As an Aryan god the sun moves in a chariot. So does Dharma. As a matter of fact the ceremony of *Ratha-yātrā* was originally connected with Dharma. Like the sun-god Dharma cures incurable diseases like leucoderma. The sun-god has a bird as his *vāhana* and the god of death (*Yama*) is his son. Dharma's direct creation *Ulūka* ('owl') combines the two personalities. The monkey cult was originally associated with the sun worship. In the cult of Dharma, Hanumān is his factotum.

Dharma is also the Iranian sun-god. He wears boots, dresses like a warrior and rides a horse. Being the white God his raiments and his horse are all white. In this form he sometimes appears before his devotee. Thus says Rāmadās Ādak in his *Dharmamaṅgala* :

śveta aśve cāpi dharma rāutera veśe
kṛpā kari dekhā dila dīna rāmadāse.

'In the garb of a warrior riding a white horse Dharma graciously appeared before the poor Rāmadās.'

Dharma, the warrior god, was easily identified with ruling power of the country. So says the ritualistic verse :

hāsā ghorā khāsā jorā pāye diyā mojā,
avaśeṣe bolāile gaurera rājā.

8. 7.5 1.5.

'(Riding) a swan-white horse and putting on fine garments and boots you at last have called (i.e., manifested) yourself as the king of Gauṛ.'

It is, therefore, no wonder that the attendants and officiating priests of Dharma bear the titles of the officials and dignitaries of the ancient Indian court, e.g. *paḍihāra* (< *pratihāra*), *uṭhāsinī* (< *autthitāsanika*), *dhāmāṭkanī* (< *dharmādhikaraṇika*), etc.

With this conception of Dharma is connected the story of the *Kalki avatāra* in the Puranic tradition.

Dharma is partly the Water God and is allied to the Vedic Varuṇa. Dharma when worshipped with austerities by barren women bestowed the gift of progeny. As a matter of fact the *Ghara-bharā* (literally 'filling the void of home') *Gājan*, the most elaborate ceremony of the cult is even now held as *putreṣṭi yajña*. Varuṇa also was a giver of sons. The close similarity between the Śunaḥśepha story in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and the Luicandra episode in *Dharmamaṅgala* and in the *Dharmapūjāvidhāna* treatises is more than accidental. Curious readers are referred to the originals.

Dharma was predominantly the War God of fighting tribes like the Ḍom and others. According to the tradition recorded in the ritualistic treatises Sadā the Ḍom was the first to worship Dharma. Next man was Āsoyā the Gāral (< *Caṇḍāla*). The latter is said to have offered to Dharma "tanks of wine" and "hillocks of rice cakes": *madyer puṣkarṇī dila piṣṭer jāṅgāl.* Sacrifice of animals such as goat, duck or pig is made even now in the annual *Gājan* ceremony of Dharma. Wine and rice cakes are also offered. At some places the image is bathed in wine just before the commencement of the ceremony. The genuine priests of Dharma generally belong to the *Ḍom* or the *Gāral* caste and comparatively rarely from other castes such as *Bārui, Dhopā, Śūṛi,* etc. Brahmins officiate as priests only in the daily worship and in that *Gājan* ceremony where no pig, wine or rice cake offerings are made.

This form of worship seems to have been widely known in the late fifteenth century Bengal. So testifies Vṛndāvanadāsa in his *Caitanyabhāgavata*:

madya māṃsa diyā keha yakṣa pujā kare

'Some people worship the demon with wine and meat offerings.'

Dharma was the god that was pleased only with the most cruel austerities. One had to burn incense over head, to walk over live coals, to pierce most delicate parts of the body with iron spikes, even through the chest before the deity relented and offered the desired gift of son. The hardest penance was self-immolation (*hākanda*), when the devotee cuts off his own head. This was done only by Lauṣena, the hero of *Dharmamaṅgala*. By this extreme form of penance Lausena compelled the sun to rise in the West. This phenomenon indicated the fulfilment of Dharma worship in the earth.

As an ascetic god Dharma sometimes appeared before his devotees or

before the persons to be favoured by him in the guise of a *Brahmacārin* or of a *fakir*. The day of such manifestation was a Saturday and the time noon. So says Rūparāma in the autobiographical episode in his *Dharmamaṅgala*:

eke śanibār tāy ṭhik dupur belā,
sammukhe dāṇḍāila dharma gale candramālā.
galāy cāpār mālā āsā bāṛi hāthe,
brāhmaṇer beśe dharma dāṇḍāila pathe.

'It was a Saturday, then again just noontime; Dharma appeared before me, wearing a "moon" garland (*candra-mālā*). A *champak* wreath dangling round his neck and a fakir's staff in his hand Dharma stood on the way in a guise of a Brahmin.'

This deity, known as "Sannyāsī Ṭhākur", believed to be residing in a particular tree is even now worshipped in North-west and South-West Bengal. The day is always Saturday and time noon. In those localities where there is both Dharma Ṭhākur and Sannyāsī Ṭhākur, the ceremonial worship of the former is initiated by the worship of the latter.

The conception of this Mendicant (*Sannyāsī-Fakir*) deity later developed into Satyanārāyaṇa or Satyapīr.

The cult of Dharma is the quintessence of the native culture, both spiritual (religious) and material. All minor native deities such as Bāsalī, Jāṅgulī (i.e., Manasā), various Kṣetrapālas, Ḍākinīs and Śākinīs gathered round Dharma as his courtiers (*āvaraṇa-devatā*) and thus obtained general recognition and worship. The legend about the origin of the cultivation of rice has insinuated itself into the grand ceremony (i.e., *Gājan*). Other native industries also, such as production of molasses, smelting of copper and iron etc., have not been overlooked. Thus in the elaborate *Gājan* ceremony we witness the slow emergence of early Bengali culture in its main aspects.

THE EVOLUTION OF VAIṢṆAVISM

By

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Vaiṣṇavism in the sense of Viṣṇu worship is as old as the *Ṛg. Veda*. There are many *mantras* which glorify Viṣṇu and enjoin his worship as a means to the attainment of vision beatific. The two most important features of the religion are mentioned in some of these passages, viz., the constant utterance of His name and divine vision of God Himself. That God becomes manifest to His devotees is a cardinal belief of the Vaiṣṇava sect.

From the time of the *Upaniṣads*, the Unity of Godhead has been unequivocally maintained. The Vedānta conception of God perhaps goes further in this direction than any other philosophical religion. It is well known that the Vedānta is not satisfied by positing the Unity of Brahman but is anxious to prove the unreality of anything other than Brahman. According to the Vedāntin, God is strictly speaking unspeakable and inaccessible to human mind. This is practically the same as the mystifying position of the Agnostics in the West minus the theory of *Māyā* which is wrongly translated as illusion.

Any way, the theory of *Nirviśeṣa* (qualityless) Brahman does not carry us very far. It is Truth "too far removed from the sphere of our sorrow" and is thus useless for any human purposes. The cry is for truth which can give relief to the troubled mind and bring consolation in the midst of thousand and one sorrows to which mankind is subject. The philosopher has bowed to the man in the street and proclaimed that to one who has a vision of the Supreme Reality all doubts have been dispelled, all the knots of his heart loosened and all his *Karma* has been dissipated. Man's lot in this earth is never very enviable and his unending heartaches seek relief in some divine miracle. And any truth which is unrelated to this context is not likely to command respect for any length of time. The Vaiṣṇavas, therefore, speak of Brahman as an aspect of God and not God Himself.

Since the Absolute cannot evoke any human feeling, the turn-over is to a personal God who possesses all the qualities we regard as the highest and best such as power, knowledge, virtue, justice, benevolence, mercy, etc. But although we frequently speak of a Personal God, we are not quite clear as to what that expression exactly means. The expression is capable of a variety of interpretation and probably every man has his own pattern of a Personal

God. Has personal God any form? Individuality perhaps He has, but certainly no form according to one view. For to assign to God any form human or otherwise would amount to taking a leap into crude paganism. The most progressive religions of mankind have set their face against idolatry of any kind and so we are once again marooned on the lonely cliff of philosophical isolationism. God—yes a personal God—cannot be represented by any means, because after all man is human! That is to say, man is by nature incapable of comprehending God. In other words, in order to glorify God, man must be crucified. He has a name all right, but no form. For name and form are what belong to mundate things which are finite and perishable. From this dilemma Vaiṣṇavism supplies a refreshing exit by its mysticism. Why Vaiṣṇavism? All religions must contain some element of mysticism. I have been to the world famous Church of St. Peter in Rome, which is a stronghold of the Roman Catholics and also to St. Paul's in London where the Protestants flock, and the formalities in worship which are observed there are full of mysticism. It is hardly necessary to dilate on this point as every man who has had any religious experience must feel that without a mystic fringe religion is robbed of much of its inner charm and value.

The Vaiṣṇavas say that God in his limitless capacity can take any form He chooses and does take the human form out of compassion for His devotees. He does indulge in all kinds of sports which are likely to prove a stimulus for them to be attracted towards Him.[1] Man ordinarily is forgetful of God; his vanity prevents him from thinking of God as the source of his life and origin, and supporter of his life. But the Ekantins insist on the ceaseless contemplation of God—like an uninterrupted flow of oil.

This is also the fundamental injunction of the song of the Lord (*Bhagavad-Gītā*). The Lord is satisfied with the humblest of offerings viz., petals of flowers, a handful of water, etc., provided your mind is with it. In other words, God expects the highest offering from man viz., his heart and soul. Whatever is done by man should be offered to Him—Sacrifices, *Tapas*, Charity —and even your smallest things—such as eating, etc.

It is a very exacting demand, no doubt, but there is no compromise between Self and God; you cannot serve God and Mammon of self-interest at the same time. No gift is acceptable to God if you have one eye to self-interest and the other to Him. But it does not mean that you have to renounce everything for the sake of God. The *Bhagvad-Gītā* does not preach an ideal impossible to the ordinary householder, but rather lays stress on the performance of duty belonging to one's station in life. Its moral code is undoubtedly one of the most enlightened in the world. No more ennobling conception of righteous action is found in any ethical system: Do your work without caring for its fruits. Desires have been regarded as the root

1. *Kriyate tādṛśi krīḍāḥ yāḥ śrutvā tatparo bhavet—Bhāgavata.*

of all evil. But the *Gītā* realises that no one can avoid doing work and work is not possible without the necessary springs of action. The Gītā therefore inculcates a rule of action which does not consist in the killing of desires which an ultra-ascetic view of life demands but in a sublimation of desires. Since desires create attachment or *āsakti* a rule of life is laid down which, if followed, will make attachment impossible but will at the same time enable one to perform all the duties of one's daily life. This is the real *Sannyāsa* or renunciation. If one flees from the world, throws off all obligations and retires to a fastness or cave, it is only apparent *Sannyāsa*, for no one can flee from his passions and impulses. The only escape from these is provided by an intense devotion to the Lord. You anchor the ship of your life in God and the storm and stress of *saṃsāra* will cease to trouble you. The essence of the teaching of *Bhagavad Gītā* is that if one wants to attain salvation, one must practise *Yoga* which enables a man to be detached from the fruits of his actions; and in order to be so detached one must be wholeheartedly attached to God. This is *Bhakti* or devotion.

Bhakti has been variously defined; but even without entering into a philosophical disquisition about its nature, it may be said to be an emotion of the mind resulting from the contemplation of God. The exhortation to love God may be traced to the earliest texts,[2] but the *Gītā* by placing emphasis on the emotional aspect of worship introduced a change in the ideology of God-consciousness which may almost be regarded as revolutionary. For so long that consciousness consisted in the knowledge (*jñāna*) of God. Now almost for the first time Emotion (*Bhakti*) is joined to Knowledge (*jñāna*), Æsthetics yoked to the service of Philosophy. Knowledge (*vidyā*) was so long regarded as the only means to salvation.[3] Salvation (*mokṣa*) is the *summum bonum* of human existence and whether it is conceived as the total absence of pains, or union with the Lord, it is attainable only by true knowledge (*Tattvajñāna*). But here we hear for the first time that knowledge or no knowledge, any one who throws himself on Divine mercy without any reservation is saved.

Here therefore two conflicts arise. It has been asserted emphatically in the *Upaniṣads* that there is no other way but the way of knowledge (*vidyā*). But the *Gītā* introduces a personal element inasmuch as God can save one who exclusively depends on Him. The other case of conflict arises when the inexorable law of *Karma* is viewed *vis-a-vis* this new theory. Ordinarily there is no escape from one's *Karma*,[4] but the *Gītā* tells us that the Lord can save irrespective of that law. This is the message of hope which the

2. *Tadetat preyaḥ putrāt preyovittāt preyohnyasmāt antarataraṃ yadayamātmā*—Chāndogya.
3. *Tameva viditvāhtimṛtyumeti nānya panthā vidyatehyanāya*—Śruti.
4. *Avaśyameva bhoktavyaṃ kṛtaṃ karma śubhāśubhaṃ*

sacred Song of the Lord holds for man. No matter what the magnitude of your sins is, you will be turned into a saint the moment you worship the Lord singlemindedly.[5]

I have spoken of this theory as revolutionary in character, but if the extent of the change is not ordinarily perceived, it is because the ancient philosophy of the *Upaniṣads* has been adopted in its entirety. The fundamental tenet of *Upaniṣadic* pantheism is somehow artistically woven into the mystical personality of God in the *Bhagavad Gītā*. It is nowhere so forcibly illustrated as in the 10th chapter of the *Gītā* which sees God's excellence and exuberance manifested in every form of cosmic existence.[6] God is both immanent and transcendent. He is transcendent not only in the sense of exceeding Nature which is permeated through and through by Him, but also in the sense of setting Himself above all laws of nature. It is possible to know this transcendence neither by the help of the *Vedas* (knowledge), nor by penances, nor by benevolence, nor by sacrifices; but it can be known in its true nature (transcendence) only by singleminded devotion.[7] This shows unmistakably how the centre of gravity in Vaiṣṇav philosophy is shifted for the first time explicitly at least from knowledge (*jñāna*) to emotion (*bhakti*). Herein lies the mysticism of the creed. So far as God's transcendental nature is concerned, it is not only revealed to the emotive self, but it can be seen (*draṣṭuṃ*) by that self. Not only can it be perceived in clear vision, but its *raison d'être* also can be grasped by the emotional side of our nature. Thus Emotion and Sentiment come to play a prominent part in solving problems which have so long been thought to be the proper subject-matter of the intellect. This truth was conceded at least partly by Immanuel Kant in his *Critique of Judgment* when he realised that truths which baffle Pure Reason, both Speculative and Practical, reveal themselves to the other Faculty of Man, viz., Taste which is curiously enough the same word as *Rasa* in Hindu philosophy and rhetoric.[8] So far as I am aware this very essential aspect of Kant's philosophy has not received the treatment which it deserves in western philosophy.

The philosophy of *Rasa* has however been very elaborately dealt with in the east and the rightful place which belongs to it is assigned to it in the *Bhagavad Gītā*. Knowledge as a function of the intellect is not neglected but one is inclined to think that intellect is more or less an auxiliary of the emotion. Doubts may reasonably be entertained as to whether the com-

5. *Api cet sudurācāro bhajate māmananyabhāk |*
sādhureva sa mantavyaḥ samyagvyavasitohi saḥ || —Gītā.
6. The only other example is to be found in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Caṇḍī*, 4th Māhātmyaṃ.
7. *Bhaktyā tvananyayā śakya ahamevaṃ vidhohrjuna |*
jñātuṃ draṣṭuñca tattvena praveṣṭuñca parantapa || —Gītā. xi, 54.
8. *Rasyate āsvādyate asau iti rasaḥ.*

partmental theory of mind which is implied by this sharp distinction between emotion and intellect can be maintained. But that is no reason to ignore this new approach to the problem of the conception of God. When, for instance, Kant proved beyond doubt the incompetence of intellect or Pure Speculative Reason as he called it to reach the ultimate truth or Bergson was obliged to fall back upon Intuition as the particular function of the mind to which Truth is revealed in its purity, there is no reason to quarrel with this new philosophic development, so far as the conception of Reality is concerned.

That emotion or sentiment plays a large part in spiritual life is a fact admitted by Psychology. Difficulty arises when it steps out of its own sphere and invades the domain of Reality. But since the Faculty of knowing or intellect gropes in the dark to find a clue to Ultimate Truth, recourse is had to the faculty of Feeling which, at any rate, has the advantage or directness. Because whereas intellect works through judgment and inference, feeling places us into immediate contact with anything that inspires feeling. That feeling is the most essential fact in our experience is also proved by the fact that intellect itself is baffled without a colouring from feeling in the form of interest. Again our activities are also paralysed without a strong dose of feeling. We act most, when we feel most. Our intellect also is most active when it is sharpened by feeling. Without interest, i.e., feeling, intellect is dull, and without motive, will is inert. In these circumstances, we may legitimately turn our gaze towards feeling, when philosophy in the sense of intellectual search after truth proves a veritable zigsaw puzzle. Our ordinary experience also supports this appeal to feeling. For we believe where we cannot know, and love conquers when knowledge falters.

This of course does not mean that feeling should be divorced from intellect. In the higher processes of consciousness, it is only natural that all the higher functions of the mind should be called into play. On the physiological side, the most intense forms of mental exercise involve the highest brain centres. Just like this process of conscious cerebration, all the functional activities are called forth in grappling with the important problems of Truth and Duty. This is admitted in the *Bhagavad Gītā* when an attempt is made to unify *Jñāna* and *Bhakti* into one indivisible process.[9] But this has led to not a little misunderstanding. Some have taken it to mean that *Bhakti* or Sentiment of devotion is the handmaid of knowledge or *Tattva Jñāna.* Others have gone so far as to identify *Bhakti* with *Tattva-Jñāna.*[10] I know of some philosophers of the Sāṃkhya School who have not hesitated to speak of *Parā Bhakti* or highest manifestation of *Bhakti* as highest knowledge. In fact the *Gītā,* which is the greatest repository of the *Bhakti* cult,

9. *Teṣāṃ jñānī nityayukta ekabhaktirviśiṣyate—Gītā,* ch. vii.
10. *Tattvajñānameva bhaktiriti yuktaṃ*—Śridharasvāmī (*Gītā,* ch. xviii).

itself lends countenance to such confusion. The Lord now speaks of *Jñāna* and now of *Bhakti* as the sole means of attaining Him. Texts may be quoted to show that if there is any misconception on this very important point it may be traced to the *Gītā.*

But in the evolution of Vaiṣṇavism there came a stage when all such misconceptions were destined to end. Enquiry was directed to the nature of *Bhakti* and it was found to be nothing else but the highest sentiment of which human nature was capable, viz., Love. For instance, when Sāṇḍilya defines *Bhakti* as the highest feeling of attachment for God or Nārada defines it as the most intense feeling of forlornness in His absence,[11] it became quite clear that the course of *Bhakti* was gradually being more and more widely diverted from pure intellect. The two streams may run parallel but the tendency to identify the two as one and the same became more and more unjustifiable.

There is no doubt that in the earlier texts the word "*Prema*" but seldom occurs. In the *Gītā,* one does not find the word or any of its synonyms. In the *Bhāgavata* itself, the sentiment is no doubt traceable to the story of the attachment of the Gopis towards Kṛṣṇa, but the word '*Prema*' does not appear to have been used too frequently. Perhaps the theory had not then taken definite shape. There is no doubt that in the later history of the evolution of *Bhakti* the influence of the *Bhāgavata* is unmistakable; still it required subsequent speculation in southern and northern India to unravel the mystery of that phenomenon which is supposed to hold the key not only to salvation, not only to the realisation of the Divine but also to the highest problems of thought and reality. Henceforth Love lights the path of Truth.[12]

Now when the conception of *Bhakti* became stabilised by its identification with the highest sentiment of love, the progress was rather rapid towards a separation of the two spheres, *viz.,* intellect and emotion. The mystic phenomenon of love tended to throw off the yoke of knowledge. This new approach finds expression in the theory of *Rāgānugā Bhakti* which may be translated as "passionate love." This was a natural development because love is no love if it is not passionate, even in the human sphere. So far as God is concerned, this love emerges as an all-consuming passion which is Beyond Good and Evil, Beyond Right and Wrong and Beyond True and False.[12]

This new development which may be regarded as almost consequential was inaugurated by Śrī Rūpa Gosvāmīn in his *Rasāmṛtasindhu* and *Ujjvala Nīlmaṇi* and a few other Vaiṣṇava poets who have given to Bengali literature some of its best lyrics. The recognition of *Bhakti* as passionate love for God gave a new impetus to the growth of sentimental literature, which

11. *Nārada Bhakti Sūtra.*
12. *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*—Madhya xiv.

may be said to have started from Jayadeva. Jayadeva imported into his conception of love a good deal of erotic fervour which the subsequent poetry was only too eager to imitate. In the *Śrīmad Bhāgavat* the love of the Gopīs for Kṛṣṇa, although passionate in the extreme, was undoubtedly based upon a consciousness that their lover was none other than God Himself.[13] This consciousness sublimated the sentiment and easily converted love into worship. The poets of the Bengal school were sometimes apt to forget this and allowed themselves to be carried away by erotic sentiment in which the subtle element of worship was almost lost sight of. The life of Śrī Caitanya, however, steadied the balance and completely eradicated this erotic aspect. Influenced by the creed of the Alvars in the south, Caitanya removed from the theory of love all that was dross and sensual. He was a Sannyāsī and his passionate love for Śrīkṛṣṇa could not be mistaken for the vicarious indulgence in the gross passion of conjugal love. In the first place, it went through the whole gamut of the tender affection, *viz.*, *Dāsya*, *Sakhya*, *Vātsalya* and *Madhur*. The passionate devotion of the servant for the Master, and the self-forgetful affection between friends cannot even remotely be called erotic. In the second place, Caitanya's life was the most effective commentary on the theory of *Rāgānugā* as it invariably led to *Ecstasy* which is a fitting sequel to the ardent love which the devotee feels for his object of worship. The Vaiṣṇavas regard this *Ecstasy* as the highest stage in the evolution of the sentiment.[14] Whether merely by the utterance of the name of the Lord or by the contemplation of his various qualities or *Līlā*, the *Bhakta* falls into a state of *Ecstasy* when the world with all its manifold solicitations ceases to exist and the soul is immersed in a sea of Bliss. These states of Ecstasy are not merely recorded events, but are actually realisable by numerous *Bhaktas* even to this day. In the West also the devotees sought to induce this state of *Ecstasy* as in the case of the Neo-Platonists. The Carmelite Nuns, an order which curiously enough, was founded about the same time as the demise of Śrī Caitanya are so devoted to Christ as lover, that they take a vow never to look at the face of any male person.

Then again the exponents of *Rāgānuga* form of worship lay stress on the necessity of following the tenets of the sacred Texts without which no worship of God is possible. Visvanath Chakravarti in his *Rāga Vartma Candrikā* or the moonlight on the path of the religion of love insists on conformity to the laws of worship enjoined by the Śāstras.[15] Without such conformity mere passionate feeling does not do any good. But on the other-hand mere conformity cannot produce that strong feeling of attachment which

13. *Nārada Bhakti Sūtra.*
14. *Śrīmad Bhāgavat*, 11. 2. 40 & 11. 14. 24.
15. *Vastutastu lobha pravartitaṃ vidhi mārgena sevanameva rāgamārga ucyate ; vidhi pravartitaṃ vidhi mārgena sevanañca vidhimārgaḥ—Rāgavartma Candrikā Ṭikā*. 12.

Rāgānuga worship (*Bhajana*) requires. It must be prompted by an ardent hankering (*lobha*) after the object of worship. This is no ordinary erotic longing for union with the object of love such as an ordinary man or woman feels. It can ony arise through the mercy of Kṛṣṇa or his *Bhaktas*.

> *Kṛṣṇa tadbhakta kāruṇyamātra lobhaikahetukā* |
> *puṣṭimārgatayā kaiścidiyaṃ rāgānugocyate* ||

That is, the hankering or thirst (*lālasā*) has for its cause only the mercy of God or of His devotees. This is called *Puṣṭi mārga* by some and *Rāgānuga* by others.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE KACHWĀHAS OF AMBER

By

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The Kachwāhas, according to certain traditions, laid the foundation of their rule in the modern State of Jaipur in Rājputāna in the latter half of the tenth century A.D. They came to the lime light of history only in the sixteenth century. The intervening period is one of almost unredeemed darkness, and the reason is not far to seek. Tod makes the apposite remark that "they have to date their greatness, as the other families (especially the Ranas of Mewar) of Rajasthan their decline, from the ascent of the house of Timur to the throne of Delhi." A little information relating to the early period can however be gleaned by making use of historical traditions of a late date. But even these are often found hopelessly discordant. An attempt has been made here to examine and discuss the substratum of truth underlying the traditional accounts.

The Kachwāhas of Amber claim descent from Kuśa, son of Rāmachandra, the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Rājā Nala, a scion of the race, is alleged to have migrated westward and founded the city and kingdom of Naravara or Narwār in Central India in S. 321, or A.D. 295. According to NènaSī, Ḍholā or Ḍholò, the son of Nala, founded Gwalior and constructed the tank Golorāva in it. Tod's sources however record that the towns of Lahar, in the heart of a tract called Kachwāhagar situated between the rivers Sindh and Pahuj, and Gwalior were "intermediate places of domicile prior to the erection" of Narwār by Nala. It was from Narwār, or according to another view Gwalior, that the Kachwāhas are said to have migrated to Dhūndhāra or the Dhuṇḍa country as the present State of Jaipur was called in comparative early times.[1]

The story given above is usually regarded as legendary. Cunningham

1. For the traditional accounts, cf. *Mūhaṇota NènaSī kī Khyāta*, translated into Hindi by Rāmanārāyaṇa Dūgaḍa, vol. II, pp. 1-4; Tessitori, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Bardic and Historical Manuscripts*, Section I, Part I, p. 23; Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, edited by W. Crooke, Vol. III, pp. 1327 ff., 1328n3, 1329n1.

For the name Dhūndhāra or Dhuṇḍa for Jaipur, cf. Tod, *ibid.*, p. 1327, *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum*, Ajmer, 1933-34, p. 4, Cunningham, *A.S.I.*, Vol. II, p. 251.

Tod identifies Nala with the famous Nala Naiṣadha. This is however extremely doubtful. Nor can we accept the surmise that Narwār represents the classical Niṣadha country. The geographical cantos of the Purāṇas locate the Niṣadhas in the Vindhyan region far to the south of Narwār.

thinks that the tradition regarding the descent of the Kachwāhas from Kuśa was a later invention of the bards suggested by a fancied similarity of his name with the tribal designation. He puts forward the theory that "the modern form of *Kachwāha* would appear to be derived from the synonymous *Kachchhapa-han*, as the Hindu *Kachhwa* is undoubtedly the Sanskrit *Kachchhapa*, and the termination, *ha*, is most probably only the Sanskrit *han* which has exactly the same meaning as *ghāta*." He therefore connects the Kachwāhas with the Kacchapaghāta family mentioned in the Gwalior Sāsbahu inscription of V.S. 1050 or A.D. 1093.[2] Whatever might be the merit of the above derivation of the popular term *Kachwāha* from Sanskrit *Kacchapahan*, almost all the modern writers are in general agreement with Cunningham regarding the descent of the Kachwāhas from the Kacchapaghātas of Gwalior.

The following traditional evidence may be cited in support of the above theory.

(1) Rājapāṇa, the bard of the Kachwāha prince Pṛthvirāja, father of Bhāramala or Bihāri Mall of Amber who gave his daughter in marriage to the great Mughal Akbar, and a chronicler of Bikaner include the entire list of princes of the Gwalior branch of the Kacchapaghātas, mentioned in the Gwalior Sāsbahu inscription of V.S. 1150, viz., Lakṣmaṇa, Vajradāman, Maṅgalarāya (Maṅgalarāja), Kritarāya or Kṣetrarāya (Kirtirāja), Mūladeva (also known as Bhuvanapāla-Trailokyamalla), Devapāla, Padmapāla, Surapāla or Surajapāla (obviously Suryapāla) and Mahīpāla, among the ancestors of the Kachwāhas of Amber. But in the dynastic table of Rājapāṇa no less than twenty princes are inserted between Mahīpāla, the last Kacchapaghāta ruler mentioned above and Soḍhadeva, father of Dulahadeva, both of whom are represented in tradition as the founder of the Kachwāha principality in Dhūndhāra or Jaipur.[3] This raises a serious chronological difficulty which can be obviated only if we surmise that like some Purāṇic texts the bardic chroniclers of Rājputāna represent as lineal descendants princes who were really collaterals.

(2) The Gwalior annalists Kharag Rāi, who wrote during the reign of Shāh Jahān, and his contemporary Fazl Ali, who derived his informations from a previous writer named Ghanasyāma,[4] connect Tej Karan (taken to be a proper name of *Dulha* which means a "bridegroom"), alleged to have been the founder of the Kachwāha kingdom of Amber, with Gwalior.[5] The fol-

2. Cunningham, *Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. II, p. 319.
3. *ibid.*, p. 374; *Mūhaṇota NènaSī kī Khyāta*, II, p. 3.
4. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 370 f.
5. *ibid.*, p. 376 f. Pandit G. H. Ojha thinks that Dularāja or Dulaharāya stands for Durlabharāja. (Tod's *Rājasthān*, translated into Hindi by Pandit Ṛāmagarība Chaube and edited by Pandit G. H. Ojhà, Vol. I, p. 250). Tod writes Dhola for Dulaha. The Gwalior annalists seem to corrupt the name into *Dulha*, a "bridegroom", and takes it to be an epithet of Tej Karan.

lowing tables however show that the lists of ancestors of Tej Karan as given by Kharag Rāi and Fazl Ali differ widely from those of the predecessors of Dulahadeva as known to the bards of Rājputāna.

Rājapāṇa[6]	*NènaSī*[7]	*Kharag Rāi*[8]	*Fazl Ali*[9]
Nala	Nala		
Ḍholā	Ḍholā		
Lakṣamaṇa	Lakṣamaṇa		
Vajraddāmā	Vajradipa		
Maṅgalarāya	Maṅgala		
Kritarāya	Sumitra		
Mūladeva	Sudhibrahma or Mudhibrahma		
Devapāla	Kuhanī or Kahāna		
Padmapāla	Devānī or Devānika		
Sūrapāla		Ratnapāla	Ratnapāla
Mahipāla		Dharmapāla	Dharmapāla
20 other names		Budhipāla	Budhipāla
Īśasiṁha	Usai or Īśa	Surapāla	(? Sodhapāla)
Sodhasiṁha	Soḍha	Gambhīrapāla	
Dulahadeva	Dularāja or Dularāya	Tej Karan	Tej Karan

(3) It will be seen from NènaSī's list quoted above that he also includes three Kacchapaghāta princes of Gwalior, *viz.*, Lakṣamaṇa, Vajradīpa (Vajradāman) and Maṅgala(rāja) among the ancestors of the Kachwāha princes of Amber. Ojha thinks that Sumitra was a younger son of Maṅgalarāja.[9a]

The combined testimony of the bardic chroniclers undoubtedly implies some sort of lineal connection between the Kachwāhas of Jaipur and the Kacchapaghātas of Gwalior. It is however interesting to note that in some family records of the Kachwāha princes they claim to belong not to the *Kacchapaghāta* or *Kacchapāri* (literally, slayers of the *Kacchapas, i.e.,* tortoises) *vaṁśa* (clan) but to the *Kūrma* (i.e., Tortoise) family itself. Thus for instance in the Sāngāner (Jaipur State) inscription of V.S. 1658 (A.D. 1601) Mahārājā Śrī-Mānasiṁghaji is referred to as belonging to the Kūrma dynasty.[10] In the Ādinātha Temple inscription at Revāsā (Jaipur State), dated V.S. 1661 (A.D. 1604) Mahārājādhirāja Rāyasālji is described as a scion of the Kūrma clan.[11] In the Līlī (Alwar State) inscription of V.S. 1803

6. *Muhaṇota NènaSī kī Khyāta*, p. 3.
7. *ibid.*, p. 4; Tod's *Rājasthān* in Hindi, Vol. I, p. 250.
8. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 313. 9. *ibid.*
9a. Tod's *Rājasthān* (Hindi), Vol. I, p. 250.
10. *Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle*, p. 49.
11. *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum*, Ajmer, 1934-35, p. 5.

and 1814 (A.D. 1746 and 1757) Rājā Bhagavantasiṁhaji of the Narūka family (a branch of the Kachwāhas of Jaipur) is also stated to have descended from the Kūr(a)ma clan.[12] Reference to Kūrma kings can be traced back to still earlier times. A Chāṭsū (Jaipur State) inscription of V.S. 1556 (A.D. 1499) speaks of Rājā Bhāṁmara of the Kūrma family.[13] A Kūrma prince finds mention in the Balvan (Kotah State) inscription of V.S. 1345 (A.D. 1288).[14] The famous bard Chānd Bardai, who is usually regarded as the court poet of Pṛthvirāja Chauhan, the last Hindu emperor of Ajmer and Delhi, describes the Kachwāha prince Pajjuna as a Kūrma.[15] The following variants of the term Kacchavāha, viz., Kachavā and Kuchāhā, also seem to be derived from the word *Kacchapa*, a synonym of *Kūrma*.[16]

The evidence cited above suggests two alternative theories. One is that the Kacchapaghātas or Kacchapāris are in reality not identical with the Kūrmas or the Kachwāhas, but they are enemies and destroyers of the Kūrmas, as the designations (Slayers of *Kacchapas*, Enemies of *Kacchapas*) clearly imply. If this view be accepted then we cannot equate the Kacchapaghātas with the Kūrmas or Kachwāhas just as we cannot do so in the case of Śakāri and the Śakas. Can it then be that the Kacchapaghātas actually rose to power by ousting the ancestors of the Kachwāhas from Central India with which they are associated in tradition? But we have no positive evidence to prove this.

The second view which is in consonance with the tradition recorded by Rājapāṇa and NènaSī would regard *Kacchapa* (synonym *Kūrma*) as a shortened form of the designation Kacchapaghāta, just as the name Dināj (Danuja, a demon) used by Muslim historians in reference to a king of Sonargaon in Bengal really stands for Danujamardana (Chastiser of a Demon). In this and similar cases the designation is perhaps not to be taken too literally.

The bardic chroniclers have preserved several different versions of the story of Kachwāha migration to Dhūndhāra. Rājapāṇa says that *Dulahadeva* made a gift of the kingdom of *Gwalior* to a *Tomara* prince.[17] Pandit Ojha refers to a tradition that Rāja Īsā Siṁha gave away the famous fort to his daughter's son, also a *Tomara* prince. Thereupon his son *Sodhadeva*, forcibly seized Daosa from the Badgujārs in V.S. 1023 (A.D. 966-67) and laid the foundation of the Kachwāha state in Jaipur.[18] Kharag Rāi and Fazl Ali on the other hand tell us that Tej Karan or Dulha Rāi of *Gwalior*

12. *ibid.*, 1919-20, p. 5; Bhandarkar, *A List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 1038.
13. *ibid.*, No. 870. 14. *Epigraphia Indica*, XIX, pp. 46 f, 49.
15. Tod, *op. cit.*, p. 1335.
16. Bhandarkar, *A List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, Nos. 938, 1031.
17. *Mūhaṇota NènaSī kī Khyāta*, p. 3.
18. Tod's *Rājasthān* (in Hindi), p. 250.

left his ancestral kingdom in charge of his sister's son Parmal Deo, a *Parihāḍa*, and went away to marry the daughter of Ranmal, chief of Daosa. The Parihāḍa prince revolted against his maternal uncle and himself usurped the throne. Tej Karan succeeded to his father-in-law's principality and thus became the founder of the Kachwāha dynasty of Dhūndhāra.[19] Tod records that on the death of Sora Singh (Soḍhasiṁha), prince of *Narwār*, his infant son *Dhola Rāi* (Dulahadeva) was supplanted by his uncle in V.S. 1023 (A.D. 967). The child and his mother found shelter with the Mīnā chief of Khoganw (within five miles of modern Jaipur). Dholā finally usurped the authority of his benefactor. Soon after this he went to Daosa and married the daughter of the Baḍgujār chieftain of that place and the latter resigned his power to his son-in-law.[20]

A perusal of the foregoing accounts presents the following problems :—

Firstly, who established the Kachwāha principality in Eastern Rājputāna? Ojha's authority gives the credit to Soḍhadeva, son of Īśa Siṁha. NènaSī also states that Soḍhadeva was the first Kachwāha prince to move from *Narwār* to Dhūndhāra.[21] Rājapāṇa, Kharag Rāi, Fazl Ali and Tod however favour the claim of Dulahadeva. In the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to reconcile this discordant testimony of late writers.

Secondly, whence did the earliest Kachwāha prince of Dhūndhāra come? Rājapāṇa, Kharag Rāi, Fazl Ali and Ojha's authority make him a scion of a ruling house of Gwalior. According to NènaSī (see the previous paragraph) and Tod he came from Narwār. The connection of the Kacchapaghātas with Gwalior is well known.[22] A grant issued from Nalapura (Narwār) reveals that a Kacchapaghāta prince Vīrasiṁha, son of Śaradasiṁha, successor of Gaganasiṁha, was in possession of that city in V.S. 1177 (A.D. 1120).[23] It is thus possible to connect the founder of the Kachwāha state in Dhūndhāra both with the Gwalior and Narwār ruling houses. It will however be seen that neither Vīrasiṁha of Narwār nor any of his known ancestors are mentioned in the dynastic lists quoted above. On the other

19. Cunningham, *Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. II, p. 377.

20. Crooke's edition of Tod's *Annals*, Vol. III, p. 1329 ff.

21. *Mūhaṇota NènaSī kī Khyāta* (Hindi), Vol. II, p. 4; Tessitori, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Bardic and Historical Manuscripts*, Section I, Part I, p. 26.

22. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 374; *Ind. Ant.*, XV, p. 201f. Ojha and Bhandarkar connect the following Kacchapaghāta princes, *viz.*, Pṛthvīpaladeva *alias* Bhatṛpaṭṭa, his son Tribhuvanapāla, his son Vijayapāla and his son Sūrapāla, known from the Iṅgṇoda (Dewas State) inscription of V. S. 1190 (A.D. 1133) and the Ṭhākarḍā (Dungarpur State) inscription of V. S. 1212 (A.D. 1155), with the Gwalior ruling house (Tod's *Rājasthān* in Hindi, p. 249; Bhandarkar's *List of Northern Inscriptions*, p. 391 and f.n. 7). They seem to identify Pṛthvīpāla with Mahīpāla of Gwalior because the two names are synonymous. We cannot however subscribe to this theory in the absence of further evidence to support it.

23. Bhandarkar's *List* No. 206; Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

hand, the inclusion of all the known Kacchapaghātas of Gwalior among the forbears of the present ruling family of Amber suggests that its founder came from Gwalior rather than Narwār. It may also be pointed out in this connection that the popular derivation of the name of the latter city from the Kachwāha prince Nala is a conjecture that lacks convincing proof. We have no early evidence to prove that the Kachwāhas were actually in possession of that place before Gaganasiṁha, grandfather of Vīrasiṁha (A.D. 1120).

Thirdly, what is the exact reason for the removal of his residence by Soḍhadeva or his son Dulahadeva to Dhūndhāra? Rājapāṇa and Ojha's authority agree that the event followed the gift of the kingdom of Gwalior made to a Tomara prince. Kharag Rāi and Fazl Ali tell us that the Kachwāha prince was supplanted by his Pratihāra nephew. According to Tod the usurper was the brother of Soradeva (Soḍhadeva) and therefore was a Kachwāha. The tradition regarding Pratihāra and Tomara occupation of Gwalior may be accepted as genuine. But the circumstances leading to their rise in that territory are differently stated in contemporary documents. We learn from the Kurēṭhā Plate of Pratihāra Malayavarman, dated A.D. 1220, that his father Vigraha fought with a Mleccha king and seized Gopadri.[24] Vigraha seems to have flourished during the early years of the thirteenth century. According to Bhandarkar the defeated Mleccha king was Quṭb-ud-dīn Aibak who "humbled the pride of Gwalior" in A. D. 1196.[25] Cunningham has suggested that Gwalior was lost by the Muslims during the reign of Ārām Shah.[26]. The fort was recaptured by Iltutmish in A. H. 632 (A. D. 1232-33), and seems to have remained in possession of the Muhammadans till the close of the fourteenth century. Then, as we learn from the *Tārikh-i-Mubārakshāhi*, it was "treacherously wrested from the hands of the Musalmans during the invasion of the Mughals (led by Tīmūr) by the accused Bar Singh, who was followed after his death, by his son Biram Deo."[27] It is not difficult to recognise the names of the Tomara princes Vīrasiṁha and Vīrama in the preceding sentence.[28] The foundation of Tomara rule in Gwalior, therefore, must be dated later than the invasion of Tīmūr, about two centuries after the rise of the Pratihāras in that region. From what has been stated above it will not be perhaps unreasonable to conclude that the expulsion of the Kachwāha prince from Gwalior had nothing to do with the rise of either the Pratiharas or the Tomaras. Whether it was due to the usurpa-

24. Bhandarkar, *List of Inscriptions of North India*, No. 475. For a traditional list of the Pratihāra princes of Gwalior, see Cunningham, *Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. II, p. 378. The genealogies of the Pratihāra princes given in inscriptions cannot be brought even into approximate agreement with those of the bardic chroniclers.

25. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 68n.

26. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

27. English translation by K. K. Basu (G. O. S., Vol. LXIII), p. 177.

28. For a list of Tomara Princes of Gwalior, see Cunningham, *Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. II, p. 382.

tion of the throne by a member of a collateral branch or any other factor cannot be satisfactorily determined at present.

The date of Kachwāha migration to Dhūndhāra is another intriguing problem. According to the authorities of Tod and Ojha it took place in A.D. 967.[29] In a manuscript consulted by Cunningham the date is given as V.S. 1063 or A.D. 1006.[30] The famous archæologist rejects both the traditional dates. He points out that according to the Gwalior analists the Kachwāhas were succeeded by seven Pratihāra princes who ruled in Gwalior for 103 years until its capture by Iltutmish in A.D. 1232. According to him the expulsion of Tej Karan alias Dulha Rai, which led to the foundation of Kachwāha rule in Eastern Rājputāna, therefore must have happened in AD. 1128 or 1129.[31] The date proposed by Cunningham has found acceptance with several distinguished historians. We have however seen above that the Pratihāras seized Gwalior not from the Kacchapaghātas but from the Muhamadans about three quarter of a century later in the beginning of the thirteenth century. This invalidates Cunningham's ground of calculation for arriving at the date of Kachwāha migration from Gwalior. But it may be pointed out in this connection that a fragmentary Gwalior inscription reveals that the immediate successor of the Kacchapaghāta prince Mahīpāla of Gwalior was ruling in A.D. 1104[32] and then the dynasty seems to have come to an abrupt end for reasons now unknown. Hence it is not altogether impossible to assign the first Kachwāha ruler of Amber, who is usually regarded as the last Kacchapaghāta ruler of Gwalior, in the first quarter of the twelfth century A. D. or a little later. But even this does not solve our difficulties. All the later chroniclers agree in making Pajjūna, fifth or sixth in descent from Dulahadeva (see below), a contemporary and a vassal of the Chauhān emperor Prithvirāja III of Delhi and Ajmer (C. A. D. 1179-92). This implies that Dulahadeva flourished about 100 or 125 years before Prithvirāja III, i.e., between A. D. 1054 and 1079, and Soḍhadeva, father of Dulaha, naturally came a generation earlier. NēnaSī, as we have seen above, traces the descent of Dularāja or Dulahadeva from Sumitra, who is believed by Ojha to have been a younger son of the Kacchapaghāta Maṅgala(rāja), son of Vajradāman of Gwalior. The last named prince was ruling in A. D. 977 (V. S. 1034).[33] Maṅgalarāja therefore may be assigned towards the close of the tenth or the earlier years of the eleventh century A. D. As six generations intervened between him and Dularaja-Dulahadeva, (see NenaSi's list quoted above) we are to place the latter about 150 years after Maṅgalarāja, i.e., about the middle of the twelfth

29. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthan* (edited by Crooke), Vol. III, p. 1329; Tod's *Rājasthān* (in Hindi), p. 250.
30. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 376. 31. *ibid.*, pp. 375, 377.
32. Bhandarkar, *A List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 169.
33. *Ibid*, No. 86.

century. In view of these discrepancies it is impossible to assign any definite date for the foundation of the Kachwāha principality in Amber.

Most of our chroniclers agree that the earliest possession of the Kachwāhas in Dhūndhāra was Daosa which was either forcibly taken or inherited from a Baḍgujār chieftain.[34] We are informed by Tod that the Baḍgujārs held a considerable portion of Dhūndhāra and their capital was the hill fortress of Rājor.[35] This is also borne out by epigraphic evidence. An inscription of V. S. 1016 (A.D. 960) states that Rājorgaṛh was the royal seat of a prince named Mathanadeva of the *Gurjara-Pratihārānvaya* (usually taken to mean "of Gurjara-Pratihāra lineage"), and reference in the same record to *Gurjaravāhitasamasta-kṣetra* ('fields cultivated by the Gurjaras')[36] undoubtedly implies the presence in Western Alwar region, not very far from Daosa, in the latter half of the tenth century A.D., of the Gurjara tribe of which the Baḍgujārs were apparently an offshoot. Baḍgujār chiefs of Western Alwar are also referred to in several inscriptions of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[37] In view of this there is no possible difficulty in accepting as genuine the above tradition that Daosa which formed the nucleus of the Kachwāha principality in Rājputāna was obtained from the Baḍgujārs either by expelling them or by right of inheritance through marriage.

Tod tells us that Dhola (Dulahadeva) after getting possession of Daosa marched against the Sira tribe of the Mīnās, and seized from them Machh, and renaming it as Rāmgaṛh transferred his seat of government there. He subsequently married Māroni, a princess of Ajmer. The end of Dhola was tragic, and he fell fighting with a force of the Mīnās.

The following tables will show that there is no agreement among later writers regarding the order of succession, as well as the number and names of the immediate successors of Dulaha.

Rājapāṇa[38]	*NēnaSī*[39]	*Tod*[40]
Dulahadeva	Dularāja	Dhola
Haṇumāna	Kākila	Kankhal
Kākaladeva	Haṇu	Maidal Rao
Naradeva	Jojaḍa	Hūndeo
Jāhṇaḍadeva	Pajjūna	Kuntala
Pajjūna		Pajūn

34. Tod says that Dhola first usurped the authority of the Minā chief of Khoganw, and then got Daosa through marriage.
35. *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (Crooke), vol. I, p. 141.
36. *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. III, p. 263 ff.
37. Bhandarkar, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, Nos. 723, 821.
38. *Mūhaṇota NēnaSī ki Khyāta*, II, p. 3. 39 *Ibid.*, p. 4.
40. Tod, *Annals and Antiquity of Rājasthan* (Crooke), Vol. III, p. 1331 f.

Hanumāna, Hanu and Hūndeo of the above lists obviously refer to one and the same individual, and this seems to be true about Kākaladeva, Kākila and Kankhal as well. Jāṇhaḍadeva and Jojaḍa also should in all probability be regarded as identical.

Tod attributes to Kankhal the conquest of the country of Dhūndhāra, and to his son Maidal Rao the seizure of Amber, the future capital of the Kachwāhas, from the Susawat Mīnās. But according to Rājapāṇa Kākala was the founder of Amber.[41] NènaSī also states that Kākila and his son Haṇunta (apparently Haṇumāna or Haṇumanta) were the first to come to Amber.[42] The Amber Inscription of V. S. 1011 (A.D. 954-55) perhaps imply the existence of the city of Amber before the coming of the Kachwāhas in Rājaputāna.[43] It has been identified with Amarapuri referred to as the seat of power of the Kachwāhas in the *Hammīramahākāvya* of Nayachandra Sūri, and with Āmradādri of the Kumbhagaṛh *praśasti* of the time of Rāṇā Kumbhā.[44] In the time of Swāi Jaisingh the city was known as Ambāvatī.[45] Tod derives the name of the city from Ambikesvara, a title of Siva.[46]

Tod's Hūndeo followed the aggressive policy of his predecessors and continued the war against the aboriginal Mīnās. His son and successor Kuntal extended his sway over the hill tribes round the capital and inflicted a crushing defeat upon his Mīnā subjects which secured his rule throughout Dhūndhāra.[46a]

It will be noticed that during the early period of their history the most formidable enemy of the Kachwāhas were the Mīnās. Tod tells us that their original home was in the mountain range called Kalikoh, which extended from Ajmer nearly to the river Jumna.[47] The name Mīnā suggests a totemistic origin of the tribe derived from Sanskrit Mīna, a fish. It will be interesting to know if the tribe had anything to do with the name Matsyadeśa (which may mean "the land of fishes"), referred to in early literature, which included "parts of Alwar, Jaipur and Bharatpur."

Pajjūna, as has been already pointed out was in all probability a contemporary and vassal of Prithvīrāja III, the antagonist of Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad *bin* Sām of Ghūr. Tod informs us that he had the honour of marrying the sister of his suzerain. The famous bard Chand assigns to him a conspicuous place in the council of the Chauhān emperor. If that poet is to be believed he put to flight a host of the Yādavas and was engaged in war with one Rao Chamand, a certain "Babhan" and with the Baḍgujārs.[48]

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41. *Mūaṇota Nèṇasī kī Khyāta*, II, p. 3. 42. *Ibid*, p. 4.
43. Bhandarkar, *A List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 70.
44. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 63; Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, p. 281.
45. Bhandarkar, *List of Inscription of Northern India* No. 1031.
46. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (Crooke), pp. 1332 and n, 1439.
46a. *Ibid.*, p. 1332.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 1332. 48. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. III, p. 18.

Twice did he distinguish himself in the service of his liege lord; once by defeating Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad of Ghūr and a second time by helping Pṛithvīrāja to conquer Mahoba "the country of the Chandels." He was appointed to the governorship of the conquered territory.[49] According to Chand Pajjūna lost his life fighting against the forces of Kanauj when Pṛthvīrāja is said to have carried off the daughter of the Gahārawar king Jayacchandra or Jaichand.[50] If this last event is correctly recorded Pajjūna could not have measured his sword with the valiant son of Sām, for tradition affirms that the invasion of the Ghori king took place after the abduction of the princess of Kanauj. We learn from the Madanpur Inscription of Pṛithvīrāja III, dated A.D. 1182, that he devastated and plundered Jejākabhukti, then ruled over by the Chandella Paramardi.[51] Pajjūna may have distinguished himself on this occasion, but it is impossible to say whether the Chauhān king actually captured Mahoba and appointed his own governor there.

The history of the Kachwāhas after the death of Pajjūna till the accession of Bihāri Mall, father-in-law of Akbar, is extremely obscure. Rājapāṇa, NènaSī and Tod simply pass over the intervening period of more than three centuries and give us a bare list of names.[52] The immediate successor of Pajjūna was MalayaSī (Tod's Mālasi), who married Melhaṇadevī, a daughter of the Kīchī prince Ānala.[53] He is credited with having won a victory over a prince of Mandu. Then came Bījala, Rājadeva and Kalyāṇa. After the last mentioned prince Rājapāṇa places Rājakula, but NènaSī and Tod both agree that the successor of Kalyāṇa was Kuntala. He was followed by JuṇaSī or JavaṇaSī and then came his son Udayakarṇa. Narasiṁha, son of Udayakarṇa, succeeded to the *gadi* of Amber. Bar Singh, the eldest son of Udayakarṇa, is said to have quarrelled with his father and surrendered his birth-right. His grandson Naru became the progenitor of the Naruka family now ruling in Alwar.[54] Bālāji, a third son of Udayakarṇa, obtained as his appendage the district of Amritsar which became the nucleus of the extensive confederation now known as Shekhāwati, after the name of Shekhji, the son of Bālāji.[55]

Narasiṁha was succeeded by Banabīra and then came Uddharaṇa and Chandrasena. The latter was succeeded by his son Pṛithvīrāja, father of Bihārī Mall.

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49. Tod, *op. cit.*, p. 1332. 50. *Ibid.*, p. 1333.
51. H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, pp. 1084 f.
52. For a list of Kachwāha princes after Pajjūna, see *Mūhaṇota Nèṇasī kī Khyāta*, II, p. 3 (Rājapāṇa's list), pp. 4 ff (Nènasī's list); Tod, *op. cit.*, p. 1336.
53. *Mūhaṇota Nènasī kī Khyāta* II, p. 4-5. Tod, *op. cit.*, p. 1336.
54. *Mūhaṇota Nènasī kī Khyāta*, II, p. 27; *Rajputānā Gazetteer* (Provincial Series), p. 425 f; Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 1038.
55. *Mūhaṇota Nènasī kī Khyāta*, II, p. 32, Tod, *op. cit*, Vol. III, pp. 1336, 1378 ff.

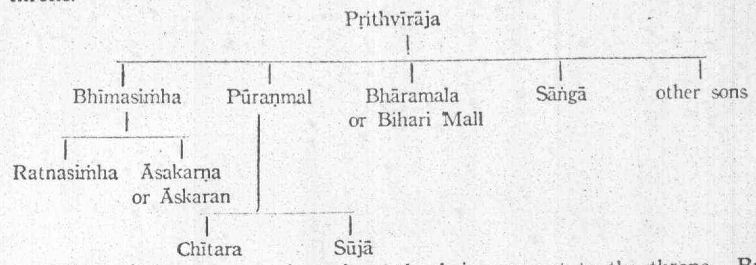
The death of the last Chauhān emperor on the battle-field of Tarain led to the complete collapse of his empire, and his descendants maintained a precarious existence in the strong fortress of Ranthambhor. But this momentous event did not perhaps immediately affect the cordial relationship that subsisted between the Chauhāns and the Kachwāhas. If Nayachandra, the author of the *Hammīramahākāvya*, is to be believed, a marriage was arranged between Vīranārayaṇa of Ranthambhor and a Kacchavāha princess of Amarapura (Amber). The nuptial could not take place because the bridegroom, when he set out for Amarapura, was opposed by the Śaka ruler Jālālu'dīn. He was then entrapped by the Muhammadans and was poisoned to death.[56] The captor has been tentatively identified with Shams-ud-dīn Iltutmish who conquered the fortress of Ranthambhor in A.D. 1226.[57] In the latter half of the thirteenth century there seems to have occurred a breach between the Kachwāhas and the Chauhāns. We learn from the Balavan inscription of A.D. 1288 that Jaitrasiṁha, uncle's son of Vīranārāyaṇa, killed a Kūrma king.[58] This event must have happened before A.D. 1283, the year of accession of Hammīra, who was the son and successor of Jaitrasiṁha according to Nayachandra.[59] In the fifteenth century the Kachwāhas came into hostile contact with the rising power of Mewar and the Kumbhalgaṛh *praśasti* credits Rāṇā Kumbhā with having devastated Āmradādri, (Amber).[60] The phenomenal rise of Rāṇā Sāṅgā, grandson of Rāṇā Kumbhā, to a position of pre-eminence in the political horizon of western India is too well known. Bābur bears eloquent testimony to this when he writes that "the authority of the execrated pagan (Sangā) ... was such that not one of all the exalted sovereigns of this wide realm, such as the Sultān of Delhī, the Sultān of Guzrāt and the Sultān of Mandū, could cope with this evil-dispositioned one, without the help of other pagans; one and all they cajoled him and temporized with him."[61] Tod recounts among his tributaries the name of Pṛithvīrāja of Amber.[62] "Rajas and rais of high degree" obeyed Sāngā at the battle of Khānuā, and it is not altogether impossible that the Kachwāha chief also shared in the general defeat inflicted upon the Hindus by Bābur. He fell by the hand of an assassin and the murderer was his own son Bhīma.[63]

During the centuries following the invasion of Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad *bin* Sām till the rise of Rāṇā Sāṅgā the history of eastern Rājputāna was mainly dominated by the ambitious rulers of the Sultanate of Delhi and their successors who often held possession of the strong fortresses of Ajmer

56. *Ind. Ant.*, VIII, 63.
57. H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, II, p. 1095.
58. *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, pp. 46 ff, 49.
59. *Ind. Ant.*, VIII, p. 59.
60. *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, pp. 279, 288.
61. *Bābur-Nāma* in English by A. S. Beveridge, Vol. II, (Section 3), p. 561 f.
62. Tod, *Annals*, Vol. I, p. 348 and n. 5.
63. Tod, *Annals*, Vol. III, p. 1337.

and Ranthambhor, dominated over the Sapādalakṣa country, once the home of the proud Chauhāns, and exercised control over the neighbouring provinces of Bayana and Alwar. It is not unlikely that the princes of Amber had now and then to bear the onslaught of the arms of Islamic forces.

The foul assassination of Pṛithvīrāja was the signal for an internal turmoil in which his descendants entered into a contest for securing the throne.



Bhīmasiṁha seems to have been the heir-apparent to the throne. But his claims were superseded by his father in favour of another son named Pūraṇmal. Pṛithvīrāja paid the penalty by his death at the hand of his own son. Pūraṇmal ruled for six years and was then killed by Bhīma who now regained his birth right. Sūjā, son of Pūraṇmal, sought to avenge the death of his father with the help of Safr-ud-dīn, the *Subedār* of Ajmer and made an attack upon Amber. According to Tod, Bhīmasiṁha was murdered by his son Āskaran at the instigation of his brothers. He was succeeded by his eldest son Ratnasiṁha who ruled for eleven years. But troubles now came from another quarter. Sāṅgā, son of Pṛithvīrāja and born of a Bikaner princess, got the help of JaitSī, son of Lūṇkaraṇ of Bikaner, and seized the capital. But he fell by the hands of a bard named Kaṇhā. Thereupon Āskaran, the second son of Bhīma, ascended the throne. Even he was not destined to rule in peace. Being ousted by Bhāramala or Bihārī Mall in V. S. 1604 (A.D. 1547-48) he went to Delhi to seek the help of Hāji Khān Pāthan (most probably the famous lieutenant of Sher Shāh). The latter reconciled the rivals and conferred upon Āskaran the government of Naravara (Narwār).[64] The consolidation of Bhāramala's rule in Amber and his alliance with the Mūghal emperor opened up a new chapter in the history of the Kachwāhas. The scene of activities of the Kachwāha kings was no longer confined within the narrow limits of Amber, but loomed large in the imperial pavilions at Delhi and Agra and beyond in the provinces of the far-flung Mughal empire. The new phase of their history requires separate and detailed treatment, and we may conclude our present article here.

64. The above account is based on a note which appears in the *Mūhaṇota Nènasī ki Khyāta*, Vol. II, p. 9 n; also compare Tessitori, *Descriptive Catalogue of Bardic and Historical Manuscripts*, Section I, part II, p. 46; Tod, Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān (Cooke), Vol. III, p. 1357.

THE CRITICISM OF HISTORICAL REPORTS AMONG THE MUSLIMS

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Ibn Khaldún among the Muslims, has been accepted to be the most critical and original historian. He laid down the dictum that the rule for distinguishing what is true from what is false in history is based on its possibility or impossibility. He propounded sound principles for Historiography and showed the way to that scientific view and treatment of the subject which is advocated by the most modern writers on it.

No one who has made even a superficial study of Ibn Khaldún's *Prolegomena* to his voluminous history can deny him the credit which he deserves so well. But it will be certainly a mistake to think that he was the first Muslim author who tried to make use of the critical method in order to examine the truth of historical reports. For, long before him, the Muslim devines who lived between the 7th and the 11th centuries of the Christian era, had made a keen and sincere study of the criticism of historical reports in connection with those of the words which fell from the lips of the Prophet of Islam from time to time, and those of his deeds.

These reports are known as *Aḥádíth* which is the plural form of the word *Ḥadíth*. The term is generally translated into English as 'tradition.' They are of extreme religious and legal importance to the Muslims and they have taken great care to maintain their purity and genuineness.

The system of giving the names of the transmitters.

Each of these reports howsoever short, is accompanied by the chain of the names of the transmitters through whom it was received by those who compiled them in books. This chain of the transmitters was considered by all the writers on the subject as an indispensable part of the text of the reports themselves. The part containing the names of the transmitters is technically called *Isnád* (support) or authority and the report itself is called *Matn* or the text. By and by this system became so popular among the Muslim authors that they applied it to history, to geography, to belles-lettres etc., for many centuries during the middle ages. As a matter of fact it was carried to such an extreme that it was ridiculed by authors like al-Jáḥiẓ. There are books e.g. the *Maṣáriu'l-'Ushsháq* of al-Sarráj (containing the stories of persons who are said to have died of love) the subject matter of which is extremely frivolous, but in spite of it, the author took the trouble of recording the

name of each transmitter of the narratives contained in them, and the date and place at which he heard the stories.

The Origin of this System

The origin of this system, which according to Professor Hitti is unique in the case of the Arabs and meets the most essential requirements of modern historiography,[1] is difficult to determine. But Caetani and Horovitz have attempted to solve this interesting problem, and A. H. Harley has summarised their conclusions in his introduction to the *Musnad* of 'Umar b. 'Abdi'l-'Aziz.[2]

Caetani's opinion.

Caetani is of opinion that the system could not have originated with the Arabs. The wild desolation of the Arabian desert and the restive nature and the character of the primitive ignorant uncivilised and intolerant Arabs, did not suit its origin and growth.[3] But his contention, as one may see, is based more on presumption than on facts; and if accepted will only prove that the system did not originate with the Arabs. With whom did it originate then? The great Italian Orientalist has failed to give any instance of its use by any other people. The Greeks and the Romans did not use it as a system. Professor Margoliouth has pointed out that the Greek and the Roman historians do not keep quite clear of the dates and that they very rarely, tell us the source of their information.[4]

Horovitz's researches.

Professor Horovitz, however, carried his researches further, and giving several instances from Jewish literature, proved that the system of *Isnád* was used by the Jews before the Arabs. He also tried to show that its use in their literature was found as early as the Mosaic period and by the Talmudic times, its chain assumed enormous length, the subject matter being of the most varied nature.[5]

They were anticipated by Ibn Hazm.

But the main facts discovered by the minute researches of the distinguished modern German Orientalist had been already dealt with, by a medieval scholar of Andalusia, Abu Muḥammad 'Alí b. Aḥmad commonly known as Ibn Ḥazm, in his *al-Fiṣal Fi'l-Milal*,[6] about nine centuries before him. Of this Horovitz as well as Caetani appear to have been unaware. Ibn Ḥazm has classified the chains of transmitters according to their reliability, into six different groups, has described their merits as well as demerits, has pointed out such of them as had been used in the Jewish and Christian literature, has referred to the subject matter of the texts to

1. *The origin of the Islamic State*, Int. p. 3.
2. *J. A. S. B.* 1924, pp. 404-405.
3. *Annali dell' Islam*, I, p. 32.
4. *Arabic Historians*, pp. 18, 20.
5. *Der Islam*, Vol. VIII, pp. 39-75.
6. Vol. II, pp. 67-70.

which they relate and has discussed, in his own way, the demerits of their *Isnáds.*

Its use by Indians.

The Indians also, like the Jews, however, made use of this system long before the Arabs. But as far as I am aware, no notice of it has been so far, taken. It was pointed to me for the first time, by my friends and colleagues Dr. P. Bagchi and Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri of the department of Ancient Indian History in the University of Calcutta. According to the former occasional use of the system of giving the names of the transmitters is found in the ancient Indian literature: Hindu Buddhistic as well as Jaina. The text of the reports contained in them are of as varied a character as in the case of Jewish literature and the length of the chain of the transmitters is pretty long, containing in certain cases, about twenty-seven names.[7]

The Arabs gave it a scientific form.

The use of this system by the Jews and the Indians before the Arabs, cannot be denied. The Arabs may have either borrowed it from them or may have used it independently. Having taken up its use, however, the Arabs developed it, a great deal and gave it a scientific basis. They created an extremely rich literature dealing with the careers and the characters of the transmitters of the reports during different periods. This literature is known among the Muslims as *Asmá'ur'-Rijál* or the names of the Men (the transmitters). They laid down the necessary qualifications, of the reliable transmitters, classified the reports according to the reliability of their reporters, introduced the chronological method in order to test their trustworthiness and produced immense varied literature which supply the necessary critical apparatus for testing the truth of the reports.

The material for the criticism of Isnád is wanting in Indian and Jewish literature.

All this is entirely wanting in the Jewish as well as Indian literature. The ancient literature of neither the Indians nor of the Jews show any signs of the scientific use of the chronological method, nor does it possess any collection of the biographical notices of the transmitters of the reports. "In the Talmudic literature," says Horovitz, "there is no idea of chronological method and the oldest extant work attempting such an arrangement was composed after 885 A.D., more than a century later than the earliest earliest work on Isnad-critique." "From this and from the fact that the important Jewish works (of this period) had been composed in the Islamic dominions" continues Prof. Horovitz, "it may be inferred that this

7. *Mahabhárata* translated by P. C. Ray, Book I, Canto I; Winternitz *History of Indian literature*, Vol. I, pp. 323-24, Vol. II, p. 34, N. 3; Keith's translation of *Sáṅkháyana Áraṇyaka*, pp. 71-72; S. B. E. Vol. XV, pp. 224-227; P. Cordier's *Catalogue Du Fond; Tibetan*, Part III, pp. 163; 168-69, 201—etc.

For all these references I am indebted to Dr. P. Bagchi of Calcutta University.

historical interest of. the Jews was due to the Islamic influence." The want of these and other important materials for the criticism of the reliability of the transmitters makes the use of the system of giving the names of authorities, by the Indians and the Jews, altogether valueless.

Two-fold Nature of Criticism

The criticism of the historical reports (especially the traditions) among the Muslims however, is of two-fold nature: (1) that relating to the chain of the transmitters, (2) that relating to the text of the reports. The former is generally known as *Uṣúlur'-Riwáyat* and also as *Uṣúlu'l-Ḥadith* i.e. the principles relating to the narration of the reports. And the latter is commonly called the *Uṣúlu'd-Diráyat* i.e. scientific or juristic principles.

The necessary qualification of transmitter of reports.

(1) The works on the *Uṣúlu'r-Riwáyat* lay down the necessary qualifications of the reliable and proper reporters, classify the chains of the transmitters into various groups according to the degree of their reliability, and deal with the methods of learning, narrating and writing down the reports (especially traditions) and various connected matters which must be mastered by every qualified reporter.

The qualifications of the transmitter of a tradition have been described by al-sháfi'í (767-820 A.D.) in his *al-Risála*, one of the earliest works on the subject received by us, as follows :—

"He must be of firm faith, well-known for his truthfulness in what he reported, understanding its contents, knowing well how the change in expressions affects the contents, reporting verbatim what he learnt from his own authority and not narrating in his own words, only the sense of what he had learnt, possessing retentive memory if he reported from memory, and remembering his book well, if he reported from it. He should be free from making a report on the authority of those whom he met, of what he did not learn from them. And his reports must be in agreement with what has been reported by those who are recognised to have good memory if they also have transmitted these reports."[8]

All the writers on the subject, however, are unanimously of opinion that the transmitter of a report in order to be acceptable, must be of firm faith, mature age, and proved integrity and possessing good memory. He must be well-versed in the methods of learning, transmitting and preserving the reports. He must be thoroughly conversant with the names, careers and the characters of the earlier reporters as well as with the various classes of the reports (traditions) and their defects and other special features.

8. Ar-Risála, Egypt, 1312 A.H., p. 99.

The classification of the traditions.

The traditions have been classified, according to the degree of their reliability, into three categories, (*i*) Ṣaḥiḥ i.e. the Genuine, (*ii*) the Ḥasan i.e. the Fair and the Da'if i.e. the weak.

(*i*) *The Ṣaḥiḥ or the Genuine.* The genuine is the report which has been handed down by a continuous chain of the transmitters possessing the qualifications mentioned above. Some important writers are of opinion that it must also be proved that each transmitter actually met his own reporter.

(*ii*) *The Ḥasan or Fair* is the report the *isnád* of which does not include narrators who are suspected of falsehood, and the text of which is not rare, and is identically or equivalently reported by more than one set of the transmitters. Ibn Ṣaláḥ, a distinguished writer on the subject, has further explained it. He says that 'Fair' is the report among the transmitters of which, there are men of unknown character, whose veracity and reliability have not been proved, but are not known to have been careless and committing mistakes or forgery in their reports.

(*iii*) *The Da'if or weak* is the report which does not satisfy the conditions of either of the two classes of the reports mentioned above. They are again classified into various categories.

(*a*) *The Mursal* or *the loose* is the report about the Prophet of Islam by one who did not enjoy his company but met any one of his companions, without his authority.

(*b*) *The Munqaṭa'* or *the severed* are the reports in the chain of the transmitters of which any link at any stage is wanting.

(*c*) *The Mu'ḍal* or *the straitened* is the report from the *Isnád* of which two or more links are missing.

(*d*) *The Mudallas* or *the disguised* is the report in the *Isnád* of which any narrator reports on the authority of one whom he met, what he never learnt from him, or on the authority of any of his contemporaries whom he never met, so equivocally as may create the impression that he had actually met and received the report from him, or mentions a name or title of his authority, which is generally not known so that he may not be identified. This class of the reports is always rejected and the reporter is severely condemned.

(*e*) *The Shádh* or *the rare* is the report made by one single reliable transmitter at any stage, at variance with that of other transmitters possessing better memory.

These and various other classes of reports (traditions) have been described, and explained and their degree of reliability has been thoroughly discussed in all the works on the principles of narration.

The scientific principles

2. *'Uṣúlu'd-Diráyat* or the scientific or juristic principles relate to the *Matn* or the text of the reports irrespective of their transmitters. These principles are generally discussed in a particular part of the works on jurisprudence. For it is mainly the duty of those who utilise the reports to go carefully into the text and accept or reject it on account of its probability or improbability. But the works dealing with the *'Uṣúlu'l-Ḥadíth* also contain a good deal of materials relating to it. A well-known book *Fatḥu'l-Mughíth,* for example contains the following principles :—

(*a*) Every report against reason, or accepted principles (of faith) or against what is generally experienced, or against well-founded and recognised historical facts should be rejected.

(*b*) All reports that do not suit the position or office of the persons about whom they are reported should be taken as unreliable.

(*c*) The events which should have been noticed by a large crowd of persons and reported by them, if transmitted by a single individual, should not be accepted.

The works on Jurisprudence lay down the following principles :—

(*a*) The degree of the reliability of a report must be in keeping with the importance of its subject-matters.

(*b*) If a report deals with a technical matter and its transmitter does not possess technical knowledge or judicious mind the report may be accepted with certain reserve.

A sufficiently large number of cases of the rejection of historical reports by the Muslim devines on account of one or the other principles mentioned above, may be cited, to prove the application of the above principle long before Ibn Khaldún. As a matter of fact he himself follows these very principles when he rejects the common explanation of the sudden fall of the Barmecides, and the various reports of the extremely large number of the soldiers fighting in the wars waged by the Assyrians and others.

Even in the modern times the criticism accepted by all the Orientalists against the story forged by 'Abdu'l-Latíf, Ibnu'l-Qifṭí and Barhebraeus about the burning of the library of Alexandria at the Command of the 2nd Caliph 'Umar, is based on the principles laid down by the Muslim divines centuries before Ibn Khaldún.

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9. Lucknow Edition, p. 114.

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